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Mein Kampf

Adolf Hitler

VOLUMES 1 & 2

NEW ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

THOMAS DALTON

MEIN KAMPF



Adolf Hitler

MEIN KAMPF

ADOLF HITLER

Volume One

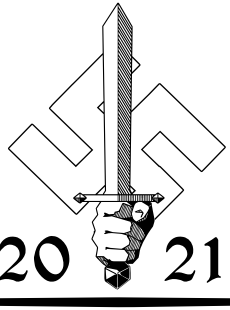
A Reckoning

&

Volume Two

The National Socialist Movement

New English Translation by
Thomas Dalton PhD., 2018.



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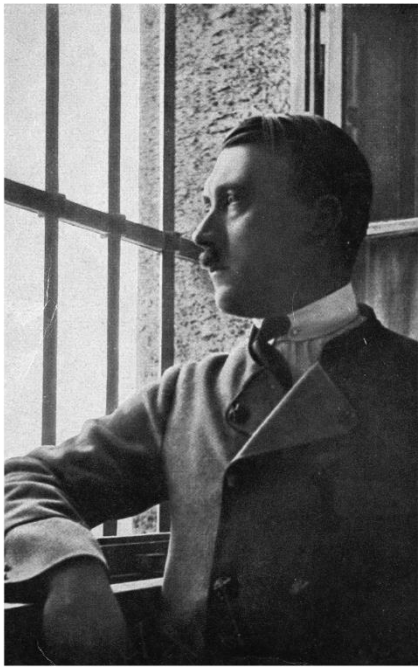
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Hitler's prison cell in Landsberg Fortress where he wrote the present work, *'Mein Kampf'* (My Struggle): Volume 1: A Reckoning.

FOREWORD

On April 1st, 1924. I began to serve my sentence of detention in the Fortress of Landsberg am Lech, following the verdict pronounced by the Munich people's court on that day.

After years of uninterrupted labour it was now possible for the first time to begin a work for which many had asked and which I myself felt would be profitable for the Movement. I therefore decided to devote two volumes to a description not only of the aims of our Movement, but also of its development. There is more to be learned from this than from any purely doctrinaire treatise.

This has also given me the opportunity of describing my own development in so far as such a description is necessary to the understanding of the first as well as the of the second volume and to refute the unfounded tales which the Jewish press has circulated about me. In this work I turn not to strangers, but to those followers of the Movement whose hearts belong to it and who wish to study it more profoundly. I know that fewer people are won over by the written, than by the spoken, word and that every great movement on this earth owes its growth to great speakers and not to great writers.

Nevertheless, in order to achieve more equality and uniformity in the defence of any doctrine, its fundamental principles must be committed to writing. May these two volumes therefore serve as building stones which I contribute to the common task.

The Fortress
Landsberg am Lech



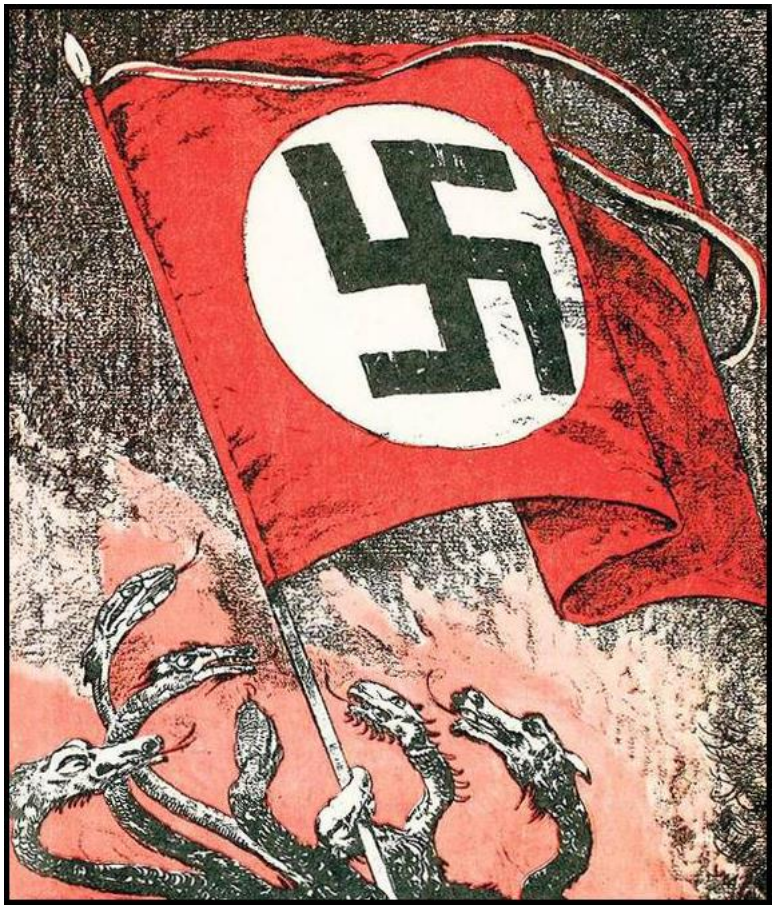
At 12:30 pm, on 9 November 1923, the following men fell in front of the Feldherrnhalle and in the courtyard of the former War Ministry in Munich, with loyal faith in the resurrection of their people:

Alfarth, Felix; merchant; b. 5 July 1901
Bauriedl, Andreas; hatter; b. 4 May 1879
Casella, Theodor; bank clerk; b. 8 August 1900
Ehrlich, Wilhelm; bank clerk; b. 19 August 1894
Faust, Martin; bank clerk; b. 27 January 1901
Hechenberger, Anton; locksmith; b. 28 September 1902
Körner, Oskar; businessman; b. 4 January 1875
Kuhn, Karl; headwaiter; b. 26 July 1897
Laforce, Karl; engineering student; b. 28 October 1904
Neubauer, Kurt; valet; b. 27 March 1899
Pape, Claus von; businessman; b. 16 August 1904
Pfordten, Theodor von der; retired councilor; b. 14 May 1893
Rickmers, Johann; retired captain; b. 7 May 1881
Scheubner-Richter, Max Erwin von; doctor of engineering b. 9 January 1884
Stransky, Lorenz von; engineer; b. 14 March 1889
Wolf, Wilhelm; businessman; b. 19 October 1898

The so-called national authorities refused these dead heroes a common grave.

Therefore, for the common memory, I dedicate to them the first volume of this work. As martyrs to the cause, may they shine forever, as a permanent inspiration to the followers of our movement.

Adolf Hitler
Landsberg am Lech
16 October 1924



"At that time, my lot in life seemed to me a harsh one; but today I see in it the wise workings of Providence. The Goddess of Fate took me in her arms and often threatened to smash me; but my will grew stronger as the obstacles increased, and in the end, my will was triumphant."

Adolf Hitler

INTRODUCTION

Mein Kampf is the autobiography and articulated worldview of one of the most consequential and visionary leaders in world history. It is also one of the most maligned and least understood texts of the 20th century. There have been so many obfuscations, deceptions, and outright falsehoods circulated about this work, that one scarcely knows where to begin. Nonetheless, the time has come to set the story straight.

That Adolf Hitler would even have undertaken such a work is most fortunate. Being neither a formal academic nor a natural writer, and being fully preoccupied with pragmatic matters of party-building, he may never have begun such a major task–were it not for the luxury of year-long jail term. In one of the many ironies of Hitler's life, it took just such an adverse event to prompt him to dictate his party's early history and his own life story. This would become volume one of his two-part, 700-page magnum opus. It would have a dramatic effect on world history, and initiate a chain of events that has yet to fully play out. In this sense, *Mein Kampf* is as relevant today as when it was first written.

Perhaps the place to begin is with the rationale for the book. Why did Hitler write it at all? Clearly it was not a requirement; many major politicians in history have come and gone without leaving a personal written record. Even his time in prison could have been spent communicating with party leaders, building support, soliciting allies, and so on. But he chose to spend much of his stay documenting the origins and growth of his new movement. And for this we can be grateful.

The work at hand seems to have served at least four purposes for its author. First, it is autobiographical. This aspect consumes most of the first two chapters, and is repeatedly woven into the remainder of volume one. For those curious about the first 35 years of Hitler's life, this aspect is invaluable. It gives an accurate and relevant account of his upbringing, his education, and the

early development of his worldview. Like any autobiography, it provides an irreplaceable first-hand description of a life. But as well, it offers the usual temptation to cast events in a flattering light, to downplay shortcomings, or to bypass inconvenient episodes. On this count, Hitler fares well; he provides an honest and open life story, devoid of known fabrications, obvious errors, or significant omissions. This book is essential for understanding his thinking and attitude on social, economic, and political matters that are of central concern.

Second, *Mein Kampf* is a kind of history lesson of Europe around the turn of the 20th century. Hitler was a proximate observer–and often firsthand witness–to many of the major events of the time. He served in the trenches of World War One for more than four years, which was virtually the entire duration of the war. Serving on the 'losing' side, he naturally gives a different interpretation of events than is commonly portrayed by historians of the victorious nations. But this fact should be welcomed by any impartial observer, and in itself makes the book worth reading. With rare exception-such as Jünger's Storm of Steel–no other contemporary non-fiction German source of this time is readily available in English. For those interested in the Great War and its immediate aftermath, this book is irreplaceable.

In its third aspect, the book serves to document the origins and basic features of Hitler's worldview. This, unsurprisingly, is the most distorted part of the book, in standard Western accounts. Here we find the insights and trigger events that led a young man without formal higher education, to develop a strikingly visionary, expansive, and forward-looking ideology. Hitler's primary concern, as we read, was the future and well-being of the German people–*all* Germans, regardless of the political unit in which they lived. The German people, or *Volk*, were, he believed, a single ethnicity with unique and singular self-interests. They were–indisputably–responsible for many of the greatest achievements in Western history. They were among the leading lights in music, literature, architecture, science, and technology. They were great warriors, and great nation-builders. They were, in large part, the driving force behind Western civilization itself. All this is true and

undeniable, and Hitler is justly proud of his heritage. Equally is he outraged at the indignities suffered by this great people in then-recent decades–culminating in the disastrous humiliation of WWI and the Treaty of Versailles. He seeks, above all, to remedy these injustices and restore greatness to the German people. To do this, he needs to identify both their primary opponents and the defective political ideologies and structures that bind them. Then he undertakes to outline a new socio-political system that can carry them forward to a higher and rightful destiny. He accomplishes all this, and more.

Finally, in its fourth aspect, *Mein Kampf* is a kind of blueprint for action. It describes the evolution and aims of National Socialism and the NSDAP, or Nazi Party, in compelling detail. Hitler naturally wants his new movement to succeed in assuming power in Germany and in a future German Reich. But this is no theoretical analysis. Hitler is nothing if not pragmatic. He has concrete goals and precise means of achieving them. He has nothing but disdain for the *geistigen Waffen*, the intellectual weapons, of the impotent intelligentsia. He demands results, and success. By all accounts, he achieved both.

Importantly, his analysis is, in large part, independent of context. It does not pertain only to Germans, or only to the circumstances of the mid-1920s. It is a broadly universal approach based on the conditions of the modem world, and on human nature. As such, Hitler's analysis of action is relevant and useful for many people today–for all those who might strive for greatness in body and spirit.

This complex textual structure of *Mein Kampf* explains some of the complaints of modem-day critics who decry Hitler's lack of 'coherence' or 'narrative flow.' He has many objectives here, and in their implementation, many points overlap. Perhaps he should have written four books, not one. Perhaps. But Hitler was a doer, not a writer. We must accept this fact, take what we have, and do our best to understand it in an open and objective fashion. He was not striving for a best-selling novel. He wanted to document history and a movement, and to this end he succeeded most admirably.

ORIGINS AND CONTEXT

Given that the book is, in large part, autobiographical, there is clearly no need to detail Hitler's life here. Even so, a few basic facts are in order, to establish the context of the work. Born on 20 April 1889 in present-day Austria, Hitler grew up as a citizen of the multi-ethnic state known as the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This diverse amalgamation was formed in 1867, with the union of the Austrian and Hungarian monarchies; thus does Hitler refer to the state as the "Double Monarchy." Throughout its 50-year history, it was always a loose conjunction of many ethnicities, and never a truly unified state. The ethnic Germans in it were a minority, and had to struggle to promote their own interests. This fact caused Hitler no end of distress; he explicitly felt more attachment to the broader German *Volk* than to the multi-ethnic state into which he was born.

As a youth, his interests tended toward the arts, painting, and history. This led to conflict with his obstinate father, who envisioned a safe, comfortable, bureaucratic career for his son. But his father's death on 3 January 1903, when Adolf was 13, allowed the young man to determine his own future. Two years later he moved to Vienna, scraping by with manual labor jobs to survive. In late 1907, his mother died. At the age of 18, he then applied to enter the Viennese arts academy in painting, but was diverted to architecture. He worked and studied for two more years, eventually becoming skilled enough to work fulltime as a draftsman and painter of watercolors.

All the while, he studied the mass of humanity around him. He read the various writings and publications of the political parties. He observed the workings of the press. He watched how unions functioned. He sat in on Parliament. He followed events in neighboring Germany. And he became intrigued by the comings and goings of one particular Viennese minority: the Jews.

Gradually he became convinced that the two dominant threats to German well-being were Marxism–a Jewish form of communism–and the international capitalist Jews. The problems were compounded by the fundamentally inept workings of a

representative democracy that tried to serve diverse ethnicities. In the end, the fine and noble concept of democracy became nothing other than a "Jewish democracy," working for the best interests of Jews instead of Austrians or Germans.

Upon turning 23 in 1912, Hitler went to Munich. It was his first extended contact with German culture, and he found it invigorating. He lived there for two years, until the outbreak of WWI in July 1914. Thrilled at the opportunity to defend the German homeland, he enlisted, serving on the Western front in Belgium. After more than 2 years of service, he was lightly wounded in October 1916 and sent back to Germany, spending some time in a reserve battalion in Munich. Appalled at both the role of Jews there and the negative public attitude, he returned to the front in March 1917.

By this time, the war had been dragging on for some two and a half years. It had effectively become a stalemate. Even the looming entrance of the Americans into the war–President Wilson would call for war the next month, and US troops would soon follow–would have little near-term effect. As Hitler explains, however, the Germans actually had reasons for optimism by late 1917. The Central Powers (primarily Germany and Austria-Hungary) had inflicted a decisive defeat on Italy in the Battle of Caporetto, and the Russians had pulled out of the war after the Bolshevik revolution, thus freeing up German troops for the Western front. Hitler recalls that his compatriots "looked forward with confidence" to the spring of 1918, when they anticipated final victory.

NOVEMBER REVOLUTION, AND A NEW MOVEMENT

But things would turn out differently. German dissatisfaction with the prolonged war effort was being fanned by Jewish activists calling for mass demonstrations, strikes, and even revolution against the Kaiser. In late January 1918 there was a large munitions strike. Various workers' actions and riots followed for months afterward. The Western front held, but Germany was

weakening internally.

In mid-October of 1918, the German front near Ypres, Belgium was hit with mustard gas. Hitler's eyes were badly affected, and he was sent to a military hospital in Pasewalk, north of Berlin. In late October, a minor naval revolt in Kiel began to spread to the wider population. Two major Jewish-led parties, the Social Democrats (SPD) and the Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD), agitated for the Kaiser to abdicate–which he did, on November 9. Jewish activists in Berlin and Munich then declared independent "soviet" states; for a detailed discussion of these events, see Dalton (2014). Germany formally capitulated on November 11. After the dust had settled, a new 'Weimar' government was formed, one that was notably sympathetic to Jewish interests.

Hearing about the revolution from his hospital bed, Hitler was devastated. All the effort and sacrifices made at the front had proven worthless. Jewish agitators in the homeland had succeeded in whipping up local dissatisfaction to the point that the Kaiser was driven from power. The revolutionaries then assumed power and immediately surrendered to the enemy. This was the infamous "stab in the back" that would haunt German nationalists for years to come. And it was the triggering event that caused Hitler to enter politics.

In September 1919, working for the government, he was assigned to follow and report on a little-known group called the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*, or German Workers' Party (DAP). He ended up joining the group, and quickly assumed a leadership role. By early 1920, Hitler's speeches were drawing hundreds or even thousands of people. On February 24, he announced that the party would henceforth be known as the National Socialist German Workers' Party, or NSDAP–'Nazi,' in the parlance of its detractors. It is with this "first great mass meeting" that Hitler closes volume one of his book.

The new movement grew rapidly. Hitler formalized his leadership in July 1921. A series of stormy and occasionally violent public events occurred in the following months. In November 1922, ideological compatriot Mussolini took power in

Italy, which served to bolster both National Socialist efforts domestically and their international reputation. It was on November 21 that the New York Times printed its first major article on Hitler: “New Popular Idol Rises in Bavaria.” Calling the Nazis “violently anti-Semitic” and “reactionary” but “well disciplined,” the NYT viewed them as "potentially dangerous, though not for the immediate future.” Indeed–it would not be for another 10 years that they would assume power in Germany.

Soon thereafter, other events would favor the National Socialists. France had occupied the Ruhr valley in January 1923, claiming a violation of Versailles; this was taken as a grave insult to German sovereignty. It was also at this time that the infamous German hyperinflation took hold, wiping out the savings of ordinary Germans and forcing them to haul around bushels of cash for even the smallest purchases. By the end of the year, Germany was in a full-blown financial crisis. This led Hitler and the NSDAP leadership to plan for a revolutionary take-over of Munich on 9 November 1923.

This attempted ‘putsch,’ or coup, would fail. In a brief shoot-out, 16 Nazis and four policemen were killed. Hitler and the other leaders were arrested within days, put on trial in February 1924, and sentenced to light prison terms. In all, Hitler spent some 13 months in confinement, obtaining release in December of that year. It was during this time that he dictated what would become volume one of his book.

Hitler reportedly wanted to call his new book, “Four and a Half Years of Struggle against Lies, Stupidity, and Cowardice.” The publisher adroitly suggested a shorter title: “My Struggle,” or *Mein Kampf* It would initially be published in July of 1925.

Hitler then began a second, shorter volume to complete his program. This appeared in December of 1926. The next year, the two volumes were slightly revised and combined into one work. This 1927 ‘second edition’ of *Mein Kampf*, published when Hitler was 38 years old, is the version used in the present translation.

CHAPTER SYNOPSES

It will be useful at this point to provide a very brief summary of the main themes of each of the 27 chapters in the book.

VOLUME ONE

Chapter 1: In My Parents' House.
Hitler's early life. Relationship with parents. Early education. Interest in history and art. Budding nationalism. Covers birth in 1889 to mother's death in late 1907, when Hitler was 18 years old.

Chapter 2: Years of Study and Suffering in Vienna.
Time alone in Vienna. Marxism and international Jewry as main threats. Assessment and critique of Viennese government. Life of the working class. Study of the Social Democratic party, and its Jewish influence. Role of unions. Burgeoning anti-Semitism. Study of the destructive role of Marxism.

Chapter 3: General Political Reflections from my Time in Vienna.
Observations on Austrian politics and representative democracy. Failings of multi-ethnic states. Critique of Western democracy. Failings of 'majority rule.' Demise of the pan-German movement. Unfortunate conflict with the Catholic Church. Anti-Semitism and religion. Covers period up to age 23 (1912).

Chapter 4: Munich.
Moves to Munich. Critique of German alliances. Four possible paths of German policy. Population growth, and the need for land. Need for alliance with England. Initial discussion of the role of Aryans. Marxism as mortal foe. Covers up to mid-1914.

Chapter 5: The World War.
Outbreak of World War One. Hitler enlists, at age 25. "Baptism by fire."

Chapter 6: War Propaganda.
Role and need for propaganda. Effective use by England; failure by Germany.

Chapter 7: The Revolution. Course of the Great War.
Wounded in late 1916. Jews and negative attitudes rampant in Munich. Munitions strike in early 1918. Poisoned by mustard gas in October 1918, at age 29. November Revolution.

Chapter 8: The Beginning of my Political Activity.
Postwar time in Munich. Need for a new party. Negative role of global capitalism.

Chapter 9: The 'German Workers' Party.'
Encounters German Workers' Party (DAP). Early meetings. Joins DAP, as member #7, at age 30.

Chapter 10: Causes of the Collapse.
Analysis of the collapse of the German Empire in 1918. Dominance of international capitalism. Effect of the press on the masses. Jewish control of press. Combating the syphilis epidemic. Cultural decay in modern art. Ineffective parliament. The army as a source of discipline.

Chapter 11: Nation and Race. Detailed racial theory.
Nature strives to improve species. Racial mixing between 'higher' and 'lower' types yields physical, moral, and cultural decay. Aryans as true founders of civilization. Aryan tendency for self-sacrifice. Aryan versus Jew. Jews as parasites. Fake Jewish 'religion.' Extended examination of "the way of Jewry"– historical, sociological, political. Marxist worldview. Jewish subversion of democracy. Ill-effects of racial impurity.

Chapter 12: The First Period of Development of the NSDAP.
Evolution of DAP. Extended discussion of the need to nationalize the masses. How to organize a party. Gaining publicity. Second major meeting in October 1919. Growing success. Rejection of 'intellectual' weapons. First truly mass meeting in February 1920. Transition to NSDAP.

VOLUME TWO

Chapter 1: Worldview and Party.
Corruption of democracy.

Concept of ‘folkish.’ Transforming ideals into practice. Marxism pushes race equality. State must serve racial function: to promote the best.

Chapter 2: The State.
Three conventional concepts of state. State as means to end: advancing human race. Must maintain racial integrity. Strong minorities end up ruling. Racial mixing leads to decay. State must promote healthy children. Basic eugenic theory. Folkish education, for physical, mental, and moral strength. Promote willpower, determination, responsibility. Meritocracy.

Chapter 3: Subjects and Citizens.
Citizenship based on race. Three classes: citizen, subject, foreigner.

Chapter 4: Personality and the Folkish Concept of the State.
Aristocratic principle. Value of the individual. Marxism promotes mass thinking. Government rule by the best individuals, not majority.

Chapter 5: Worldview and Organization.
Need for an uncompromising worldview. Need for decisive leadership. 25-point NSDAP program is unshakable. Only NSDAP is truly folkish.

Chapter 6: Early Struggle-Significance of Speech.
NSDAP must dominate mass opinion. Must fight against common views. Brest-Litovsk and Versailles. Importance of spoken word. Marxism flourished with speeches. Need for mass meetings.

Chapter 7: Wrestling with the Red Front.
Resumes autobiography, from early 1920. Lame bourgeois mass meetings. Need for publicity. Control of mass meetings. Violent protests. Party flag and symbol: swastika. First use in summer 1920. Party strength by early 1921. Mass meeting 3 Feb at Circus Krone. Attempted disruption.

Chapter 8: The Strong One is Most Powerful Alone.
Right of priority. Many folkish movements. Futility of compromise and coalition.

Chapter 9: Basic Ideas on the Meaning and Organization of the SA.
Three pillars of authority. In warfare, survival of the inferior. Deserters and Jewish revolutionaries in November 1918. Bourgeois capitulation. Need for a great ideal. Creation of the SA (storm troops). NSDAP is neither secret nor illegal. SA as trained fighters. March to Coburg in Oct 1922. French occupation of the Ruhr.

Chapter 10: Federalism as a Mask.
War industries in World War I. Bavaria versus Prussia as diversion. Kurt Eisner, Jewish. revolutionary. Growth of anti-Semitism from 1918. Catholic versus Protestant as diversion. Federation versus unification. Opposition to Jewish Weimar.

Chapter 11: Propaganda and Organization.
Role of propaganda. Supporters and members. Need for restricted growth. Leadership principle versus majority rule. Acquisition of *Völkischer Beobachter*. Building the party. Dissolution on 9 Nov 1923.

Chapter 12: The Trade Union Question.
Question of trade unions. Necessity of unions. NSDAP must form a union. Union in service to the people. Priority of worldview.

Chapter 13: Post-war German Alliance Policy.
Foreign policy as means for promoting national interest. Unification of German people. England against Germany. France against England. Need for alliance with England and Italy. Jews seek world conquest, racial contamination. Question of South Tyrol. Jews oppose German-Italian alliance. Only fascist Italy is opposing Jews. Jews gain power in America.

Chapter 14: Eastern Orientation or Eastern Policy.
Russia policy is foremost. Top priority: need for land, living space. Victory goes to the strong. No colonies, but only an expanded Reich. Look to the East. Russia is ruled by Jews, cannot be an ally. Only possible alliances: England and Italy.

Chapter 15: The Right to Self-Defense.

German submission. Locarno Treaty as further submission. France seeks to dismember Germany. War with France is inevitable. France occupies Ruhr, opposes England. Must confront and destroy Marxism. Failure of Cuno's passive resistance.

Even this concise summary demonstrates the controversial nature of the text.

PREVIOUS ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

For the first several years of its existence, there was no real need for English publishers to produce a translation of Mein Kampf. The National Socialist movement was small, limited more or less to Bavaria. It had little prospect for growth or real power. There was simply not much interest in an obscure Bavarian politician.

All this changed when the Nazis rose to national prominence in the 1930s. Suddenly there was a need to understand this man Hitler. A British translator, Edgar Dugdale, undertook the initial effort to produce an English version in 1931. It seems that he may have had ulterior motives; his wife, it turns out, was a noted Zionist who was active with major British Jewish groups at the time (see Barnes 1980: 4). The book ended up as a highly abridged edition, covering only some 40 percent of the full text. It was eventually published in England by Hurst & Blackett, and in the US by Houghton-Miftlin, in late 1933.

In 1936, the German government decided that they would sponsor their own, complete English translation. They hired a British writer and journalist, James Murphy. There not yet having been a second world war, and the worst excesses of Nazism still in the future, Murphy was inclined to produce a favorable and sympathetic translation. Apart from the present new effort, his is the only such sympathetic work in existence. Unfortunately, there was a falling out with Nazi officials and Murphy was discharged sometime in 1938, his project incomplete. Through some obscure process, the Germans completed Murphy's draft version on their own, and published it in the late 1930s. Today this is known as the Stalag edition, and is currently available in print in two forms: one

by Ostara Publications, and one by Elite Minds (the "official Nazi English translation"). To call this version 'unpolished' is an understatement; more below.

By 1939, four new versions had appeared. After his dismissal, Murphy returned to England and revised and completed his translation, which was published by Hurst & Blackett. This is 'the' Murphy translation; it is widely available on the Internet, and through various reprints. Under the Hutchinson imprint, the Murphy translation was republished in 1969 with a lengthy and hostile introduction by British historian D.C. Watt.

Secondly, the British firm Reyna! & Hitchcock enlisted a team of people, headed by Alvin Johnson, to do their own translation. It was notably hostile to the content of the book and the National Socialist movement generally. Barnes (1980: 85), for example, cites one knowledgeable source: "Alvin Johnson…was an ardent opponent of Adolf Hitler."

Third, an American publisher, Stackpole Sons, produced a version under the direction of a Jewish editor, William Soskin. They hired a Jewish socialist, Ludwig Lore, to write the preface. Unsurprisingly, this too was a hostile effort. Soskin was successfully sued by Houghton-Mifflin for copyright infringement, and production was halted after only a few months.

The final work of 1939 was a second abridgment, produced by American journalist–and future senator–Alan Cranston. Cranston was also sued; he too lost, but not before allegedly selling several hundred thousand copies.

Dissatisfied with the abridged Dugdale translation, Houghton-Mifflin embarked on a new, full translation, entrusted to Jewish-German writer Ralph Manheim. They also solicited a short introduction by a Jewish-German journalist, Konrad Heiden. As expected, it was another blatantly hostile production. The book appeared in 1943, and has been continuously in print since then. To the present day, the Manheim version functions as the 'official' translation of *Mein Kampf*, it is the one quoted by nearly all academics and journalists. The latest Houghton edition, issued in 1998, includes an introduction by notorious Jewish Zionist Abraham Foxman. Clearly, little has changed in the intervening

years.

For several decades, these were the extant English translations. Then in 2009, an unknown businessman, Michael Ford, produced his own self-published translation through Elite Minds. This edition has several shortcomings, as explained below.

Something of the flavor of these efforts can be seen in the very first words of the book. In the present translation, Chapter 1 is titled "In My Parents' House." (Original: *Im Elternhaus*.) The first sentence: "I consider it most fortunate today that destiny selected Braunau-on-the-Inn to be my birthplace." (Als glückliche Bestimmung gilt es mir heute, dass das Schicksal mir zum Geburtsort gerade Braunau am Inn zuwies.) By contrast, the table below gives the chapter title and the first few words, in the various translations.

TRANSLATION	CHAPTER 1	INITIAL WORDS
Dugdale	My Home	It stands me in good stead today that Fate…
Johnson	At Home	Today I consider it my good fortune that Fate…
Murphy ('Stalag')	My Home	To-day I consider it a good omen that destiny…
Murphy ('standard')	In the Home of my Parents	It has turned out fortunate for me to-day that destiny…
Manheim	In the House of my Parents	Today it seems to me providential that Fate…
Soskin	Childhood Home	Today I regard it as a happy change that Fate…
Ford	Childhood Home	Today, I am pleased that Fate chose the city…

The variability of even this simple leading sentence is striking. One can imagine the issues involved with the many more complicated thoughts that follow.

WHY A NEW TRANSLATION?

As it happens, every one of the previous translations has major problems and disadvantages, for a modem English reader.

The two primary versions–Murphy and Manheim–are written in the style of early 20th century British writers. They use a wide array of archaic 'British-isms' and British spellings that make reading awkward. Worse, they attempt to follow too literally Hitler's original style. Like most Germans of the time, Hitler wrote long sentences, fashioned into long, complex paragraphs. Manheim follows this style religiously, to the detriment of the reader; Murphy at least occasionally breaks up long sentences into more readable segments.

Worst of all, both major translations are simply poor efforts. They do not read well. One repeatedly encounters passages that are awkward, incoherent, or incomprehensible. There is little of the fluidity and lyrical power of the German original. For his part, Murphy takes a considerable amount of 'translator's license,' interjecting unwarranted terminology and wording, or simply leaving things out. Manheim is more literal, but in the end is scarcely more readable. The reader simply needs to scan a sampling of either text to understand the situation.

This is unfortunate, to say the least. It is almost as if the publishers intended, or at least preferred, that the translations be difficult to read. Certainly this limits the circulation of Hitler's ideas, and makes it easier to dismiss them–a convenient situation, for the book's many critics.

With the exception of Murphy, all of the standard editions betray their intentions with aggressive, hostile, and slanderous comments in their introductions. Consider this selection of remarks:

Johnson: Hitler is "no artist in literary expression," and "often

indifferent to grammar and syntax." The book is "a propagandistic essay by a violent partisan" that "warps historical truth" or "ignores it completely." Hitler's discussions on race can be safely dismissed, because "the greatest anthropologists of the 20th century are agreed that 'race' is a practically meaningless word."

Lore: "I cannot conceive of any book of which I more positively disapprove." The book has an "atrocious style" and "countless contradictions." In essence, it is "an outpouring of willful perversion, clumsy forgery, vitriolic hatred, and violent denunciation."

Manheim: Hitler is a "paranoiac" who offers us "disjointed facts" and "largely unintelligible flights of Wagnerian fantasy." He creates "a dreamworld," one "without color and movement."

Heiden: Mein Kampf was written "in white-hot hatred." It is "ill-founded, undocumented, and badly written." "The book may well be called a kind of satanic Bible."

Watt: The book is "lengthy, dull, bombastic, repetitious and extremely badly written." "Most of its statements of fact…are demonstrably untrue." It yields "an intolerably prolix German style and a total lack of any intellectual precision." As a work of political philosophy, "it has no claims whatever to be taken seriously." Hitler's racial theory–a "mystical racist mumbo-jumbo of Aryanism"–is a "revolting mixture of pseudo-science and bogus historicism." The work is self-consistent, but this only betrays "the terrible consistency of the insane." In the end, Hitler is nothing more than a "master of the inept, the undigested, the half-baked and the untrue."

Foxman: Hitler's "theories have long since been discredited." The book is "a work of ugliness and depravity." It is "unreliable as a source of historical data," full of "lies, omissions, and half-truths." The book's "atrocious style, puerile digressions, and narcissistic self-absorption" are obvious. Its theories are "extremist, immoral,

and seem to promise war." Hitler's "lunatic plan" is "absurd" and even "comical." All in all, "a ridiculous tract."

Any translator, editor, or publisher who would include such words can hardly be trusted to do an honest job. The intent to bias the reader is plain. Certainly there is no concern here for the author to obtain a fair and objective reading. In fact, precisely the opposite.

The recent Ford translation, while not overtly hostile, has several other major flaws. Ford has no discernible credentials, no publishing record, nor any documented history with such academic works. His 'in text' notes are awkward and distracting. The book includes many amateurish and cartoonish 'photos.' There is no index. And his so-called publishing house, Elite Minds, appears to be some kind of environmental group that focuses on the ecology of sharks, of all things. This is unfortunate; the last thing the public needs is another misleading, ill-conceived, and unqualified version of *Mein Kampf*.

The 'Nazi' or 'Stalag' edition of Murphy has its own problems. The version published by Elite Minds claims to be authentic, which means that they retained all the original flaws of grammar, punctuation, and spelling. The result is nearly unreadable. The Ostara edition fixes many of these problems, but still reads poorly. It does break up the long paragraphs, but to an extreme degree; one typically finds single-sentence paragraphs, as in a newspaper. This move destroys all flow and connection of ideas. And neither version has an index or explanatory footnotes.

BENEFITS OF THE NEW TRANSLATION

The present work addresses and resolves many of these unfortunate drawbacks.

Section headings have been added, in text, in bold. The German original employed such headings, but only at the top of each page. The reader thus never knew where a new section actually began. These headings have been translated and inserted at the appropriate points, directly in the text. This simple change greatly

improves readability, by clearly organizing the narrative and breaking up long textual passages.

Much emphasis has been placed here on readability, without sacrificing accuracy. The English text reads smoothly and naturally. Also, numerous contractions have been employed: it's, I'm, isn't, and so on. This again improves readability, and more closely matches the first-person 'dictation' style of the original.

Finally, the book has helpful and relevant footnotes and a bibliography of relevant secondary source material.

SOME CONTENTIOUS TOPICS

It goes without saying that this book is controversial. In fact, it may well be named as the single most controversial book in history. As such, the typical person is more or less guaranteed to get a slanted and biased account of it, if he knows much about it at all. And this is the first point of note: few people, even the so-called experts, really know what's in this book. Even highly educated people can tell you almost nothing about it. They will recognize the title and author, of course, and perhaps know roughly when it was written. But little more. The book has been functionally censored in the West for decades. And when academics or journalists are compelled to address it, it is always in slanderous and defamatory terms. This is the clearest demonstration that something important is happening in this text– something that most would rather leave unknown.

Of Hitler's many controversial statements and topics, four subjects warrant a brief mention here: National Socialism, race theory, religion, and the Jews.

Of the many simplistic and overused hyperboles in the modem lexicon, the use of 'Nazi' surely ranks among the worst. It's a crude and almost comical synonym for evil, hateful, cruel, tyrannical, and so on. This is consistent with the general demonization of everything Hitler.

'Nazi' is, of course, an abbreviation for National Socialist (*Nationalsozialist*). It was prompted by an earlier term, 'Sozi,' which was short for *Sozialdemokrat,* referring to the Social

Democrat party that had been in existence since the mid-1800s. Hitler and colleagues rarely used 'Nazi,' generally viewing it as derogatory–although Goebbels did write an essay and short book titled The Nazi-Sozi.

As an ideology, National Socialism is utterly misunderstood. In fact, surprisingly, many people around the world today implicitly endorse some form of it. Take socialism. Most European countries, and many others globally, are some form of socialist. Socialism–loosely defined as government control and oversight of at least certain key portions of the economic sector–stands in contrast to free market capitalism, in which for-profit corporations control such things. Suffice it to say that socialism is a respected political and economic system around the globe.

Nationalism places high priority on the well-being of the nation-state and its traditional residents. It is inward-looking, rather than outward. It tends toward economic independence and autonomy rather than globalization and inter-connectedness. It typically supports and strengthens the dominant ethnicity and culture, and devalues that of minorities. This, too, is hardly controversial; there are strong nationalist movements in many countries around the world today.

As it happens, the United States is neither nationalist nor socialist. Thus, its media and its economic and political elite tend to dismiss or abuse both of these concepts. Americans are functionally brainwashed to believe that socialism is evil–witness the mindless attacks against President Obama in recent years–and that nationalism is the hallmark of crude and primitive autocrats, and racist as well. This fact is revealing; American power elite want no one to get the idea that anything like nationalism or socialism–or, God forbid, national socialism-should become a credible ideology.

Now, it is true that Hitler's form of national socialism went further than these basic concepts. It explicitly targeted Marxists, Jews, and global capitalists as enemies of the German people. It also. sought to replace representative democracy with a more efficient and accountable centralized governance. Hitler had rational arguments for all these issues, as he explains in his book.

In fact, the formal declaration of the National Socialist system-as stated in Hitler's "25 points" (shown in Appendix A)–is remarkably progressive and, dare we say, tame. They call for equal rights (points 2 and 9). They give citizens the right to select the laws and governmental structure (6). They abolish war-profiteering (12). They call for corporate profit-sharing with employees (14). They support retirement pensions, a strong middle class, free higher education, public health, maternity welfare, and religious freedom, including explicit support for "a positive Christianity" (15, 16, 20, 21, 24, respectively).

On the 'down' side, only a relative few points appear threatening or aggressive. They grant citizenship only to ethnic Germans, explicitly denying it to Jews (4). They block further immigration, and compel recent immigrants to leave (8). They seek to prohibit all financial speculation in land (17). They call for a death penalty against "traitors, usurers, and profiteers" (18). They demand that the German-language press be controlled only by ethnic Germans–without restricting press in other languages (23). And they call for "a strong central authority in the state" (25).

As anti-Semitic as Hitler was, it is surprising how lightly the Jews get off. They are banned from citizenship, and therefore from any role in government or the press. Recent (since August 1914) Jewish immigrants, like all immigrants, must leave. And the National Socialist view of religious freedom "fights against the Jewish materialist spirit" (24). But no threats to imprison or kill Jews. Longtime Jewish residents can stay in the country. No confiscation of wealth, with the stated exceptions. And certainly nothing that sounds like a looming 'Holocaust.'

In sum, Hitler's 'Nazism' is essentially the product of German nationalism and progressive socialism, combined with a mild form of anti-Semitism. Hardly the embodiment of evil.

RACIAL THEORY

Mein Kampf contains numerous references to 'blood' (*Blut*) and 'race' (*Rasse*). This is always portrayed in the worst possible terms, as some kind of demonic, hate-filled, blind racism. But we

must first realize that such talk was commonplace in the early 20th century; Hitler's terminology, though odd-sounding today, was actually quite conventional at the time. Not being a scientist, and few having much understanding of genetics at the time, it is understandable that he would employ such widely-used terms.

Therefore, a literal interpretation of such words is misleading. In modem terminology, Hitler's 'race' is better viewed as 'ethnicity.' He was more an *ethnicist* than a racist. His call for justice for the "German race" is really on behalf of ethnic Germans-the Volk. Thus understood, his view is much less threatening than commonly portrayed. Yes, he viewed ethnic Germans as superior. Yes, he wanted the best for his people. Yes, he was not much interested in the welfare of minorities or other nationalities. This is hardly a sin. Many people around the world today fight for precisely such things, for their own ethnicities. And they are right to do so.

Even today, it is reasonable and appropriate to discuss issues of race. It is a relevant term in biological taxonomy, indicating the highest-level sub-grouping within the species Homo sapiens. By some accounts, there are three races: White/Caucasian, Black/Negroid, and Mongoloid/Asian. Within each race, we have the various ethnicities–of which there are some 5,000 worldwide.

By this measure, Hitler cared little about race. He made a few dismissive comments about Blacks, but nothing that wasn't standard at the time. He actually admired certain people of the Asian race, especially the Japanese. But his primary concern was among the various White ethnicities. He sought a position of strength and influence for ethnic Germans; he sought alliances with ethnic Britons; and he sought to oppose ethnic Jews. He was an ethnicist, not a racist.

Then there is Hitler's infamous talk of 'Aryan.' Apart from passing mention elsewhere in the book, it is discussed in detail only in chapter 11. While there is no talk of any 'superman'–no reference to Nietzsche's *Übermensch*, for example-it is clear that Hitler views the Aryan as the highest human type, the greatest ethnicity, mover and creator of civilization. Notably, he never defines Aryan. Rather, we learn only what the Aryan is *not*: he is

not Black, not Oriental, and certainly not Jewish. The Jew is the anti-Aryan, his dark and corrupting counterpart. The Aryan builds, the Jew destroys. The Aryan produces, the Jew consumes. The Aryan is idealistic, the Jew materialistic.

In the end, the Aryan is distinguished not by his superior intelligence, nor his great creativity, but mainly by his altruism: the Aryan is a self-sacrificing person, more willing than any others to work on behalf of society. Thus he builds civilization and culture, and spreads it to the world. Non-Aryans, to the extent that they have a culture, get it from the Aryans, even as they customize it to their own needs. But the original source and sustainer is the self-sacrificing Aryan.

The word 'Aryan' has an interesting origin, incidentally, and it has nothing to do with Hitler or the Germans. It comes from the Sanskrit *arya*, meaning 'noble.' It originally referred to the people and language that moved into India from the north, around 1500 BC. In the Indian caste system, the Aryans became the Brahmans– the highest and noblest caste. It was they who cultivated the Sanskrit language, and ultimately developed Indian culture. And a final point of interest: Those immigrants from the north came from the region that is known today as the Iranian plateau. In fact, the word 'Iran' derives directly from 'Aryan'; the Iranians were the original Aryans.

Not being a scholar of ancient history, and having no Internet at hand, Hitler knew little of all this. He simply picked up on prior German and European usage. In fact, talk of Aryans as a superior race predated Hitler by several decades. It was a main theme of Frenchman Arthur de Gobineau's book *Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races*, of 1855. And it was prominent in Briton-turned-German author Houston Chamberlain's book *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, published in 1899. By the time Hitler cited the term, it was old hat.

ON RELIGION

Among other calumnies, Hitler is often portrayed as a godless atheist, a devil worshipper, the antichrist, or some kind of

maniacal pagan. In fact he was none of these.

Rather, Hitler was broadly supportive of Christianity. He called it "the Religion of Love," and referred to Jesus, indirectly, as its "sublime founder" (volume 1, chapter 8). He argued that the masses are not and cannot be philosophical; their ethics must come from traditional religious sources. And he believed in separation of church and state: "political parties have no right to meddle in religious questions" (chapter 10). In chapter 11, he condemned the Jews because they mock religion, and portray ethics and morality as "antiquated sentiment."

His view on God is quite intriguing. Frequently he refers to a kind of cosmic deity or divine power, but in a variety of unconventional terms. We find many references, for example, to Schicksal-fate or destiny. In chapter 5 we read of the "Goddess of Destiny" (*Schicksalgöttin*). in chapter 7 he writes of "Providence" (Vorsehung), "Doom" or "Fate" (*Verhängnis*), and "the Lord" (*Herrn*). Elsewhere we find reference to "Chance" (*Zufall*) and ""the eternal Creator".(*ewigen Schöpfer*). Volume one closes with a reference to "the Goddess of Inexorable Vengeance" (*die Göttin der unerbittlichen Rache*). These are not mere metaphors. It seems to be a kind of recognition of higher powers in the cosmos, but not those of traditional religions.

In the end, Hitler was most appalled by crude materialism: the quest for money and material power. This view has no concept of idealism, no notion of spirituality, no vision of higher powers in the universe. Materialism was the essence of both Marxism and capitalism–and both were embodied in the Jew. That's why these things are the mortal enemy of anyone seeking higher aims in life.

Hitler himself was no fan of religious dogma, but seems to have envisioned a future that moved toward a new kind of spirituality, one aligned with the workings of nature. We may perhaps best view him as a 'spiritual but not religious' sort of person–a view that is notably widespread today.

ON THE JEWS

If nothing else, Hitler is inevitably depicted as a confessed anti-Semite and Jew-hater. We should be clear: this is absolutely true. There are many lies spread about Hitler, but this is not one of them. The key is understanding why he held this view.

In the second half of chapter 2, he describes in striking detail his gradual discovery of the role and effect of Jews in society. He recalls that, as a youth, he had known only one Jewish boy, but had no particular feelings toward him one way or the other. He hadn't even heard them discussed much until his mid-teens, and then only in a vaguely negative political context. When he moved to Vienna at age 15, he encountered a city of 2 million that was 10 percent Jewish. At first, he barely noticed them. When he did, he viewed them as representatives of a rather strange religion, but since he was generally tolerant of religious diversity, he gave them little thought. He was initially put off by the "anti-Semitic" press. As he says, "on grounds of human tolerance, I opposed the idea that [the Jew] should be attacked because he had a different faith."

But then Hitler began to pay attention to the mainstream press. They were informative and liberal, but yet often flamboyant and garish. They seemed anxious to curry favor with the corrupt monarchy. And they were uniformly critical of the German Kaiser and his people. He noticed that some of the anti-Semitic papers were actually more skeptical of Viennese authority, and more open-minded regarding the Germans. At the same time, he realized that the Jews were more numerous than he previously believed. In fact, certain districts of Vienna were 50 percent Jewish, or more. And they all seemed to endorse a strange ideology: Zionism.

Furthermore, they were visually and physically repellent. Their black caftans and braided hair locks looked comical. They had their own odd concept of 'cleanliness': "That they were not water-lovers was obvious upon first glance." They smelled bad: "The odor of those people in caftans often made me sick to my stomach." This was topped off by "the unkempt clothes and the generally ignoble appearance." All in all, a sorry sight.

Worst of all, hidden away inside, was their "moral rot." Jews seemed to be involved in all manner of shady, unethical, and illegal activities. Hitler began to study the situation in more detail. "The fact was that 90 percent of all the filthy literature, artistic trash, and theatrical idiocy had to be charged to the account of a people who formed scarcely one percent of the nation. This fact could not be denied." Pornography, lewd art and theater, prostitution, human trafficking…all could be tied to the Jews.

The famed mainstream Viennese press, Hitler discovered, was almost completely a Jewish enterprise. Jewish writers repeatedly praised Jewish actors, authors, and businessmen. People, events, and policies favorable to Jews were lauded, and those that were disadvantageous were condemned. Even the dominant political party, the Social Democrats, was found to be led by Jews. Upon this realization, says Hitler, "the scales fell from my eyes." The whole pattern came together: a Jewish press supporting a Jewish political system, even as other Jews profited from the moral corruption of the people. Profit and power at all cost; lies and deceit without compunction; and an utter lack of concern for fairness, democracy, human welfare, or even human decency. "I gradually came to hate them," he said.

Considered globally, the situation was even worse. Marxism–the product of a Jew, Karl Marx–was promulgated by Jews in Europe and around the world. It sought to dominate and control both human and natural realms. It sought to level all social differences, thereby subverting the natural order in which the truly best people rightly flourish. In essence, it was a teaching and a means by which Jews could ruthlessly assume control of entire nations. Once that happened, thousands or even millions of natives would die. The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia was proof enough.

In other parts of Europe, the dominant ideology was capitalism. Here, money ruled. Here, the bankers and corporate moguls dictated even to kings. Markets must be opened, international trade promoted, and loans used to extract wealth from the masses. And when these titans of capital were investigated, they were found to be, more often than not, Jews.

For Hitler, these realizations were devastating. The recognition of the insidious role of the Jews was "the greatest inner revolution that I had yet experienced." Indeed: "From being a soft-hearted cosmopolitan, I became an out-and-out anti-Semite." No hidden views here.

Hitler's conversion to anti-Semitism was remarkable. In contrast to the common view, it was neither arbitrary nor irrational. He was not a born Jew-hater. It was a step-by-step process, taken over a long period of time, and based on actual data and observations about the real world. His was a *rational* anti-Semitism. Any person of dignity and self-respect, anyone with a concern for human life, anyone committed to the integrity of the natural world, will of necessity be an anti-Semite. In their ruthless pursuit of their own self-interest, Jews become the enemy of all mankind. Anyone not recognizing this fact–and acting accordingly–is a fool.

The modem person today winces at such talk. "A monster!" we say. "Hate speech!" "The devil!" And yet, these are not rational responses. The modem man is conditioned to say such things. We must be objective here. Hitler was not inventing facts. His observations were largely true, even if he had no access to formal data or statistics. Jews did dominate in Vienna, and even more so in Germany. Consider the following numbers, cited by orthodox researcher Sarah Gordon (1984: 8-15):

> The reader may be surprised to learn that Jews were never a large percentage of the total German population; at no time did they exceed 1.09 percent of the population during the years 1871 to 1933…[In spite of this, Jews] were overrepresented in business, commerce, and public and private service…Within the fields of business and commerce, Jews…represented 25 percent of all individuals employed in retail business and handled 25 percent of total sales…;they owned 41 percent of iron and scrap iron firms and 57 percent of other metal businesses….Jews were [also] prominent in private banking under both Jewish and non-Jewish ownership or control. They were especially visible in private banking in Berlin, which in

1923 had 150 private (versus state) Jewish banks, as opposed to only 11 private non-Jewish banks….

This trend held true in the academic and cultural spheres as well: "Jews were overrepresented among university professors and students between 1870 and 1933….[A]lmost 19 percent of the instructors in Germany were of Jewish origin .... Jews were also highly active in the theater, the arts, film, and journalism. For example, in 1931, 50 percent of the 234 theater directors in Germany were Jewish, and in Berlin the number was 80 percent…" Hitler was not imaging things.

Furthermore, Jews did in fact curry favor with the monarchy when it was in their interest, but they were quick to revolt if that could yield a greater gain. Jewish Marxists had succeeded in Russia, and were prominent in the November Revolution in Germany, making them responsible, in part, for Germany's defeat in WWI. In sum, Jews were eager to profit by any means possible: war, corruption, immorality, exploitation, deception. And they were, for the most part, fanatical Zionists: committed to creating a Jewish state in Palestine, and willing to do whatever it took to achieve this.

The facts are what they are. We can pretend they don't exist, but then we only deceive ourselves. Worse: we surrender our future to ruthless Jews, who are only too happy to manipulate and exploit. A nation's failure to appreciate the profound importance of 'the Jewish Question' can only lead to its downfall. Chapter 11 of the first volume includes a lengthy and detailed analysis of precisely this situation.

What to do? For Hitler, there was only one logical conclusion: Drive them out. This meant pushing them out of society, out of the economy, and restoring control of the media and government to non-Jews. It meant creating a *Judenrein*, or Jew-free, society, one that was free from internal and external manipulation by Jewish interests. This, in fact, was Hitler's conclusion years before he began *Mein Kampf* In late 1919, as he was just becoming acquainted with the DAP party, he wrote a letter to one of his

officers regarding how to respond to the Jewish question. This striking early letter concludes as follows:

Rational anti-Semitism…must lead to a systematic and legal struggle against, and eradication of, the privileges the Jews enjoy over the other foreigners living among us (Alien Laws). Its final objective, however, must be the total removal of all Jews (*die Entfernung der Juden überhaupt*) from our midst. Both objectives can only be achieved by a government of national strength, never by a government of national impotence. (in Maser 1974: 215)

His view did not change in *Mein Kampf*, nor evidently anytime later in his life. His solution was always the same: drive them out. Total removal. Ruthlessly if necessary, but out they must go.

Here is an important point, however: With one minor exception, Hitler never called for killing the Jews. Though his terminology shifted over time, his words always referred to some form of removal. Jews should be "deported," "expelled," "rooted out." Their role and their power in the German Reich must be "destroyed" or "liquidated." But explicit words like 'killing,' 'shooting,' 'murder,' 'gassing,' virtually never appear in his speeches, writings, or even private conversations. Even the hostile commentator Ian Kershaw had to admit as much, at least regarding the public addresses: "An explicit call to murder [Jews] can be found in no…speech" (1998: 650). Kershaw fails to inform the reader, though, that the same holds for Hitler's writings and conversations.

The one exception is at the very end of *Mein Kampf* There were about 600,000 Jews in Germany at the start of WWI, a war that ended in the deaths of over 2 million Germans. Hitler argues that killing "12 or 15 thousand Hebrew corrupters" at the start of the war, by the same poison gas that fell on the German troops in the battlefield, would have spared a million lives and led to German victory. Not all the Jews, or even most of them; just one or two percent would have sufficed, to subvert their pernicious aims. But this seems to be his last such reference, in any documented writing or speech. In a sense, this exception proves the rule: If Hitler had

wanted to speak of killing the Jews, he surely would have. Since we find no such talk after 1925–even during the war–we must assume that he in fact never intended their deaths.

The two most contentious words that Hitler used regarding the Jews were *ausrotten* and *vernichten*. English sources always translate these as intent to "exterminate," "destroy," or "annihilate" the Jews; but this is another deception. None of his actual words demands mass killing-or even any killing at all. If the Jews have been driven out of Germany, they have indeed been 'exterminated' (lit. 'driven beyond the border'). If their control over the economy has been terminated, their power has indeed been 'annihilated,' or 'brought to nothing.' If Jewish society has been removed, it may rightly be said to have been 'destroyed' (lit. 'un-built' or 'deconstructed'). Hitler's tough talk was never any different than that of any world leader when confronting a mortal enemy. President Obama often spoke of "destroying" the "cancer" of the Islamic State, but no one accused him of attempted genocide.

Thus, we find no talk of mass murder, extermination camps, genocide, or anything like this in *Mein Kampf* Hitler's opponents search in vain for signs of an impending 'Holocaust.' The reader is invited to do the same. It is simply not there–much to the chagrin of his critics.

From all this, it should be clear that Hitler had only one real enemy in the Jews. He was not some all-purpose hater of humanity. He disliked the French, respected the British and Americans, and sympathized with the Russians, but didn't hate them. Even the lesser races were never a target of contempt, but rather, if anything, pity. Today we are under the impression that, in 1940, the entire world quivered at the thought of a Nazi takeover. But this was never more than trumped-up propaganda.

In short, *unless you were a Jew, you had nothing to fear*. Whites had nothing to fear–unless they allowed themselves to be ruled by Jewish Marxists or Jewish capitalists. Hispanics, Blacks, and Orientals, though of lower status, had nothing to fear. France and England had nothing to fear–until *they* declared war on Germany. America never had anything to fear–until Roosevelt and his

Jewish advisors made the unwise decision to harass Germany and Japan into conflict. It was always and only the Jews who were his enemy.

From the Jewish perspective, of course, this is the ultimate evil: a man who seeks to destroy Jewish power, confiscate their obscene wealth, and create a Jew-free society. Should he succeed, and should his new society flourish, it would mean catastrophe for Jews worldwide. People everywhere would see the pernicious result of Jewish control. People everywhere might also attempt to regain their own self-determination, drive out their own Jews, and create their own flourishing society. And that would be the end of Jewish power globally. For the Jews, this is a nightmare scenario. Thus they use all their might to oppose it.

This is why *Mein Kampf* is so dangerous.

HITLER'S LEGACY

Hitler had a great and noble vision for his German people. He desperately wanted them to assume their rightful place in the world, and to set an example for all those who aspired to something better than a crude material existence. By contrast, the social vision of virtually every other world leader pales to insignificance. The ideals of Bush, Blair, Cameron, Sarkozy, Hollande, Merkel, Obama, Trump…these are bad jokes, at best. But this is what we must expect, given their obeisance to Jewish interests.

Hitler had concrete goals in mind for his nation, and concrete plans to get there. He faced three fundamental challenges: (1) to restore the economy, (2) to achieve security and independence by becoming a world power, and (3) to create an idealistic, uplifting, and sustainable German society. He put his plan into action as soon as he came to power in 1933. And it worked. It worked so well that a beleaguered, beaten–down, hyperinflated, emasculated German nation rose up to become a world power with astonishing speed. Consider: After just three years, Hitler's Germany had conquered inflation, driven down unemployment, and put industry back to work–all in the midst of a global depression. After six

years, it was a world power. After eight years, his nation was so powerful that it took the combined effort of virtually the rest of the world to defeat it.

The first two aspects of his plan were attained. But the rest of the world, driven by Jewish hatred, jealousy, and spite, could not bear this, and so they sought to crush him and his German nation–which they did. The real tragedy of Hitler's story is that he never had time to tackle his third great challenge: to create a flourishing German society. Sadly, we will never know the long–term consequences of National Socialism, or whether a truly great society could have been constructed.

But what about the Holocaust? What about the death camps and gas chambers? Isn't this the terrible, inevitable outcome of Hitler's warped vision?

Here we have perhaps the greatest deception of all. In order to show the world the horrible outcome of a potent anti-Semitism, a tale of monumental human disaster had to be constructed. Once constructed, it then had to be promoted and sustained. The undeniable and tragic death of several hundred thousand Jews–which included many deaths by old age, disease, injury, suicide, and in combat situations–would have to become "6 million." Tough talk against Jews, aimed at driving them out of Germany, would have to become "euphemisms for mass murder." Rooms designed to disinfest clothing and bedding against disease-carrying lice would have to become "homicidal gas chambers." Hundreds of thousands of Jewish bodies would have to be burned down to ash, and then made to completely vanish. Transit camps constructed to move Jews out of the Reich–Treblinka, Belzec, Sobibor–would have to become "extermination camps" designed for mass-murder; and with diesel engine exhaust, no less. And a forced labor camp in which thousands of Jews died from typhus–Auschwitz–would have to become "the greatest death camp of all time."

Clearly there is much more to be said here. For those interested readers, sources such as Dalton (2014b, 2015) or Rudolf (2011) are recommended. Suffice to say that the Holocaust, as commonly portrayed, is an unsubstantiated, unwarranted, and unjustified

exaggeration of epic proportions. Nearly every aspect of the story crumbles as soon as it is put to the test. The alleged horror of the Holocaust becomes, in the end, a story of the dismantling and expulsion of one particular minority community that held disproportionate power in a nation that did not want them, and that bore disproportionate guilt for that nation's misfortunes. That they themselves should have suffered as a result is unsurprising.

READING *MEIN KAMPF*

Two final things should be kept in mind by any contemporary reader of this book. First, the obvious point: *the writer did not know the future*. It is very difficult for us, knowing history, to imagine these words being written by a 38-year-old leader of a minor political party who could not have known what was to come. Hitler had visions, ideas, expectations–which turned out to be stunningly accurate. His powers of perception and foresight were astonishing. And yet for him, at the time, they were just thoughts of a possible future. He believed that his NSDAP party would grow to dominate Germany–and it did. He believed that he could restore greatness to a shattered nation–and he did. Conflict with Russia, France, and England; tackling the 'Jewish Question'; a reinvigorated cultural and spiritual life–all these came about, more or less as he anticipated. And the engine behind these events was just as he envisioned: sheer force of will, by a single man.

Did he foresee a world united against him? The loss of some 4 million German lives? His own premature death? Apparently not. But surely he must have known that such things were possible. In a world of perpetual struggle, no victories are guaranteed. Success is always ephemeral. Striving for greatness always entails great risk. And yet the alternative is worse- to sink into a miasmatic existence, a placid and tepid peace, in which the global capitalists or communists invade the body politic and drain it of all higher and nobler aims.

Mein Kampf is a remarkable anticipation of things to come. Hitler's vision and worldview were realized more quickly than even he could have thought possible. This is tangible proof of the

power of ideas to remake the world, when accompanied by a sense of greatness and higher purpose. Such things are utterly lacking in the world today, and thus they seem strange, odd, and even frightening to us. We forget that, for much of our history, they were the very means by which nations and cultures thrived.

The second point is this: The parallels to the present day are striking. Jewish domination of German society in the 1920s mirrors that of the United States, England, and Canada today. The tactics of AIPAC, the role of the Jewish Lobby, the sad state of media and entertainment industries, cowardice in corporate leadership, widespread moral decay, environmental degradation, manipulations of global capitalists and stock-market traders–all these have their counterparts in pre-Nazi Germany.

Hitler surely would have been appalled at the world of today. In America, he would find Jewish leadership in all major media organizations and film studios; Jewish money decisive in all national political races; and an American Supreme Court with three Jews, out of nine justices. Germany today wilts under the so-called leadership of the *Judenknecht* Merkel, who allows that once-great nation to be flooded with a mass of foreign ethnicities, even as she pays monumental Holocaust reparations to the Israeli state. And most all European nations readily sign up to fight Israel's wars in the Middle East and around the world. Malaysian leader Mahathir Mohamad was surely correct when he said, "Today Jews rule the world by proxy; they get others to fight and die for them." Again, just as Hitler had predicted–the demise of National Socialism would mean the triumph of a Jewish-inspired worldview.

It seems hopeless. And yet, to a young Adolf Hitler in 1920's Germany, things also seemed hopeless. But he knew that, with a bold vision and true force of will, that things could change–and quickly. Thus has it always been so. The future is fixed only to those who cannot envision something better, something higher, something greater. Even in the worst of times, true visionaries have always emerged. It has happened in the past, and it will happen again.

Mein Kampf is one man's assessment of history and vision for

the future. It is blunt; it is harsh; it is unapologetic. It does not comply with contemporary standards of politeness, objectivity, and political correctness. It sounds offensive to sensitive modem ears. But the book is undeniably important. It is more consequential than perhaps any other political work in history. It deserves to be read, in a clear and unbiased translation. And each reader will then be free to determine its ultimate value and meaning for themselves.

MEIN KAMPF
A RECKONING

CHAPTER 1

IN MY PARENTS' HOUSE

I consider it most fortunate today that destiny selected Braunau-on-the-Inn to be my birthplace.[1] This little town lies on the border between two German states–the union of which seems, at least to us of the younger generation, a task to which we should dedicate our lives and pursue with every possible means!

German-Austria must return to the great German Motherland. And not for mere economic reasons. No, no. Even if the union were a matter of economic indifference, and even if it were to be economically disadvantageous, it still must take place. The same blood should be in the same Reich.[2] The German people have no right to engage in colonialism until they have brought all their sons together in one state. Only when the territory of the Reich embraces all Germans and then finds itself unable to assure them a livelihood, only then will the moral right arise to acquire foreign territory. The plow will then become the sword, and the tears of war will produce our daily bread for generations to come.

And so this little border town appeared to me as the symbol of a great mission. But in another way too, it points to a lesson that is applicable today. More than 1 00 years ago, this insignificant place was the scene of a tragic calamity that affected the whole German nation. It will be remembered forever, at least throughout German history. At the time of our Fatherland's deepest humiliation, Johannes Palm–Nuremberger, bookseller, uncompromising nationalist, and enemy of the French–was put to death here because he had the misfortune to have loved Germany

[1] Braunau, Austria lies about 25 km north of Salzburg, and about 50 km east of Munich. It has a present-day population of some 16,000. The river Inn is the border with Germany.

[2] 'Reich' may be translated variously as 'empire, ' 'kingdom,' or 'realm.' Throughout the present text, it will often appear as 'empire' but in general will be left untranslated.

so passionately.[3] He stubbornly refused to reveal the names of his colleagues, or rather the leaders who were chiefly responsible for the affair. The same happened with Leo Schlageter.[4] The former, like the latter, was denounced to the French by a government agent. An Augsburg police chief won this unenviable fame on that occasion, and set the example that was later to be copied by neo-German officials of Herr Severing's regime.[5]

It was in this little town on the Inn–gilded by the memory of a German martyr, a town that was Bavarian by blood but under Austrian rule–that my parents lived, towards the end of the last century. My father was a civil servant who fulfilled his duties very conscientiously. My mother looked after the household and lovingly devoted herself to the care of her children.

I don't remember much from that period because, after a few years, my father had to leave that beloved border town. He took up a new post farther down the Inn, at Passau, hence in Germany itself.

In those days it was typical for an Austrian civil servant to be transferred periodically from one post to another. Soon my father was transferred to Linz, and there he retired to live on his pension. But this didn't mean that the old gentleman would now 'rest.' As the son of a poor cottager, and while still young, he grew restless and left home. When he was barely 13 years old, he slipped on his small backpack and set forth from his native woodland parish. Despite the pleas of villagers who could speak from experience, he went to Vienna to learn a trade. This was in the 1850s.

It was a difficult time, that of deciding to leave home and face the unknown, with three gulden in his pocket. By the time the boy of 13 became a youth of 17, he had passed his

[3] Palm was executed in 1806 by Napoleon's forces for publishing a pamphlet in defense of Germany.

[4] Schlageter actively opposed the French occupation of the Ruhr; he was shot in 1923.

[5] Carl Severing was German Minister of lnterior during the Weimar regime. He held office from 1928 to 1930.

apprenticeship examination as a craftsman, but was not content. Quite the contrary. The long period of hardship, constant want, and misery strengthened his resolve to give up working at a trade and strive for 'something higher.' As a boy it had seemed to him that the position of the parish priest in his home village was the highest in the scale of attainment; but now that the big city had enlarged his outlook, he looked upon the state official as the highest of all. With the tenacity of one whom misery and suffering had already made 'old' while still young, the 17-year-old stuck to his new project. He became a civil servant. He was about 23 years old, I think, when he achieved his life's dream. Thus he was able to fulfill the promise he had made as a poor boy, to not return to his native village until he was a success.

He achieved his goal. But back in the village, there was no one who remembered him as a little boy, and the village itself had become strange to him.

Finally, when he was 56 years old, he retired. But he couldn't bear to be idle for even a single day. On the outskirts of the small market town of Lambach, in Upper Austria, he bought a farm and tilled it himself. Thus, at the end of a long and hard-working career, he came back to the life that his father had led.

1.1 THE YOUNG RINGLEADER

It was at this time that I first began to have ideals of my own. I spent a good deal of time playing out in the open, on the long road from school, and mixing up with some of the roughest boys, which caused my mother many anxious moments. This made me something quite the opposite of a stay-at-home. I gave scarcely any serious thought to the question of choosing a vocation in life; but I certainly had no interest in the kind of career that my father had followed.

I think that an inborn talent for speaking now began to develop

in me, during the more or less strenuous arguments with my friends. I became a youthful ringleader, one who learned quickly at school but was rather difficult to manage. In my free time, I practiced singing in the choir of the monastery church at Lambach. I was well-situated to be emotionally impressed again and again by the magnificent splendor of the church ceremonies. It was natural for me to look upon the Abbot as representing the highest human ideal worth striving for, just as the humble village priest had appeared to my father in his day.

For awhile at least, that was this case. But my father didn't appreciate my oratorical gifts as beneficial for a career, and so he naturally couldn't understand my youthful ideas. This internal conflict made him feel somewhat concerned.

As it happened, my short-lived yearnings soon gave way to hopes that were better suited to my temperament. Browsing through my father's books, I happened to come across some publications that dealt with military subjects. One of these was a popular history of the Franco-German War of 1870-71. It consisted of two volumes of an illustrated periodical dating from those years. These became my favorite reading. Soon that great and heroic conflict began to dominate my thinking. And from that time on, I became more and more enthusiastic about everything that was at all connected with war or military affairs.

But this story had a special significance for me on other grounds, too. For the first time, and as yet in only quite a vague way, I began to think: Is there a difference–and if so, what is it–between the Germans who fought that war and the other Germans? Why didn't Austria also take part in it? Why didn't my father and all the others fight in that struggle?

Are we not the same as other Germans?

Do we not all belong together? That was the first time that this problem began to agitate my brain. And from the conclusions that I reached, I was forced to accept the fact-though with a secret envy–that not all Germans had the good luck to belong to Bismarck's Reich.

This was something that I couldn't understand.

1.2 'CHOICE' OF PROFESSION

It was decided that I should study.

Considering my whole personality, and especially my temperament, my father decided that the classical subjects studied at the Gymnasium were not suited to my natural talents. He thought that the *Realschule* would suit me better. My obvious talent for drawing confirmed this for him; in his opinion, drawing was a neglected subject in the Austrian Gymnasium. Another likely factor was the memory of his own hard road, and this contributed to him looking upon classical studies as unpractical; accordingly, he set little value on them. At the back of his mind, he believed that his son should also become a government official. Indeed, he had decided on that career for me.

Due to the difficulties through which he had to struggle in his own case, he overestimated what he had achieved. His success was exclusively the result of his own indefatigable effort and energy. The characteristic pride of the self-made man led him to the idea that his son should follow the same calling–and if possible, to rise even higher. Moreover, this idea was strengthened by the consideration that the results of his own life's work put him in a position to aid his son's advancement in the same career.

It was simply inconceivable to him that I might reject that which had meant everything in life to him. My father's decision was simple, definite, and clear. In his eyes, it was something to be taken for granted. A man of such a nature, who had become domineering by reason of his own hard struggles, could not think of allowing inexperienced and irresponsible young men to choose their own careers.

To act in such a way, where the future of his own son was concerned, would have been a grave and reprehensible weakness in the exercise of parental authority and responsibility; it was something utterly incompatible with his characteristic sense of duty.

And yet things had to turn out differently

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1.3 NEVER A CIVIL SERVANT…

For the first time in my life–I was then 11 years old–I felt myself forced into open opposition. No matter how hard and determined my father might be about putting his own plans and opinions into action, I was no less obstinate in rejecting an idea that didn't appeal to me at all.

I wouldn't become a civil servant.

Neither persuasion nor 'serious' warnings could break down that opposition. I would not, on any account, become a state official. All the attempts that my father made to arouse in me a love for that profession, by envisioning his own career for me, had only the opposite effect. It nauseated me to think that one day I might be chained to an office desk, and that I couldn't control my own time but would be forced to spend the whole of my life filling out forms.

One can imagine what kind of thoughts such a prospect aroused in the mind of a young man who was by no means 'good' in the usual sense of that term!

The ridiculously easy school tasks that we were given made it possible for me to spend far more time outdoors than at home. Today–when my political opponents pry into my life with diligent scrutiny, as far back as the days of my boyhood, so as to finally be able to prove what dirty tricks this 'Hitler' was used to in his youth-I thank heaven that I can look back to those happy days and find the memory helpful. The fields and the woods were then the battlefields on which all disputes were decided.

Even attendance at the *Realschule* could not alter my way of spending my time.

1.4 …BUT RATHER AN ARTIST

But now I had another battle to fight.

As long as my father's plan to make me a state functionary contradicted my own inclinations only in theory, the conflict was bearable. I could be discreet about expressing my personal views and thus avoid constantly recurring arguments. My own resolution

not to become a government official was sufficient for the time being to put my mind completely at rest. I resolutely held on to that conviction. But the situation became more difficult once I had a positive plan of my own, one that I presented to my father as an alternative. This happened when I was 12 years old.

How it happened, I cannot exactly say now. But one day it became clear to me that I would be a painter–I mean an artist. It was a fact that I had an aptitude for drawing. It was even one of the reasons why my father had sent me to the *Realschule*. But he had never thought of having that talent developed in such a way that I could become a professional painter. Quite the contrary. When, as a result of my renewed refusal to adopt his preferred plan, my father asked me for the first time what I myself really wished to be, my resolve expressed itself almost automatically. For a moment my father was speechless.

"A painter? An artist?"

He wondered whether I was sane. He thought that he might not have heard me right, or misunderstood me. But when I explained my ideas to him, and he saw how seriously I took them, he opposed it with all the determination of his nature. His decision was very fundamental; any consideration of my own natural abilities was out of the question.

"An artist, no, not as long as I live, never." But seeing as I had inherited much of my father's obstinacy–besides having other qualities of my own–my reply was equally forceful. Except that it stated something quite the contrary.

At that point, our struggle became a stalemate. Father would not abandon his 'Never,' and I became all the more firm in my 'Nevertheless.'

Naturally, the consequences were unpleasant. The old gentleman was bitterly annoyed; and indeed so was I, although I really loved him. My father forbade me to entertain any hopes of taking up the art of painting as a profession. I went a step further and declared that I would not study anything else. With such declarations, the situation became ever more strained, so that the old man irrevocably decided to assert his parental authority at all costs. That led me to adopt an attitude of circumspect silence, but

I put my threat into action. I thought that once it became clear to my father that I was making no progress at the *Realschule*, he would be forced to allow me to follow my dream–for better or worse.

1.5 THE YOUNG NATIONALIST

I don't know whether I calculated rightly or not. My failure to make progress in school was obvious. I studied just the subjects that appealed to me, especially those that I thought I might need later as a painter. What didn't appear to have any importance, or what didn't otherwise appeal to me, I completely sabotaged. My school reports of that time were always in the extremes of good or bad, according to the subject. In one column my evaluation read 'very good' or 'excellent.' In another it read 'average' or even 'below average.' By far my best subjects were geography and, even more so, general history. These were my two favorite subjects, and I led the class in them.

When I look back over so many years and try to judge the results of that experience, I find two very significant facts standing out clearly: First, I became a nationalist.

Second, I learned to understand and grasp the true meaning of history.

1.6 THE GERMAN OSTMARK

The old Austria was a multi-national state.

In those days, at least the citizens of the German Reich, taken through and through, couldn't understand what that fact meant in the everyday life of the people within such a state. After the magnificent triumphant march of the victorious armies in the Franco-German War, the Germans in the Reich became steadily more and more estranged from the Germans beyond their frontiers–partly because they didn't wish to appreciate the true value of those other Germans, and partly because they were incapable of doing so. The degenerate dynasty was often confused with the people, who were at root healthy.

The Germans of the Reich didn't realize that if the Austrian Germans had not been of the best blood, they could never have given their characteristic stamp to an empire of 52 million–such that the erroneous idea arose that Austria was a German state. This error led to dire consequences. But all the same, it was a magnificent testimony to the character of the 10 million Germans in the *Ostmark*.[6] Only very few of the Germans in the Reich itself had an idea of the bitter struggle that those Eastern Germans had to carry on daily for the preservation of their German language, schools, and character.

Only today–when a tragic fate has tom several millions of our kinsfolk away from the Reich and forced them to live under foreign rule, dreaming of that common fatherland towards which all their yearnings are directed, and struggling to maintain the right to use their mother tongue–only now have the wider circles come to realize what it means to fight for one's people. Today perhaps there are some who can assess the greatness of that German spirit that animated the Reich's old *Ostmark*. It enabled those people, left entirely on their own, to defend the Reich against the East for several centuries. They also were able to secure the boundaries of the German language through a guerilla war of attrition, at a time when the Reich was more interested in colonies than in protecting its own flesh and blood at its very doorstep.

1.7 THE STRUGGLE FOR GERMANISM

In this battle over the language of old Austria, there were, as in every such struggle, three groups: the fighters, the slackers, and the traitors.

The sifting process began at school. And it is worth noting that the language-war was waged in perhaps its bitterest form in school; this was the nursery where the seeds had to be watered that were to spring up and form the coming generation. The tactical objective of the fight was to win over the child, and it was to the child that the first rallying cry was addressed:

[6] 'Ostmark' was the German nationalist designation for German-Austria, that is, the German part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

"German boy, don't forget that you are a German," and "Remember, little girl, that one day you must become a German mother!"

Those who know something of the youthful spirit can understand how the young will always lend a glad ear to such a rallying cry. The young people led the struggle through many forms, fighting in their own way and with their own weapons.

They refused to sing non-German songs. The greater the efforts made to win them away from their German allegiance, the more they exalted the glory of their German heroes. They went hungry so that they might spare their pennies to help the war chest of their elders. They were incredibly aware of the significance of what the non-German teachers said, and they contradicted them in unison. They wore the forbidden emblems of their own kinsfolk and were happily penalized or even beaten for doing so. On a small scale, they were mirrors of loyalty from which the elders might learn a lesson.

And thus it was that, at a comparatively early age, I took part in the nationalist struggles of old Austria. When meetings were held for the *Südmark* and the School League, we wore cornflowers and black-red-gold colors to express our loyalty. We greeted each other with "Heil," and instead of the Austrian anthem we sang *Deutschland über Alles*, despite warnings and penalties. Thus the youth were politically educated at a time when the citizens of the so-called national state knew little of their own nationality except the language.

I, of course, didn't belong to the slackers. Within a short time I had become an ardent 'German Nationalist,' which had a different meaning · from our present party concept.

I rapidly moved in the nationalist direction. By the time I was 15 years old, I had come to understand the distinction between dynastic 'patriotism' and 'nationalism' based on the concept of Volk, or people–my inclination being entirely in favor of the latter.

1.8 LESSONS FROM HISTORY

Such a preference may not perhaps be clearly intelligible to those who have never taken the trouble to study the internal conditions that prevailed under the Habsburg Monarchy.[7] Among historical studies, universal history was the subject almost exclusively taught in the Austrian schools; there was very little of specific Austrian history. The fate of this state was closely bound up with the existence and development of Germany as a whole–such that a division of history into German history and Austrian history would be practically inconceivable. And indeed it was only when the German people came to be divided into two states that this division of German history began to take place.

The insignia of former imperial glory, which are still preserved in Vienna, appear to cast a magic spell. They guarantee an eternal bond between these two peoples.

When the Habsburg State crumbled to pieces,[8] the Austrian Germans instinctively raised an outcry for union with their German fatherland. That was the voice of a unanimous yearning in the hearts of the whole people for a return to the never-forgotten home of their fathers. But such a general yearning could not be explained except by attributing its cause to the historical training through which the individual Austrian Germans had passed. Therein lay a spring that never dried up. Especially in times of distraction and forgetfulness, its quiet voice was a reminder of the past–bidding the people to look out beyond mere momentary prosperity to a new future.

The teaching of universal history in the so-called high schools is still very unsatisfactory. Few teachers realize that the purpose of teaching history is not the memorizing of certain dates and facts that the student is not interested in knowing: the exact date of a battle, or the birthday of some marshal or other. And the student

[7] The Habsburg Monarchy refers to the family dynasty that ruled in central Europe for 400 years. It began in 1519 with Charles V, and ended in 1918 with Charles I. The Habsburgs were the ruling power in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Monarchy was, of course, finished by the time Hitler wrote these words in 1923.

[8] In 1918.

isn't at all–or only incidentally–interested in knowing when the crown of his fathers was placed on the brow of some monarch. These are certainly not looked upon as important matters.

To study history means to search for and discover the forces that are the causes of those results that appear to us as historical events.

The art of reading and studying consists in this: Remember the essentials and forget what is inessential.

Probably my whole future life was determined by the fact that I had a history professor who understood, as few others understand, how to make this viewpoint prevail in the classroom. This teacher was Dr. Leopold Pötsch, of the *Realschule* at Linz.[9] He was the ideal personification of the qualities necessary for a teacher of history in the sense I mentioned above. An elderly gentleman with a decisive manner but a kindly heart, he was a very compelling speaker and was able to inspire us with his own enthusiasm.

Even today I cannot recall without emotion that venerable personality whose enthusiastic exposition of history so often made us entirely forget the present. He allowed us to be transported into the past, as if by magic. He penetrated through the dim mist of thousands of years and transformed the historical memory of the dead past into a living reality. When we listened to him, we became afire with enthusiasm; sometimes we were even moved to tears.

It was still more fortunate that this professor was able not only to illustrate the past by examples from the present, but from the past he was also able to draw a lesson for the present. He understood better than anyone else the everyday problems that were then stirring in our minds. He used the national fervor that we felt in our own small way as an instrument of our education, in that he often appealed to our national sense of honor. In that way he maintained order and held our attention much more easily than he could have done by any other means.

It was because of him that history became my favorite subject.

[9] Pötsch (1853- 1942) taught Hitler from ages 12 through 15.

As a natural consequence, but without my teacher's deliberate intention, I then and there became a young revolutionary.

After all, who could have studied German history under such a teacher and not become an enemy of that state whose rulers exercised such a disastrous influence on the destinies of the German nation?

And how could one remain a faithful subject of the House of Habsburg, whose past history and present conduct proved it to be always ready to betray the interests of the German people, for the sake of trivial personal interests?

Did we not realize, even as youngsters, that this Austrian State did not, and could not, have any love for us Germans?

That which history taught us about the policy of the House of Habsburg was confirmed by our experiences. In north and south, the poison of foreign races was eating into the body of our people. Even Vienna was steadily becoming more and more a non-German city. The 'Imperial House' favored the Czechs on every possible occasion. Indeed, it was divine retribution that caused Germanism's most deadly enemy in Austria, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, to fall by the very bullets that he himself had helped to cast. Working from above, he was the chief patron of the movement to make Austria a Slav state.

The burdens laid on the shoulders of the German people were monstrous, and the sacrifices of blood and treasure that they had to make were incredibly heavy. Yet anyone who was not blind must have seen that it was all in vain. What affected us most bitterly was the awareness of the fact that this whole system was morally shielded by the alliance with Germany, whereby the slow rooting-out of Germanism from the old Austrian Monarchy seemed in some way to be more or less sanctioned by Germany herself. Habsburg hypocrisy, which outwardly tried to make the people believe that Austria was still a German state, increased the feeling of hatred against the Imperial House. At the same time, it aroused a spirit of rebellion and contempt.

But in the German Reich itself, its rulers understood nothing of what all this meant. As if struck blind, they stood beside a corpse; in the very symptoms of decomposition, they believed that they

saw signs of a renewed vitality.

In that unhappy alliance between the young German Reich and the illusory Austrian State lay the germ of the [First] World War, and also of the final collapse.

In the course of this book, I will go to the root of the problem. Suffice it to say here that in the very early years of my youth, I came to certain conclusions that I have never abandoned. Indeed, I became more profoundly convinced of them as the years passed. They were:

That the dissolution of Austria is a preliminary condition for the defense of Germany; further, that national feeling is by no means identical with dynastic patriotism; finally, and above all, that the House of Habsburg was destined to bring misfortune to the German nation.

As a logical consequence of these convictions, there arose in me a feeling of intense love for my German-Austrian home, and a profound hatred of the Austrian State.

The kind of historical thinking that I developed through my study of history at school never left me afterwards. World history became more and more an inexhaustible source for the understanding of contemporary historical events–in other words, politics. Therefore I will not 'learn' politics, but rather let politics teach me.

A precocious 'revolutionary' in politics, I was no less a precocious revolutionary in art.

1.9 DEVOTION TO WAGNER

At that time, the provincial capital of Upper Austria had a theater that was, relatively speaking, not bad. Almost everything played there. When I was 12 years old, I saw *William Tell* performed. That was my first theater experience. Some months later I saw *Lohengrin*, the first opera I had ever heard. I was fascinated at once. My youthful enthusiasm for the Bayreuth Master [Wagner] knew no bounds. Again and again I was drawn to hear his operas; and today I consider it a great stroke of luck that these modest productions in the little provincial city made it

possible for me to appreciate it more intensely later on.

But all this helped to reinforce my profound distaste for the career that my father had chosen for me. This dislike became especially strong after I outgrew my adolescence–a process that was, in my case, especially painful. I became more and more convinced that I'd never be happy as a state official. And now that the *Realschule* had acknowledged my aptitude for drawing, my own resolution became all the stronger.

Thereafter, neither pleas nor threats could change things.

I wanted to become a painter, and no power in the world could force me to become a civil servant.

Oddly though, as I grew older, I became more and more interested in architecture.

At the time, I considered this a natural development of my talent for painting, and I inwardly rejoiced at this expansion of my artistic interests.

I didn't suspect that things would turn out differently.

1.10 THE DEATH OF MY PARENTS

The question of my career was decided much sooner than I could have expected.

When I was 13, I suddenly lost my father. He was still in robust health when a stroke of apoplexy painlessly ended his earthly wanderings, and left us all deeply bereaved. His deepest wish was to be able to help his son advance in a career and thus to save me from the harsh ordeal that he himself had experienced. It appeared to him that he had failed. And yet, though he himself was not conscious of it, he had sown the seeds of a future that neither of us foresaw at that time.

At first, nothing changed outwardly.

My mother felt it her duty to continue my education in accordance with my father's wishes. This meant that she would have me study for the civil service. For my own part, I was more determined than ever to not undertake this career. The school curriculum and teaching methods were so far removed from my ideals that I became profoundly indifferent.

Illness suddenly came to my assistance. Within a few weeks, it decided my future, putting an end to the long-standing family conflict. My lungs became so seriously affected that the doctor strongly advised my mother not to allow me to take up a career that would require working in an office. He ordered me to stop attending the *Realschule* for at least a year. What I had secretly desired for such a long time, and had persistently fought for, now became a reality almost at one stroke.

Concerned about my illness, my mother agreed that I would leave the *Realschule* and attend the Academy.

Those were happy days, and they seemed to me almost as a dream; but they were bound to remain only a dream. Two years later, my mother's death put a brutal end to all my wonderful plans.

She succumbed to a long and painful illness, one that, from the very beginning, permitted little hope of recovery. Though expected, her death came as a terrible blow to me. I respected my father, but I loved my mother.

Poverty and hard reality forced me to decide quickly. The meager family resources had been almost entirely used up by my mother's severe illness. The allowance which came to me as an orphan was not enough for the bare necessities of life. Somehow or other, I would have to earn my own bread.

With my clothes and linen in hand, and with an indomitable resolution in my heart, I left for Vienna. I hoped to forestall fate, as my father had done 50 years before. I was determined to become 'something'–but certainly not a civil servant.

CHAPTER 2

YEARS OF STUDY AND SUFFERING IN VIENNA

When my mother died, my fate had already been decided, at least in one respect.

During the last months of her illness, I went to Vienna to take the entrance examination for the Academy of Fine Arts. Armed with a pile of drawings, I was sure that I would pass the examination quite easily. At the *Realschule*, I was by far the best student in the drawing class, and since that time I made exceptional progress in the practice of drawing. I was therefore quite pleased with myself, and was proud and happy at the prospect of what I considered to be a sure success.

But there was one misgiving. It seemed to me that I was better qualified for drawing than for painting, especially in the various branches of architectural drawing. At the same time, my interest in architecture was constantly growing. And I advanced more quickly in this direction after my first visit to Vienna, which lasted two weeks; I was not yet 16 years old.

I went to the Court Museum to study the paintings in the art gallery there; but the building itself captured almost all my interest, and from early morning until late at night I spent all my time visiting the various public buildings. And it was always the buildings themselves that were the main attraction for me. I stood for hours in wonderment at the Opera and the Parliament. The whole Ring Strasse had a magic effect upon me, as if it were a scene from the *Thousand-and-one-Nights*.

2.1 SKILL AS AN ARCHITECT

And now here I was, for the second time in this beautiful city, impatiently waiting to hear the result of the entrance exam but

confident of success. I was so convinced that, when the news came that I had failed, it struck me like a bolt from the blue. Yet that's what happened. I went to see the Rector and asked him why they refused to accept me as a student in the general School of Painting, which was part of the Academy. He said that my sketches unquestionably showed that painting was not what I was suited for, but rather that they gave clear indications of my aptitude for architectural design. Therefore the place for me was the School of Architecture, which also formed part of the Academy. At first it was impossible to understand this, seeing that I had never been to an architectural school and had never received any instruction in architectural design.

I was quite dejected when I left Hansen Palace, on Schillerplatz. I felt at odds with myself for the first time in my young life. Those words came like a lightning flash, one that revealed a longstanding conflict within myself. But until this point, I couldn't give a clear account of it.

Within a few days, I myself also realized that I would become an architect.

But of course, the path was very difficult. I now bitterly regretted my former conduct in neglecting and despising certain subjects at the *Realschule*. Before taking up courses at the School of Architecture, it was necessary to attend the Technical Building School. But this in turn required a graduation certificate from high school. And I simply didn't have this. The fulfillment of my artistic dream seemed impossible.

After my mother's death,. I came to Vienna for the third time. This visit was destined to last several years. Having been there before, I quickly recovered my old calm and determination. My former self-assurance came back, and I fixed my eyes steadily on the goal. I would be an architect. Obstacles are placed in our path in life, not to defeat us but to be surmounted. And I was fully determined to surmount these obstacles, constantly holding the picture of my father in my mind–he who raised himself up by his own efforts to the position of a civil servant, even though he was the poor son of a village shoemaker. I had a better start, and my odds of success were better. At that time, my lot in life seemed to

me a harsh one; but today I see in it the wise workings of Providence. The Goddess of Fate took me in her arms and often threatened to smash me; but my will grew stronger as the obstacles increased, and in the end, my will was triumphant.

I'm thankful for that period of my life because it hardened me and enabled me to be as tough as I am now. And even more so, because I appreciate the fact that I was thereby saved from an empty life of ease, and that a mother's darling was taken from her tender arms and handed over to Adversity as a new mother. Though I fought against it as too hard a fate, I'm grateful that I was thrust into a world of misery and poverty, and thus came to know the people for whom I was later to fight.

2.2 FORMATION OF A WORLDVIEW

It was during this time that my eyes were opened to two dangers, the names of which I had scarcely known before. I had no idea whatsoever of their terrible significance for the existence of the German people. These two dangers were *Marxism* and *Jewry*.

For many people, the name of Vienna signifies innocent pleasure, a festive place for happy people. For me, unfortunately, it's a living memory of the saddest period in my life.

Even today, the mention of that city arouses in me only gloomy thoughts. Five years of poverty in that Phaecian town.[10] Five years in which I had to earn my daily bread–first as a casual laborer and then as a painter of little trifles. And a meager morsel it was indeed, insufficient to calm my constant hunger. That hunger was my faithful guardian, one that never left me and took part in everything I did. Every book that I bought meant renewed hunger, and every visit to the opera meant the intrusion of that inhospitable companion in the days to follow. I was always struggling with my unsympathetic friend. Even so, it was during that time that I learned more than ever before. Apart from my architectural studies and rare visits to the opera–for which I had to go hungry–

[10] A reference to Homer's *Odyssey* (Book VI). Phaeacia, or Scheria, was an island of legendary happiness, where residents preferred the pursuit of pleasure to hard work.

I had no other pleasure in life except my books.

I read a great deal then, and I thought deeply about what I read. All my free time after work was devoted exclusively to study. Thus within a few years, I was able to acquire a stock of knowledge that I find useful even to this day.

But even more than that:

During those years, a view of life and a definite worldview took shape in my mind. These became the granite foundation of my conduct at that time. Since then, I have extended that foundation only very little, and I have changed nothing in it.

On the contrary.

I am firmly convinced today that, generally speaking, it is in youth that men lay the essential groundwork of their creative thought, wherever that creative thought exists. I distinguish between the wisdom of age-which can only arise from the greater profundity and foresight that are based on the experiences of a long life–and the creative genius of youth. The latter blossoms out in thought and ideas with inexhaustible fertility, without being immediately useful, because of their very exuberance. These ideas furnish the building materials and plans for the future. And it is from them that age takes the stones and constructs the building–unless the so-called wisdom of age smothers the creative genius of youth.

2.3 REMOVAL OF PETTY-BOURGEOIS BLINDERS

The life that I previously led at home with my parents differed little from that of everyone else. I looked forward to the next day without worry, and there was no such thing as a social problem to be faced.

Those with whom I passed my younger days belonged to the small bourgeois class. It was therefore a world that had very little contact with the world of genuine manual laborers. For, though at first this may appear surprising, the gulf that separates that class-which is by no means economically well-off–from the manual laboring class is often deeper than people think. The reason for

this division, which we may almost call enmity, lies in the fear that dominates a social group that has risen only slightly above the level of the manual laborer–a fear that it may fall back into its old condition, or at least be again classed with the laborers. Moreover, there is something repulsive in remembering the cultural indigence of that lower class and their rough manners with one another. Those who are only on the first rung of the social ladder find it unbearable to be forced into contact with the cultural level and standard of living from which they have risen.

Consequently, the higher classes feel less constraint in their dealings with the lowest class of men than would be possible for the 'up-starts.'

For by the word 'up-start' I mean everyone who has raised himself through his own efforts to a social level higher than that to which he formerly belonged.

Ultimately this struggle, which is often hard, destroys all sympathy. Our own fight for existence kills our feeling for the misery of those who have been left behind.

From this point of view, fate was kind to me. Circumstances forced me to return to that world of poverty and economic insecurity that my father had raised himself from in his early days. The blinders of a narrow petty-bourgeois education were tom from my eyes . Now for the first time, I learned to know men; and I learned to distinguish between empty appearances or brutal manners and the real inner nature of the person.

2.4 VIENNA'S SOCIAL CONFLICTS

At the beginning of the century, Vienna was, socially speaking, one of the most backward cities in Europe.

Dazzling riches and loathsome poverty were intermingled in violent contrast. In the center and inner city, one felt the pulse of an empire of 52 million, one with all the perilous charm of a state of multiple nationalities. The dazzling splendor of the Court acted like a magnet on the wealth and intelligence of the whole empire. And this attraction was further strengthened by the centralizing power of the Habsburg Monarchy.

This centralizing policy was necessary in order to hold together that hodge-podge of mixed nationalities. But as a result, there was an extraordinary concentration of high officials in the city, which served as both a metropolis and the imperial residence.

But Vienna was not merely the political and intellectual center of the Danube Monarchy; it was also the commercial center. Besides the large group of ranking military officers, state officials, artists, and scientists, there was the still larger mass of workers. Abject poverty confronted the wealth of the aristocracy and the merchant class, face to face. Thousands of unemployed loitered in front of the palaces on the Ring Strasse; and beneath this *Via Triumphalis* of old Austria, the homeless huddled together in the murk and filth of the canals.

There was hardly any other German city in which the social question could be studied better than in Vienna. But here I must warn against the illusion that this problem can be 'studied' from the top down. The man who has never been in the clutches of that crushing viper can never know what its poison is. An attempt to study it in any other way will result only in superficial talk and sentimental delusions. Both are harmful–the first because it can never go to the root of the question, the second because it completely evades the question.

I don't know which is worse: to ignore social distress, as do the majority of those who have been favored by fortune and those who have risen in the social scale through their own routine labor, or the equally arrogant and often tactlessness displayed by people who make a fad of being charitable and who claim to 'feel for the people.' In any case, such people sin more than they can imagine. Consequently, and to their own astonishment, they find that the 'social conscience' on which they pride themselves never produces any results; rather, it often causes resentment. And then they talk of the ingratitude of the people.

Such people are slow to learn that there is no place for merely social activities, and that there can be no expectation of gratitude. Here there's no question of distributing favors; it's essentially a matter of restoring justice.

I was protected against the temptation to study the social

question this way, for the simple reason that I was forced to live in poverty. Therefore it was not a question of studying the problem objectively, but rather one of testing its effects on me. Though the guinea pig survived the experiment, this is not evidence that it was harmless.

When I try today to recall the succession of impressions I received at that time, I find that I can only do so approximately. Here I will describe only the more essential impressions and those that personally affected me the most. And I will mention the few lessons that I learned from this experience.

2.5 THE LABORER

At that time, it was generally not very difficult to find a job because I sought work not as a skilled tradesman but as a so-called laborer–ready to take any job that turned up by chance, just for the sake of earning my daily bread.

Thus I found myself in the same situation as all those emigrants who shake the dust of Europe from their feet, and with iron determination lay the foundations of a new existence in the New World, and earn for themselves a new home. Liberated from all the paralyzing prejudices of class and position, environment and tradition, they take any service that opens its doors to them–accepting any work that comes their way, and filled more and more with the idea that honest work never disgraced anyone, no matter what it may be. And so I was resolved to leap into this new world with both feet, fighting my way ahead.

I soon found out that some kind of work was always available. But I also learned that it could just as quickly and easily be lost.

The uncertainty of earning my daily livelihood soon became the darkest feature of this new life.

The skilled worker was not so frequently thrown into the streets as the unskilled worker; yet the former was by no means protected against the same fate. Though he may not have to face unemployment due to a lack of demand, the lock-out and the strike had the same effect.

Here the element of insecurity in earning one's daily bread was

the bitterest aspect of the whole social-economic system itself

The country boy who migrates to the big city is attracted by what has been described as easy work–which it may actually be–and fewer working hours. He is especially dazzled by the glimmer of the big cities. Accustomed to earning a steady wage, he has been taught not to quit his former job until a new one is at least in sight. As there is a great scarcity of agricultural labor, the chance of long unemployment in the country is very small.

It's a mistake to presume that the boy who leaves the countryside for the city is less solid than those who stay at home to work on the land. On the contrary, experience shows that those who are healthier and more vigorous emigrate, and not the reverse. Among these people, I include not merely those who emigrate to America, but also the young rural farmhand who leaves his native village and migrates to the big city, where he will be a stranger. He is ready to take the risk of an uncertain fate. Typically he comes to town with little money in his pocket. For the first few days, he is not discouraged if he’s not lucky enough to find work. But if he finds a job and then soon loses it, the situation is much worse. To find new work, especially in winter, is often difficult and indeed sometimes impossible.

2.6 FATE OF THE WORKER

For the first few weeks, life is still bearable. He receives his unemployment money from his trade union and thus is able to carry on. But when the last of his own money is gone and his union stops paying due to prolonged unemployment, then comes the real distress. He now walks the streets, hungry. Often he pawns or sells the last of his belongings. His clothes become shabby. And with the increasing poverty of his outward appearance, he descends to a lower social level–mixing with a class of people that poison his mind, in addition to his physical suffering. He then has nowhere to sleep, and if that happens in winter–which is very often the case-he is in dire straits. Finally he gets work. But the old story repeats itself. For a second time, the same thing happens. Then a third time–by now, probably much worse. Little by little, he

becomes indifferent to this permanent insecurity. Finally he gets used to the repetition.

Thus even a man who is normally hard-working grows careless in his whole attitude towards life. Gradually he becomes a tool in the hands of unscrupulous people, who exploit him for the sake of their own advantage. He has been so frequently unemployed, through no fault of his own, that he now doesn't care if the strike in which he joins is for securing his economic rights, or aimed at the destruction of the State, the social order, or even culture in general. He dislikes going on strike, yet he joins it anyway, out of sheer indifference.

I saw this process occur before my eyes thousands of times. And the longer I observed it, the more I came to hate that mammoth city that greedily attracts men to its heart, in order to mercilessly crush them in the end.

When they arrived, they still belonged to their own people; if they stayed, that tie was broken.

I, too, was so thrown about by life in the metropolis that I experienced the workings of this fate myself, and felt its effects on my own soul. One thing stood out clearly before my eyes: It was the sudden changes from work to idleness, and vice versa, that mattered. The constant fluctuations in earnings and spending finally destroyed the sense of thrift for many people, and also the habit of controlling spending in an intelligent way. One's body gradually adapts to eating well in good times and going hungry in bad.

Indeed, hunger destroys one's sense of normal spending in good times, when one is again employed. The reason for this is that the suffering that the unemployed worker has to endure must be psychologically compensated for by a persistent mental mirage in which he imagines himself eating well once again. And this dream turns into such an obsession that it becomes a morbid impulse to toss off all self-restraint when work and wages come again. Therefore, the moment new work is found, he loses control and begins spending like there's no tomorrow. This upsets even the small weekly budget, because spending becomes irrational. When such a thing first happens, earnings will last for perhaps five days

instead of seven. Later on, they last for only three days. If the habit persists, earnings will last for scarcely a day. And finally they will disappear in a night.

Often there are wife and children at home. And in many cases, it happens that they, too, are affected by such a way of life–especially if the husband is good to them and wants to do the best he can for them, and loves them in his own way. Then the week's earnings are spent within two or three days. The family eats and drinks together as long as the money lasts, but at the end of the week they go hungry. Then the wife wanders around the neighborhood, borrows a little, and runs up small debts with the shopkeepers in an effort to reach the end of the week. Their midday meal is meager, and often nonexistent. They wait for the coming payday, talking and making plans; and while they are hungry, they dream of the happiness to come.

And so the little children become acquainted with misery early in their lives.

But the evil culminates when the husband goes his own way from the beginning and the wife protests, simply out of love for the children. Then there are quarrels and bad feelings. The husband starts to drink, and becomes estranged from his wife. He now gets drunk every Saturday. Fighting for her own existence and that of the children, the wife nags him, from factory to tavern, in order to get a few pennies from him on payday. Then when he finally comes home–maybe on Sunday or even Monday, having spent his last cent–pathetic scenes follow, ones that cry out for God's mercy.

I have actually experienced this hundreds of times. At first I was disgusted and indignant. Later, I came to recognize the whole tragedy of their misfortune, and to understand the profound causes of it. They were the unhappy victims of bad conditions.

Housing conditions were very bad at that time. Viennese manual laborers lived in appalling misery. Even today, I shudder to think of the miserable dens in which people lived, the night shelters and the slums, and all the sordid scenes of garbage, repulsive filth, and worse.

Just imagine what will happen one day, when masses of freed

slaves come forth from these dens of misery, swooping down on their unsuspecting fellow men!

For this other world is indeed unsuspecting.

They have mindlessly allowed these things to go on, without caring and even without suspecting that, sooner or later, destiny will take its vengeance–unless it is appeased in time.

Today I earnestly thank Providence for having sent me to such a school. There, I couldn't refuse to take an interest in matters that did not please me. This school soon taught me a profound lesson.

In order not to despair completely of the people with whom I lived, I had to separate the outward appearances of their lives from the reasons why they developed that way. Then I could bear everything without discouragement. Those who emerged from all this misfortune and misery, from this filth and outward degradation, were not human beings as such, but rather the deplorable results of deplorable laws. In my own life, similar hardships prevented me from giving way to a pitying sentimentality at the sight of these degraded products of this process of development.

No, this is not the way to understand these things.

2.7 THE PATH TO IMPROVEMENT

Even in those days, I already saw that there was a two-fold method by alone which conditions could be improved:

First: Create better fundamental conditions of social development by establishing a profound feeling for social responsibilities. Second: Combine this feeling with a ruthless determination to prune away all incurable tumors.

Just as Nature focuses her greatest attention not on the maintenance of what already exists, but on the selective breeding of offspring, so it is in human life. Life is less a matter of artificially improving the existing generation–which, owing to human characteristics, is impossible 99 percent of the time–and more a matter of securing from the very start a better road for future development.

During my struggle for existence in Vienna, I clearly perceived

that the aim of all social activity must never be merely charitable relief, which is ridiculous and useless. Rather, it must be a means of finding a way to eliminate the fundamental deficiencies in our economic and cultural life–deficiencies that necessarily bring about the degradation of the individual, or at least lead him towards such degradation.

The difficulty of employing every means, even the most drastic, against those who endanger the state is largely due to an attitude of uncertainty in deciding upon the inner motives and causes of this contemporary phenomenon.

This uncertainty is grounded exclusively in the sense of guilt that each individual feels for having permitted this tragedy of degradation. That feeling paralyzes every effort at making a firm decision to act. Because they vacillate, these people are timid and half-hearted in putting into effect even the measures that are indispensable for self-preservation.

When the individual is no longer burdened by his own sense of guilt, then and only then will he have that inner strength and outer force to ruthlessly cut out the parasite growth, and to root out the weeds.

But because the Austrian State had almost no sense of social· rights or social legislation, its inability to combat these evil tumors was obvious.

2.8 LACK OF 'NATIONAL PRIDE'

I don't know what appalled me more at that time: the economic misery of those who were then my companions, their crude customs and morals, or the low level of their intellectual development.

Our bourgeoisie often rise up in moral indignation upon hearing from the mouth of some pitiable tramp that it is all the same to him whether he be a German or not, and that he will find himself at home wherever he can get enough to keep himself together.

They protest sternly against such a lack of 'national pride,' and strongly express their horror at such sentiments.

But how many people really ask themselves, why it is that their

own sentiments are better?

How many of them understand that their natural pride in being members of a favored nation arises from the many occasions they have encountered that remind them of the greatness of the Fatherland, and of the nation in all spheres of artistic and cultural life?

How many of them realize that pride in the Fatherland is largely dependent on knowledge of its greatness in all those spheres?

Do our bourgeois circles ever think what a ridiculously meager share 'the people' have in that knowledge that is a necessary prerequisite for the feeling of pride in one's fatherland?

It cannot be objected here that in other countries similar conditions exist, and that nevertheless the working classes in those countries have remained patriotic. Even if that were so, it would be no excuse for our negligent attitude. But it is not so. What we call 'chauvinistic' education–in the case of the French people, for example–is only the extreme emphasis on the greatness of France in all spheres of culture or, as the French say, civilization. The French boy is not educated on purely objective principles. Wherever the importance of the political and cultural greatness of his country is concerned, he is taught in the most subjective way that one can imagine.

This education must always be confined to general ideas in a large perspective. These ought to be deeply engraved, by constant repetition if necessary, on the memories and feelings of the people.

In our case, however, we are not merely guilty of negative sins of omission but also of positively perverting the small bit of knowledge that some were fortunate to learn at school. The rats that poison our body-politic devour from the hearts and memories of the broad masses even the little bit remaining from distress and misery.

2.9 THE ORDEAL OF THE WORKER'S CHILD

Imagine the following scene:

There is a cellar apartment, and this lodging consists of two

damp rooms. A workman and his family live in these rooms-seven people in all. Let's assume that one of the children is a 3-year-old boy. That is the age at which children first become conscious of the impressions that they receive. In the case of highly gifted people, traces of those early impressions survive until old age.

Now, the narrowness and congestion of those living quarters are not conducive to pleasant family relations. Quarrels and fits of mutual anger thus arise. These people can hardly be said to live *with* one another, but rather *on top of* one another. Small misunderstandings, ones that would disappear in a spacious family home, become here the source of chronic disputes. As far as the children are concerned, the situation is tolerable from one point of view. In such conditions, they are constantly quarrelling with one another, but the quarrels are quickly and entirely forgotten. But when the parents endlessly squabble, the daily arguments sink to an unimaginably low level. Such experiences must eventually have an effect on the children. One must actually live through such an environment to truly picture the results of these mutual recriminations–as when the father physically assaults the mother and abuses her in a fit of drunken rage.

At the age of six, the child can no longer ignore these sordid details, ones that even an adult would find revolting. Infected with moral poison, bodily undernourished, and a head full of lice, the young 'citizen' goes to elementary school. With difficulty, he barely learns to read and write. There is no possibility of learning any lessons at home. On the contrary. The father and mother themselves speak ill of the teacher and school in front of the children, and they are far more inclined to insult the teachers than to put their child across the knee and knock sound reason into him. What the child hears at home only decreases his respect for his fellow citizens. Nothing good is said of human nature as a whole, and every institution, from the school to the government, is reviled. Whether they speak of religion and morals or the State and the social order, it's all the same; everything is disparaged.

When the young boy leaves elementary school at the age of 14, it would be difficult to say what are the most striking features of his character: incredible ignorance insofar as real knowledge is

concerned, or cynical impudence combined with a negative attitude towards morality. For one of such a young age, it's enough to make your hair stand on end.

2.10 YOUNG DESPISER OF AUTHORITY

What station in life can such a person fill, to whom nothing is sacred, and who has never experienced anything noble–on the contrary, who has been intimately acquainted with the lowest kind of human existence?

This 3-year-old child has become a 15-year-old despiser of authority. He has been acquainted only with moral filth and vileness, and everything excluded that might stimulate his thought towards higher things.

And now this young man enters the school of life.

He leads the same kind of life that was exemplified for him by his father during childhood. He hangs around street comers and comes home at all hours. He occasionally even beats his poor mother. He curses God and the world, and finally ends up in a juvenile corrections center. And there he gets his final polish.

And his bourgeois contemporaries are astonished at the lack of 'patriotic enthusiasm' that this young 'citizen' displays.

Day after day, they are all witnesses to the phenomenon of spreading poison among the people, through the use of theater and cinema, gutter journalism and obscene books. And yet they are astonished at the deplorable 'moral standards' and 'national indifference' of the masses. As if trash cinema, gutter press, and the like could impart knowledge of the greatness of one's country–quite apart from the earlier education of the individual.

I then came to understand, quickly and thoroughly, what I had never been aware of before. It was the following:

The question of 'nationalizing' a people is first and foremost one of establishing healthy social conditions that will furnish the grounds necessary for the education of the individual. For only when family upbringing and school education have imparted to the individual cultural and economic knowledge and, above all, a sense of the political greatness of his own country–only then will

it be possible for him to feel proud of being a citizen. I can fight only for something that I love. I can love only what I respect. And in order to respect something, I must at least have some knowledge of it.

2.11 ARCHITECT AND WATERCOLOR PAINTER

As soon as my interest in social questions was awakened, I began to study them in a fundamental way. A new and previously unknown world was thus revealed to me.

In the years 1909-1910, I had so improved my position that I no longer had to earn my daily bread as a manual laborer. I was now working independently as a draftsman and painter in watercolors . This career was a poor one indeed, at least as far as earnings were concerned. I barely had enough to meet the necessities of life. Yet it was interesting for me, in light of the profession that I aspired to.

Moreover, when I came home in the evenings, I was now no longer dead-tired as before, when I was unable to glance at a book without falling asleep almost immediately. My present work was therefore aligned with my future profession. Furthermore, I was master of my own time, and could distribute my working-hours better now than before.

I painted to make a living, and I studied for pleasure.

Thus I was able to acquire theoretical knowledge of the social problem, something that was a necessary complement to what I was learning through daily experience. I studied all the books I could find that dealt with this question, and I thought deeply about what I read.

I believe that those around me considered me an eccentric person.

Apart from my interest in the social question, I naturally devoted myself with enthusiasm to the study of architecture. Along side music, I considered it queen of the arts. It was pleasure, not work, to study it. I could read or draw until late at night without ever getting tired. And I became more and more confident that my dream of a brilliant future would become true, even though I might

have to wait years to achieve it. I was firmly convinced that one day I would make a name for myself as an architect.

The fact that, along side my professional studies, I took the greatest interest in everything political did not seem to be especially important. On the contrary–I looked upon this practical interest in politics as the obvious duty of every thinking man. Those who have no understanding of the political world around them have no right to criticize or complain.

I therefore continued to read and study politics extensively.

2.12 THE ART OF READING

Reading, however, had a different meaning for me than it has for the average run of our so-called ‘intellectuals.’

I know people who read endlessly, book after book, from cover to cover, and yet I would not call them ‘well-read.’ Of course they ‘know’ an immense amount; but their brain seems incapable of sifting and organizing the information they have acquired. They don’t have the ability to distinguish between what is useful and what is useless. They may retain the former in their minds and, if possible, skip over the latter while reading it–and if that's not possible, they will throw it overboard as useless ballast.

Reading is not an end in itself, but a means to an end. Its chief purpose is to help towards filling in the framework that comprises each person’s talents and abilities. Thus each one acquires for himself the tools and materials needed for the fulfillment of his life’s work–regardless whether this is the elementary task of earning one’s daily bread or a calling that responds to higher human aspirations. Such is the first purpose of reading. And the second purpose is to provide an overall worldview.

In both cases, however, the information acquired through reading must not be stored up in the memory, corresponding to the successive chapters of the book. Rather, each little piece of knowledge thus gained must be treated as if it were a stone to be inserted into a mosaic, so that it finds its proper place among all the other elements that form a general worldview in the readers mind. Otherwise only a confused jumble of chaotic notions will

result from all this reading. That jumble is not merely useless, but it also tends to make the unfortunate possessor of it conceited. He seriously thinks himself to be well-educated, and that he understands something of life. He believes that he has acquired knowledge, whereas the truth is that every increase in such 'knowledge' draws him further away from real life–until he finally ends up either in some sanatorium or in parliament.

Such a person never succeeds in making practical use of his knowledge when the moment calls for it. His mental equipment is not organized to meet the demands of everyday life. His knowledge is stored in his brain as a literal transcript of the books he has read, and in the order in which he has read them. And if fate should one day call upon him to use his book knowledge, it will have to give him the title and page number–otherwise he will never be able to recall the needed information. But if the page is not mentioned at the critical moment, the bright boy will find himself in a state of hopeless embarrassment. Highly agitated, he searches for comparable cases, and it is almost certain that he will finally deliver the wrong prescription.

If that's an incorrect description, then how can we explain the political achievements of our parliamentary heroes, who hold the highest positions in government? Otherwise we would have to attribute their actions to malice and chicanery, rather than to pathology.

On the other hand, one who has cultivated the art of reading will instantly perceive, in a book or journal or pamphlet, what should be remembered–either because it meets one's needs or it has value in general. What he thus learns is incorporated into his mental picture of a problem or a thing, further correcting or enlarging it, so that it becomes more exact and precise. If some practical problem suddenly demands examination or a solution, memory will immediately select the appropriate information from the mass that has been acquired through years of reading. Memory will also place this information at the service of one's powers of judgment, so as to get a new and clearer view of the problem in question, or to produce a definitive solution.

Only thus can reading have any meaning or purpose.

For example, a speaker who does not have at hand the sources of information that are necessary to a proper treatment of his subject is unable to defend his opinions against an opponent, even though those opinions may be perfectly solid and true. In every discussion, his memory will abandon him. He cannot summon up arguments to support his statements, or to refute his opponent. As long as the speaker only has to defend himself, the situation is not serious; but the evil comes when fate places such a know-it-all–who in reality knows nothing–in charge of a state.

From my earliest youth, I tried to read books in the right way, and I was fortunate to have good memory and intelligence to assist me. From that point of view, my time in Vienna was particularly useful and profitable. My experiences of everyday life there were a constant stimulus to study the most varied problems in new ways. Inasmuch as I was in a position to put theory to the test of reality–and reality to the test of theory–I was protected from the danger of pedantic theorizing on the one hand and, on the other, from being too impressed by superficial aspects of reality.

The experience of everyday life at that time forced me to make a fundamental theoretical study of the two most important questions-apart from the social question.

It is impossible to say when I might have begun to make a thorough study of the doctrine and characteristics of Marxism, were it not for the fact that I ran head-first into the problem!

2.13 SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

What I knew of Social Democracy[11] in my youth was precious little–and for the most part, wrong.

The fact that it led the struggle for universal suffrage and the secret ballot gave me an inner satisfaction. I then reasoned that this would weaken the Habsburg regime, which I so thoroughly detested. I was convinced that even if it should sacrifice the German element, the Danube State could not continue to exist.

[11] Formally called the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Austria (*Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei Osterreichs*), or SDAPÖ. The party was founded in 1889 by a Jewish doctor, Victor Adler (1852-1918). From the beginning, it was allied to Marxism.

Even at the cost of a gradual Slavization of the Austrian Germans, the state would not thereby become a durable empire. This was because it was very questionable if, and to what degree, the Slavs possessed the necessary capacity for constructive politics. I therefore welcomed every movement that might lead towards the final disruption of that impossible state–one that had condemned 10 million Germans to death. The more this Babel of tongues wrought discord and disruption, even in the parliament, the nearer the hour came for the dissolution of this Babylonian Empire. That would mean the liberation of my German Austrian people. Only then would it become possible for them to be reunited with the Motherland.

Consequently, I had no feelings of antipathy towards the actual policy of the Social Democrats. That its avowed purpose was to raise the level of the working classes–which, in my ignorance, I foolishly believed-was another factor that spoke in favor of Social Democracy rather than against it. But what most repelled me was its hostile attitude towards the struggle for the preservation of Germanism in Austria. Also lamentable was its courting of the Slavic 'comrades'–who welcomed this development only as long as there were practical advantages. Otherwise, the Slavs maintained an arrogant reserve; this gave the fawning beggars their just desserts.

Thus, at the age of 17, the word 'Marxism' was very little known to me, while I viewed 'Social Democracy' and 'Socialism' as synonymous. It took a sudden blow from the hand of fate to open my eyes to the nature of this unparalleled betrayal of humanity.

Until then, my acquaintance with the Social Democratic Party was only that of a mere spectator at some of their mass meetings . I hadn't the slightest idea of social-democratic teachings or the mindset of its partisans . All of a sudden, I was brought face to face with the products of their teaching and what they called their *Weltanschauung*, or worldview. Thus a few months sufficed for me to learn something that, under other circumstances, might have taken decades of study–namely that, under the cloak of social virtue and love of one's neighbor, a veritable pestilence was

spreading abroad, and that if this pestilence were not immediately stamped out, it might result in the end of the human race on this earth.

My first contact with the Social Democrats came while working in the building trade.

From the very start, it was none too pleasant for me. My clothes were still rather decent; I was careful in speech, and reserved in manner. I was so occupied with thinking of my own present lot, and of future possibilities, that I took little interest in my immediate surroundings. I sought work in order to eat, and also to make progress with my studies–even though it might be slow. I may have never bothered to be interested in my surroundings, if it weren't for the fact that, on the third or fourth day, an event occurred that forced me to take a definite stand. I was ordered to join the trade union.

At that time, I knew nothing about them. I had had no opportunity to form an opinion on their value, whatever it may be. But when I was told that I must join the union, I refused. The reasons I gave were simply that I knew nothing about the matter, and that, in any case, I wouldn't allow myself to be forced into anything. The first reason probably saved me from being thrown out right away. They likely thought that I might be 'converted' in a few days and become more docile. But if they thought that, they were deeply mistaken. After two weeks, I found it utterly impossible to contemplate, even if l had been willing to join at first. During those 14 days, I came to know my fellow workmen better; and no power in the world could have forced me to join an organization whose representatives had meanwhile shown themselves in such a bad light.

In the first few days, my resentment was aroused.

At noon, some of the workers adjourned to the nearest tavern, while the others remained on the building premises and ate their midday meal; in most cases, it was a very scanty one. These were married men, whose wives brought them soup in pathetic bowls. At week's end, there was a gradual increase in the number who stayed to eat on the premises. I later understood the reason for this. On these occasions, they talked politics.

I drank my milk and ate my morsel of bread somewhere off to the side, while I either cautiously studied my environment or else reflected on my own harsh lot. Yet I heard more than enough. And I often thought that some of what they said was meant for my ears, in the hope of drawing me in. But all that I heard infuriated me. Everything was disparaged: the nation, because it was an invention of the 'capitalist' class–how often I had to hear that phrase!; the Fatherland, because it was an instrument in the hands of the bourgeoisie for the exploitation of the working masses; the authority of the law, because that was a means of oppressing the proletariat; religion, as a means of doping the people, so as to exploit them afterwards ; and morality, as a badge of stupid and sheepish docility. There was nothing that they didn't drag through the mud.

At first I remained silent; but that couldn't last very long. Then I began to take part in the discussion, and to reply to their statements. I recognized, however, that this was doomed to failure, as long as I didn't have at least a certain amount of definite information about the questions that were discussed. So I decided to examine the sources from which they claimed to have drawn their so-called wisdom. I studied book after book, pamphlet after pamphlet.

Meanwhile, we continued to argue with one another. Each day I was getting better-informed than my opponents . Then a day came when the more fearsome of my adversaries resorted to the weapon that most easily triumphs over reason: terror and violence. Some of the leaders among my opponents ordered me to leave the building, or else get thrown off the scaffolding. Since I was all alone, I couldn't put up any physical resistance; so I chose the first option and departed–but richer by experience.

I went away full of disgust. But at the same time, I was so deeply affected that it was quite impossible for me to ignore the whole situation and to stop thinking about it. When my anger began to calm down, my spirit of obstinacy got the upper hand and I decided that I would get back to work again in the building trade, at all costs. This decision became all the stronger a few weeks later, when my meager savings ran out and hunger clutched me

once again in its merciless arms. I had no alternative. I got work again, but I soon had to leave for the same reasons as before.

Then I asked myself: Are these men worthy of belonging to a great people?

The question was profoundly disturbing. If the answer was 'Yes,' then the struggle to defend one's nationality is hardly worth all the pain and sacrifice we demand of our best men, if it only be in the interests of such rabble. On the other hand, if the answer was 'No,' then we are a nation of pitiful men.

During those days of mental anguish and deep reflection, I envisioned an ever-increasing mass of people who could no longer be reckoned as belonging to their own nation.

2.14 THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PRESS

It was quite a different feeling a few days later, when I gazed at the endless columns, four abreast, of Viennese workmen parading at a mass demonstration! I stood dumbfounded for almost two hours, watching that enormous human dragon slowly uncoil itself in front of me. When I finally left the square and wandered home, I felt dismayed and depressed.

On my way, I noticed the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (The Worker's Journal) in a tobacco shop. This was the chief press-organ of the old Austrian Social Democracy. It was also available in a cheap cafe that I used to visit, and where I often went to read the papers. But previously I couldn't bring myself to look at the wretched thing for more than two minutes; its whole tone angered me. Depressed by the demonstration I had just seen, an inner voice urged me to buy the paper in that tobacco shop and read it through. So I brought it home with me and spent the whole evening reading it–despite the steadily mounting rage provoked by a ceaseless outpouring of lies.

I now found that, in the social democratic daily papers, I could study the inner nature of their thought-process far better than in all their theoretical literature.

And what a striking difference there was between the two! In the literary text that dealt with Social Democracy theory, there was

a display of high-sounding phraseology about liberty, human dignity, and beauty. It was all promoted with an air of profound wisdom and calm prophetic assurance–a meticulously-woven glitter of words to dazzle and mislead the reader. On the other hand, the daily press hammered out this new doctrine of human redemption in a most brutal fashion. No means were too crude, provided they could be exploited in the slanderous campaign. These journalists were experts in the art of deception and twisting facts. The theoretical literature was intended for the middle- and upper-class 'intellectuals,' whereas the newspaper was intended for the masses.

This probing into books and newspapers, and studying the teachings of Social Democracy, drew me back to my own people.

And thus what at first seemed an impassable chasm became the occasion for a greater love.

With an understanding of the workings of the colossal system for poisoning the popular mind, only a fool could blame the victims. During the years that followed, I became more independent and, as I did so, I became better able to understand the inner cause of the success of this Social Democratic gospel. I now realized the meaning and purpose of those brutal orders to read only 'Red' books and newspapers, and attend only 'Red' meetings.

In the harsh light of reality, I saw the inevitable consequences of that intolerant teaching. The psyche of the masses is not receptive to anything half-hearted and weak.

There are women whose inner sensibilities are not swayed by abstract reasoning but are always subject to the influence of a vague emotional longing for the strength that completes their being, and who would rather bow to the strong man than dominate the weakling. Similarly, the masses prefer the commander to the beggar, and they are filled with a stronger sense of security by an unrivaled teaching than by one that offers them a choice among many. They have very little idea of how to make such a choice. Thus they are prone to feel that they have been abandoned. They are equally unaware of their shameless spiritual terrorism and the impudent abuse of their freedom; they haven't the slightest

suspicion of the inner insanity of the whole doctrine. They see only the ruthless force and brutality of its calculated words, to which they always submit.

If Social Democracy were to be opposed by a more truthful but equally brutal teaching, then this truthful teaching will ultimately prevail–even though the struggle may be of the bitterest kind.

2.15 SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC TACTICS

In less than two years, I gained a clear understanding of the doctrine and operational technique of Social Democracy.

I recognized the infamous mental terrorism carried out against the bourgeoisie, who are neither morally nor spiritually equipped to withstand such attacks. The tactics of Social Democracy consisted in opening, at a given signal, a veritable onslaught of lies and slanders against the man whom they viewed as their strongest adversary–until his nerves gave way and they sacrificed the man who was attacked, simply in the hope of being allowed to live in peace.

But the fools never attained peace.

The same tactics are repeated again and again, until the fear of these mad dogs paralyzes their victims.

Thus did Social Democracy learn the value of strength, and for that reason it attacks mostly those who are of a stronger nature, which is rare indeed. On the other hand, it praises every weakling among its opponents, more or less cautiously, according to the measure of his mental qualities.

They have less fear of a man of genius who lacks will-power than of a vigorous character with mediocre intelligence. At the same time, they highly commend those who are devoid of intelligence and will-power.

The Social Democrats know how to create the impression that they alone are the protectors of peace. In this way, acting very circumspectly but never losing sight of their ultimate goal, they conquer one position after another–now by methods of quiet intimidation and now by sheer daylight robbery. They employ these tactics at those moments when public attention is turned

towards other matters, or when the public considers an incident too trivial to raise a fuss about and thus provoke the anger of a vicious opponent.

These tactics are based on an accurate estimation of human weaknesses; they will lead to success, with almost mathematical certainty, unless the other side also learns how to fight poison gas with poison gas.

The weaker natures must be told that this is a case of 'to be or not to be.'

I also came to understand that physical terror has its significance for both the masses and the individual.

Here again the Socialists accurately calculated the psychological effect.

Terror in workshops and in factories, in assembly halls and at mass demonstrations, will always meet with success, as long as it does not encounter the same kind of terror in a stronger form.

In this case, the party will surely cry bloody murder. It will appeal to the authority of the state, though they have previously repudiated it. In doing so, their aim is to add to the general confusion, so that they may have a better chance of reaching their own goal unobserved. They will search for some idiot among the higher government officials, one who hopes to ingratiate himself with them, and who will help this world-pest defeat its opponents.

The impression that such successful tactics make on the minds of the masses, whether they be supporters or opponents, can be estimated only by one who knows the popular mind–practically, not theoretically. Successes that are thus won are taken by Social Democrats as a triumphant symbol of the righteousness of their own cause. On the other hand, the defeated opponent very often loses faith in the effectiveness of any further resistance.

The more I understood the methods of physical terror that were employed, the more sympathy I had for the multitude that had succumbed to it.

I am grateful now for that time of suffering. It allowed me to think kindly again of my own people; and it enabled me to distinguish between the false leaders and the victims who were led astray.

We must look upon the latter simply as victims. I have just now tried to depict some of the mental traits of those on the lowest rung of the social ladder. But my picture would be unbalanced if I do not add that, amid the social depths, I still found light. I experienced a rare spirit of self-sacrifice and loyal comradeship among those men, who demanded little from life and were content amid their modest surroundings. This was true especially of the older generation of workmen. And although these qualities were disappearing from the younger generation, due to the pervasive influence of the big city, yet even among them, there were many who were sound at the core, and who were able to keep themselves uncontaminated amid the sordid surroundings of their everyday existence.

If these men–who in many cases were upright and well-meaning–supported the politics of their common enemy, it was because those decent workmen did not and could not grasp the baseness of the doctrine taught by the socialist agitators. Additionally, no other sector of society worried much about the working classes. Finally, social conditions were such that men who otherwise would have acted differently were forced to submit to them, if unwillingly at first. The day came when poverty gained the upper hand and drove those workmen into the Social Democratic camp.

2.16 SINS OF THE BOURGEOISIE

On many occasions, the bourgeoisie took a definite stand against even the most reasonable demands of the working classes. Such conduct was ill-considered and indeed immoral; it could bring no gain whatsoever to the bourgeois class. The result was that the honest workman was dragged out of the trade-union organization and into politics.

Millions of workers surely began with hostility to the Social Democratic Party; but their defenses were repeatedly attacked, and finally they had to surrender. But this outcome was due to the stupidity of the *bourgeois* parties, who opposed every social demand put forth by the working class. Bourgeois leaders' tactics

included: a short-sighted refusal to make an effort towards improving labor conditions; a refusal to adopt accident insurance for factory workers; a refusal to forbid child labor; and a refusal to consider protective measures for women workers, especially pregnant ones. These leaders were thankful for every opportunity that they could exploit for forcing the masses into their net. Our bourgeois parties can never repair the damage that resulted from these mistakes. They sowed the seeds of hatred when they opposed all efforts at social reform. And thus they gave, at least, apparent grounds to justify the Social Democrats' claim that they, alone, stood up for the interests of the working class.

And this became the principal ground for the justification of the existence of the trade unions; thus they became, from that time onward, the chief political recruiting tool for growing the ranks of the Social Democratic Party.

2.17 THE TRADE-UNION QUESTION

During my years in Vienna, I was forced–whether I liked it or not–to take a position on the trade unions.

Because I saw them as inseparable from the Social Democratic Party, my decision was hasty–and mistaken.

I rejected them as a matter of course.

But on this essential question, fate intervened and taught me a lesson. As a result, I changed my initial opinion.

When I was 20 years old, I learned to distinguish between the trade unions as, on the one hand, a means of defending the social rights of the employees and fighting for better living conditions and, on the other, as a political instrument used by the party in the class struggle.

The Social Democrats understood the enormous importance of the trade union movement. They appropriated it as a tool and used it with success, while the bourgeois parties failed to understand it and thus lost political prestige. They thought that their own arrogant 'rejection' would arrest the logical development of the movement, forcing it into an illogical position.

But it is absurd and false to say that the trade union movement

is, in itself, hostile to the nation. Rather, the opposite is true. If the activities of the trade union are directed towards improving the condition of the working-class, and are successful, such activities are not against the Fatherland or the state but are, in the truest sense of the word, national. In this way, the trade union organization helps to create social conditions that are indispensable for a general system of national education. It deserves high recognition when it destroys the intellectual and physical germs of social disease, and thus promotes the general welfare of the nation.

It is superfluous to ask whether the trade union is necessary.

As long as there are employers who lack social understanding and have wrong ideas of justice and fair play, it is not only the right but also the duty of their employees–who are, after all, an integral part of our people–to protect the public interest from individual greed and irrationality. To safeguard the loyalty and confidence of the people is as much in the interests of the nation as to safeguard public health.

Both are seriously menaced by dishonorable employers, who are unaware of their duty as members of a national community. Their personal greed or ruthlessness sows the seeds of future trouble.

To eliminate the causes of such a development is truly a service to the nation.

One must not say that the individual worker is always free to escape from the consequences of a perceived or actual injustice by an employer–in other words, that he is free to leave. No! That argument is only a ruse to distract from the question at hand. Is it, or is it not, in the interests of the nation to remove the causes of social unrest? If it is, then the fight must be carried on with the only weapons that might prevail. But the individual worker is never in a position to stand up against the power of the big employer. The question here is not one that concerns the victory of that which is right. If this were the guiding principle, then the conflict would never have arisen. Rather, it is a question of who is *stronger*. If the case were otherwise, justice alone would solve the dispute in an honorable way–or, more precisely, such matters

would not have come to dispute at all.

No. If unsocial and unjust treatment of men provokes resistance, then, until legislative action is taken to alleviate the situation, the stronger party can simply impose its will. Therefore it is evident that if the individual worker is to have any chance at all of winning, he must join together with his fellow workers and present a united front to the individual employer. For his part, the employer incorporates in his own person the collective strength of the vested interests in the industrial or commercial undertaking that he manages.

Thus the trade unions can hope to promote and strengthen a sense of social responsibility in the typical work–life, and can open the way to practical results. In doing this, they tend to remove those causes of friction that are a continual source of dissatisfaction and complaint.

If this is not so, it is largely the fault of those who blocked the path to legislative social reform, or rendered such a reform ineffective by sabotaging it through their political influence.

2.18 POLITICIZATION OF THE TRADE UNIONS

The political bourgeoisie failed to understand–or rather, did not wish to understand–the importance of the trade union movement. The Social Democrats thereby took advantage of this mistake and pulled the labor movement under their sole protection, without any protest. Thus they established for themselves a solid foundation of support. Correspondingly, the real purpose of the union movement gradually fell into oblivion, and was replaced by new objectives.

It never occurred to the Social Democrats that they should respect the original purpose of the union movement.

No, that was never their intention.

Within a few decades, the trade union movement was transformed, by the expert hand of Social Democracy, from an instrument that was originally created for the defense of human rights into one for the destruction of the national economic structure. Working-class interests were never respected, even for

a moment. In politics, the application of economic blackmail is always possible if the one side is sufficiently unscrupulous and the other sufficiently docile.

In this case, both conditions were fulfilled.

By the turn of the century, the trade union movement had already ceased to serve its original function. Year after year, it fell more and more under the political control of the Social Democrats, until finally it became a battering-ram in the class struggle. The plan was to shatter, by means of constantly repeated blows, the economic foundation of a carefully constructed system. Once this was achieved, the destruction of the state would soon follow, because it was already deprived of its economic foundations.

Social-Democratic attention to the real interests of the working-classes steadily decreased, until the cunning leaders saw that it would serve their immediate political interests if the demands of the masses remained unheeded; there was a danger that, if they became content, the masses could no longer be used as mere passive material in the political struggle.

The gloomy prospect that presented itself to the leaders of the class warfare–that the masses might no longer be used as a weapon of war–created so much anxiety among them that they suppressed and opposed even the most basic measures of social reform.

And conditions were such that those leaders had no trouble justifying such an illogical policy.

As the public demands increased, the possibility of satisfying them dwindled. Whatever small measure were taken became more and more insignificant. Ultimately they were able to persuade the masses that these small actions represented a diabolical plan to weaken their fighting power, and perhaps even to paralyze it. Considering the stupidity of the masses, we shouldn't be surprised at the success of these methods.

The bourgeois camp was indignant over the bad faith of the Social Democratic tactics; but they did nothing to draw the practical conclusion and organize a counter attack from the bourgeois side. The fear that the Social Democrats might truly raise the working-classes out of misery should have induced the bourgeois parties to make the most strenuous efforts in this

direction–thus snatching the most important weapon from the hands of the class-warfare leaders.

But this was not done.

Instead of attacking their opponent's position, the bourgeoisie allowed itself to be pressed and harried. Finally it adopted means that were so late and so insignificant that they were ineffective-and consequently repudiated. So the whole situation remained just as it was before; but the discontent was greater.

Like a threatening storm-cloud, the ‘free trade union’ hovered over the political horizon and over the life of each individual.

It was one of the most frightful instruments of terror; it threatened the security and independence of the national economic structure, the foundations of the state, and individual liberty.

Above all, it was the ‘free trade union’ that turned democracy into a ridiculous and scorned phrase, and insulted the ideal of liberty. It also stigmatized the notion of brotherhood with the slogan ‘If you won't become our comrade, we will crack your skull.’

This was how I came to know this ‘friend’ of humanity. During the years that followed, my knowledge of it became wider and deeper–but it hasn't fundamentally changed.

2.19 THE KEY TO SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The more I became acquainted with the external forms of Social Democracy, the greater was my desire to understand the inner nature of its doctrines.

Official party literature was not very useful. On economic questions, its statements were false and its proofs unsound. In treating of political aims, its attitude was insincere. Furthermore, its modern methods of chicanery in the presentation of its arguments were profoundly repugnant to me. Its flamboyant sentences, its obscure and incomprehensible phrases, pretended to contain great thoughts, but they were devoid of thought, and meaningless. One would have to be a decadent urban Bohemian in order to be comfortable in that maze of aberrant reasoning, so that he might discover an ‘inner experience’ amid this dung-heap

of literary Dadaism. They were obviously counting on the proverbial humility of certain of our people, who believe that incomprehensibility equals wisdom.

In confronting the theoretical falsity and absurdity of that doctrine with the reality of the phenomenon, I gradually acquired a clear picture of its aims.

At such times, I was overcome by dark forebodings and fear of something evil. I saw before me a teaching inspired by egoism and hatred, mathematically calculated to win a victory–but the triumph of which would be a mortal blow to humanity.

Meanwhile, I discovered the relationship between this destructive teaching and the specific character of a people who, up to that time, were almost completely unknown to me.

2.20 THE JEWISH QUESTION

Knowledge of the Jews is the only key whereby one may understand the inner nature, and therefore the real aims, of Social Democracy.

The man who comes to know this race succeeds in removing a veil from his eyes, one that shows the aims and meaning of this party in a false light. And then, out of the fog and mist of socialist phrases, rises the grinning figure of Marxism.

It is difficult, if not impossible, for me to now say when the word ‘Jew’ first began to raise any particular thought in my mind. I don't remember even having heard the word at home during my father 's lifetime. If it were mentioned in a derogatory sense, I think the old man would just have considered those who used it to be culturally backward. In his career, he became more or less a cosmopolitan, with strong views on nationalism, which had its effect on me as well.

In school, too, I found no reason to change the picture of things I had formed at home.

At the *Realschule*, I knew one Jewish boy. We were all on guard in our relations with him; his reticence and certain of his actions warned us to be discreet. Beyond that, my schoolmates and I had no particular opinions about him.

It was not until I was 14 or 15 years old that I frequently ran up against the word 'Jew,' partly in connection with political controversies. These references aroused a mild distaste in me, and an uncomfortable feeling always came over me when I had to listen to religious disputes.

But at that time, I had no other feelings about the Jewish question.

There were very few Jews in Linz. Over the centuries, the Jews who lived there had become Europeanized in external appearance, and were so much like other people that I even looked upon them as Germans. The reason why I didn't then perceive the absurdity of such an illusion was that I saw no other distinguishing feature but the strange religion. I believed that they were persecuted on account of their faith, and my aversion at hearing such remarks nearly grew into a feeling of abhorrence.

I hadn't the slightest idea that there could be such a thing as a systematic anti-Semitism.

Then I came to Vienna.

Preoccupied by the mass of impressions I received from the architectural surroundings, and depressed by my own troubles, I did not at first distinguish the different social strata of that huge city. Although Vienna then had about 200,000 Jews among its population of 2 million, I didn't notice them.[12] During my first few weeks there, my eyes and my mind were unable to cope with the onrush of new ideas and values. Not until I gradually became accustomed to my surroundings, and the confused picture began to grow clearer, did I gain a more discriminating view of my new world. It was then that I came upon the Jewish question.

I won't say that the manner of my initial acquaintance with it was particularly unpleasant. I saw in the Jew only a man of a different religion. Therefore, on grounds of human tolerance, I opposed the idea that he should be attacked because he had a different faith. And so I considered the anti-Semitic press in

[12] Jewish population in Vienna was just 6,000 in 1860, but increased rapidly in the latter half of the 19th century: 40,200 in 1870; 118,000 in 1890; and 147,000 in 1900. By 1922, it was over 200,000.

Vienna to be unworthy of the cultural traditions of a great people. The memory of certain events that happened in the Middle Ages came to mind, and I felt that they should not be repeated.[13] Generally speaking, these anti-Semitic newspapers did not have a good reputation–though at the time, I didn't understand why–and so I regarded them more as the products of jealousy and envy rather than the expression of a sincere, though perhaps mistaken, outlook.

2.21 THE SO-CALLED WORLD PRESS

My own opinions were confirmed by what I considered to be the infinitely more dignified manner in which the big papers replied to those attacks-or even better, simply ignored them.

I diligently read the so-called 'world press'–*Neue Freie Presse*, *Wiener Tagblatt*, etc.[14]–and I was astonished by the abundance of information they gave their readers, and the impartial way that they presented particular problems. I appreciated their dignified tone. But sometimes the flamboyant style was unconvincing, and I didn't like it. Even so, I attributed all this to the overpowering influence of the whole metropolis.

Since I considered Vienna at that time as just such a world metropolis, I thought this fact sufficient to excuse these shortcomings of the press.

But I was frequently disgusted by the undignified manner in which this press curried favor with the Court. They were either presenting everything that happened at the Hofburg in glorious tones or lamenting the critics of Wilhelm II.[15] It was a foolish

[13] Jews were expelled from several European countries in the Middle Ages, including England (1290), France (1306), Spain (1492), and Italy (1593). They were initially expelled from Vienna in 1420. A second explusion occurred in 1669, under Leopold I. The 1782 'Edict of Tolerance' permitted Jews to return to Austria and granted them limited civil rights.

[14] The *Neue Freie Presse* was co-founded by a Jewish journalist, Max Friedlander, in 1864. Among its correspondents were notorious Zionists Max Nordau and Theodor Herzl. During Hitler's day, the paper was run by the Jewish businessman Moriz Benedikt. The *Wiener Tagblatt* was run by a Jewish industrialist, Rudolf Sieghart.

[15] Kaiser Wilhelm II (1859-1942) ruled Germany as its last emperor from 1888 to 1918. He was effectively forced to abdicate at the close of WWI.

practice, one that-especially when it had to do with ‘The Wisest Monarch of all Time’–reminded me of the mating dance of the mountain cock.

The whole thing seemed artificial.

In my eyes, it was a stain on the ideal of liberal democracy.

To curry favor at the Court like this, and in such an indecent manner, was unworthy of the nation.

This was the first shadow to darken my appreciation of the ‘great’ Vienna press.

2.22 CRITICISM OF KAISER WILHELM II

While in Vienna, I continued to follow all the events that were taking place in Germany with an ardent zeal–regardless if they were political or cultural questions. I had a feeling of pride and admiration when I contrasted the rise of the young Reich with the decline of the Austrian state. But even though the Reich's overall foreign policy was pleasing, the internal political situation was not always so good.

I didn't approve of the struggle against Wilhelm II. I regarded him not only as the German Emperor but, above all, as the creator of the German Navy. The fact that the Kaiser was prohibited from speaking in the Reichstag made me very angry, because the prohibition came from those with no authority to do so. At a single sitting, those same parliamentary imbeciles cackled together more than did the whole dynasty of emperors–even including the weakest-in the course of centuries.

I was outraged that, in a nation where any half-wit could claim for himself the right to criticize others as a ‘legislator’ in the Reichstag, the bearer of the imperial crown was himself subject to reprimand by the most miserable assembly of drivellers that has ever existed.

I was even more disgusted at the way this same Viennese press pandered to the every rickety horse in the Court, and then flew into wild ecstasies of joy if he wagged his tail in response. At the same time, these very newspapers displayed anxiety at anything to do with the German Emperor–all the while trying to hide their

enmity. But to me, it was poorly cloaked. Of course, they denied any intention of meddling in Germany's internal affairs–God forbid. They pretended that, by touching these wounds in a friendly way, they were both fulfilling the duties of the mutual alliance between the two countries and were also meeting their journalistic obligations. Having thus excused themselves, they then poked their finger ruthlessly into the wound.

That sort of thing made my blood boil.

I then began to be increasingly on guard when reading the great Viennese press.

2.23 TRANSFORMATION INTO AN ANTI-SEMITE

I had to acknowledge, however, that on such subjects, one of the anti-Semitic papers–the *Deutsche Volksblatt*–acted more decently.

One thing that got on my nerves was the disgusting manner in which the big newspapers cultivated admiration for France. One really had to feel ashamed of being a German when confronted by those saccharine hymns of praise for 'the great cultural nation.' This wretched Francophilia more than once made me throw away one of those ‘world newspapers.’ On such occasions, I often turned to the *Volksblatt*, which was much smaller in size but which treated such subjects more decently. I disagreed with its sharp anti-Semitic tone; but I found, again and again, that its arguments gave me grounds for serious thought.

Anyhow, it was as a result of such readings that I came to know the man and the movement that determined Vienna's fate. These were Dr. Karl Lueger and the Christian Socialist Movement.[16]

When I arrived in Vienna, I was opposed to both.

I viewed both the man and the movement as ‘reactionary.’

But even an elementary sense of justice forced me to change

[16] Karl Lueger (1844-1910) was the popular mayor of Vienna from 1897 to his death in 1910. He was also co-founder, in 1891, of the Christian Socialist Party of Austria. From 1920 onward, Christian Socialism was the dominant party in Austria. Upon the Anschluss with Germany in 1938, the party was dissolved.

my opinion when I had the opportunity to know the man and his work. Slowly, as I developed a stronger basis for judgment, that opinion grew into outspoken admiration. Today, more than ever, I hold this man Lueger as the preeminent type of German mayor.

So many of my basic principles were overthrown by this change in my attitude towards the Christian-Socialist movement!

My ideas about anti-Semitism also changed in the course of time, and this was my most difficult transformation.

It cost me a great internal struggle, and it was only after a long battle between reason and sentiment that the former emerged victorious. Two years later, sentiment rallied to the side of reason and became its faithful guardian and advisor.

At the time of this bitter struggle between calm reason and my spiritual sentiments, the lessons that I learned on the Vienna streets proved to be invaluable. A time came when I no longer passed blindly along the streets of the mighty city; now my eyes were open to both buildings and human beings.

Once, while passing through the inner city, I suddenly encountered an apparition in a long caftan and wearing black hair-locks.

My first thought was: Is this also a Jew?

They certainly didn't have this appearance in Linz. I watched the man stealthily and cautiously; but the longer I gazed at the strange face and examined it feature by feature, the more that my first question became a new question:

Is this also a German?

As was always my habit in such cases, I turned to books for help in removing my doubts . For the first time in my life, I bought some anti-Semitic pamphlets for a few cents. But unfortunately they all began by assuming that the reader had at least some degree of knowledge about the Jewish question, or was at least familiar with it. Moreover, the tone of most of these pamphlets made me skeptical once again, both because they were partly superficial and because their ‘proofs’ were incredibly unscientific.

For weeks, and even months, I returned to my old way of thinking.

The subject appeared so enormous, and the accusations so far-

reaching, that I was afraid of dealing with it unfairly; and so I again became anxious and uncertain.

Yet I could no longer doubt that this was not a question of Germans who happened to be of a different religion, but rather one of an entirely different people. As soon as I began to investigate the matter and observe the Jews, Vienna then appeared to me in a different light. Wherever I went, I saw Jews.[17] And the more I saw of them, the more strikingly and clearly they stood out as a different people from the other citizens. Especially the inner city and the districts north of the Danube, swarmed with a people who, even in outer appearance, had no similarity to the Germans.

Whatever doubts I may still have had at that point were finally removed by the activities of a certain section of the Jews themselves.

There was a great movement among them, well-represented in Vienna, and which strongly confirmed the national character of Jewry: this was *Zionism*.[18]

From outward appearances , it seemed as if only part of the Jews championed this movement, while the great majority disapproved of or even repudiated it. But a close examination showed that those appearances were deliberately misleading. They emerged from a fog of theories that were produced for reasons of expediency, if not outright deception. The so-called liberal Jews did not reject the Zionists as if non-Jews, but only as brother Jews with an impractical or even dangerous way of promoting Jewry.

There was no real conflict in their inner nature.

This fictitious conflict between the Zionists and the liberal Jews soon disgusted me; it was thoroughly false, and in direct contradiction to the moral dignity and immaculate character on which that people had always prided itself.

Cleanliness, whether moral or otherwise, has its own peculiar meaning for these people. That they were not water-lovers was

[17] By the 1920s, Jews were roughly 10 percent of the Viennese population–though in certain districts, they exceeded 50 percent.

[18] Zionism may be defined as the movement to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine. It was founded in 1899, and rapidly grew during the first few decades of the 20th century

obvious upon first glance, and unfortunately, often also when not looking at them at all. The odor of those people in caftans often made me sick to my stomach.[19]

Beyond that, there were the unkempt clothes and the generally ignoble appearance.

All these details were certainly not attractive. But the truly revolting feature was that, beneath their unclean exterior, one suddenly perceived the moral rot of this 'chosen people.'[20]

What soon gave me cause for serious thought, with a slowly rising insight, were the activities of the Jews in certain fields of life.

Was there any shady undertaking, any form of nastiness–especially in cultural life–in which at least one Jew did not participate?[21]

On putting the probing knife carefully to that kind of abscess, one immediately discovers, like a maggot in a rotting corpse, often blinded by the dazzling light: a little Jew.

In my eyes, the charge against Jewry became a grave one the moment I discovered their activities in the press, art, literature, and the theater. All protests to the contrary were now essentially futile. One needed only to look at the posters announcing the monstrous productions of the cinema and theater, and study the names of the authors who were so highly praised there, in order to become permanently unwavering.

Here was a pestilence, a *moral* pestilence, with which the public was being infected–one worse than the Black Death. And in what

[19] There is a long history of negative commentary on 'the Jewish stench,' dating back to the Roman poet Martial (ca. 100 AD). Among the more recent commentators was Arthur Schopenhauer, who issued a number of biting remarks on the "foetor Judaicus."

[20] "For you are a people holy to the LORD your God. The LORD your God has chosen you to be a people for his own possession, out of all the peoples that are on the face of the earth" (Deut 7:6). The idea of a people being "chosen" by God was a religious innovation of Judaism; no other religion was so self-centered. It naturally prompted Jews to think of themselves as special, different, and better than others. And it led directly to the idea that the Jews harbored "a hatred of all mankind"–a view noted by Hecateus, Tacitus, and many other observers over the centuries. See Dalton (2011) for an elaboration.

[21] Jews have long been prominent in ethically dubious industries, including usury, slavery, war-profiteering, alcohol, drugs, gambling, and pornography. For details, see Davis (2012), Nation of Islam (1991), Gertzman (1999), Darkmoon (2014), and Joyce (2015).

mighty doses this poison was manufactured and distributed! Naturally, the lower the moral and intellectual level of such artists, the more inexhaustible their fecundity. Sometimes it happened that these fellows, acting like a sewage pump, would spew their filth directly in the face of humanity. We must recall that there is no limit to the number of such people. One must realize that, for every Goethe, nature may bring into existence 10,000 despoilers, who act as germ-carriers of the worst sort, poisoning human souls.

It was a terrible thought–and yet it couldn't be avoided, that most of the Jews seemed particularly destined by nature to play this shameful role.

Is this why they can be called 'the chosen people'?

I then began to carefully investigate the names of all the fabricators of these filthy cultural products. As a result, I became even more disgusted with the Jews than I was previously. Even if my feelings might resist a thousand times, reason now had to draw its own conclusions.

The fact was that 90 percent of all the filthy literature, artistic trash, and theatrical idiocy had to be charged to the account of a people who formed scarcely one percent of the nation. This fact could not be denied. It was there, and had to be admitted

Then I began to examine my beloved 'world press' from a different point of view.

The deeper I probed, the lesser grew my respect for that press that I formerly admired. Its style became even more repellent, and I was forced to reject its ideas as entirely shallow and superficial. The claim that it impartially presented facts and ideas was more lie than truth. And the writers were–Jews.

Thousands of details that I scarcely noticed before now came to deserve new attention. I began to grasp and understand things differently than I had before.

I now saw the liberal press in a different light. Its dignified tone in replying to its opponents' attacks, and its dead silence on other issues, now became clear to me as part of a cunning and despicable way of deceiving the reader. Its brilliant theatrical criticisms always praised the Jewish authors, whereas its negative criticism was reserved exclusively for the Germans. The gentle pinpricks

against Wilhelm II showed the persistency of its policy, as did its systematic praise of French culture and civilization. The subject matter of the short story was trashy and often indecent. The entire language of this press had the accent of a foreign people. The general tone was so openly derogatory to the Germans that it must have been intentional.

In whose interest was this?

Was all this merely an accident?

My doubts gradually increased.

2.24 THE JEW AS LEADER OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

Then something happened that accelerated my insight. I began to see the deeper meaning of a whole series of events that were taking place. All these were inspired by a general concept of ethics and morals that were openly practiced by a majority of the Jews–one that had practical applications.

Here again, life on the streets taught me what evil really is.

The relationship of the Jews to prostitution and, even more, to human trafficking, could be studied here better than in any other West European city–with the possible exception of certain ports in southern France. Walking at night along the streets of the Leopoldstadt, at almost every turn, whether one wished it or not, one witnessed certain happenings that were unknown to most Germans–at least, until the war made it possible, or rather inevitable, to see such things on the Eastern front.

A cold shiver ran down my spine when I first realized that it was the cold-blooded, shameless, and calculating Jew who skillfully directed this revolting exploitation of the scum of the big city.

Then I became enraged.

I no longer hesitated about bringing up the Jewish question. No; now I sought it. As I learned to track down the Jew in many different spheres of cultural and artistic life–and in various manifestations of life everywhere–I suddenly found him where I least expected to.

I now realized that the Jews were the leaders of Social Democracy. With that revelation, the scales fell from my eyes. My long inner struggle was at an end.

In my relations with my fellow workers, I was often astonished at how easily and often they changed their opinions on the same questions–sometimes within a few days, and sometimes even within a few hours. I found it difficult to understand how men who were reasonable as individuals suddenly lost this ability as soon as they acted as a mass. This phenomenon often tempted me to despair. I argued with them for hours, and when I succeeded in bringing them to what I considered a reasonable way of thinking, I celebrated my success. But the next day, I found that it was all in vain. It was disgusting to have to begin all over again. Like an eternal pendulum, they would swing back to their absurd opinions.

All this was understandable. They were dissatisfied with their lot and cursed the fate that hit them so hard. They hated their employers, whom they looked upon as the heartless administrators of their cruel destiny. They often used abusive language against public officials, whom they accused of being completely unsympathetic to the situation of working people. They conducted public protests against the cost of living, and paraded through the streets in defense of their claims.

All this, at least, could be reasonably explained. But impossible to explain was the boundless hatred against their fellow citizen–how they disparaged their own nation, mocked its greatness, reviled its history, and dragged the names of its most illustrious men through the gutter.

This hostility towards their own kind, their own native land and home, was as irrational as it was incomprehensible. It was deeply unnatural.

One could temporarily cure this malady, but only for a few days or some weeks. But upon later meeting those were converted, one found that they were the same as before.

That unnatural illness once again possessed them.

I gradually discovered that the Social Democratic press was predominantly controlled by Jews. But I didn't attach special importance to this circumstance because the same state of affairs

existed in the other newspapers. But there was one striking fact: not a single newspaper connected to the Jews could be called ‘national’–as I understood the term.

I swallowed my disgust and tried to read this type of Marxist press; but in doing so, my revulsion increased all the more. I then set about learning something of the people who wrote and published this mischievous stuff.

From the publisher on down, they were all Jews.

I grabbed all the Social Democratic pamphlets I could find, and checked the names of their authors: Jews. I noted the names of all the leaders; most of them were also members of ‘the chosen people.’ It didn't matter if they were representatives in the Reichsrat or trade union secretaries, organizational heads or street agitators. Everywhere it was always the same sinister picture. I'll never forget the list of names: Austerlitz, David, Adler, Ellenbogen, and others.[22]

One fact became quite evident to me: that this alien people held in its hands the leadership of the Social Democratic Party, with whose minor representatives I had been disputing for months. I was happy to finally know for certain that the Jew is not a German.

Only then did I truly understand who the evil seducers of our people were.

A single year of my sojourn in Vienna sufficed to convince me that no worker is so rooted in his preconceptions that he will not surrender them to better and clearer arguments and explanations . Gradually I became an expert in Marxist doctrine. I used this

[22] Friedrich Austerlitz (1862-1931) was a journalist, editor of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, and active SDAPÖ member. Wilhelm Ellenbogen (1863-1951) was a doctor, SDAPÖ activist, and member of the Austrian National Assembly. 'Adler' is ambiguous; it may refer to Victor Adler, founder of SDAPÖ; or his brother Max Adler (1873-1937), the noted Marxist; or Victor's son Friedrich Adler (1879-1960), secretary-general of SDAPÖ and member of the Austrian National Council (this latter Adler became well-known for assassinating a leading Austrian politician, Karl von Stiirgkh, in 1916). The reference to ‘David’ is ambiguous and unknown.

Hitler might have mentioned other Jewish names as well: Helene Bauer, Otto Braun, Heinrich Braun, Julius Braunthal, Hugo Breitner, Robert Danneberg, Julius Deutsch, Gustav Eckstein, Rudolf Hilferding, Sigmund Kaff, Benno Karpeles, Oskar Pollak, Therese Schlesinger, Friedrich Stampfer, and Julius Tandler. All these individuals were "Social Democratic leaders with Jewish backgrounds" (Maderthaner and Silverman 2009: 79).

knowledge as an instrument to drive home my own firm convictions.

Success was almost always on my side.

2.25 JEWISH DIALECTICS

The great masses can be rescued, but only by sacrificing much time and patience.

But a Jew can never be parted from his opinions.

It was simple enough, at that time, to try to show them the absurdity of their teaching. Within my small circle, I talked to them until my throat ached and my voice grew hoarse. I believed that I could finally convince them of the danger inherent in Marxist foolishness. But I only achieved the contrary result. It seemed that the more they understood the destructiveness of Social-Democratic doctrine and its consequences, the more firmly they clung to it.

The more I debated with them, the more familiar I became with their argumentative tactics. At the outset they counted upon the stupidity of their opponents; but when they got so tied up that they couldn't find a way out, they played the trick of acting as innocent simpletons. Should that fail, in spite of their tricks of logic, they acted as if they couldn't understand the counter arguments, and jumped away to another topic of discussion. They stated truisms and platitudes; and if you accepted these, they applied them to other matters of an essentially different nature. If you pointed this out, they escaped again and avoided any precise statement. Whenever one tried to get a firm grip on one of these apostles, one’s hand grasped only a jellylike slimer–that slipped through the fingers, and then recombined into a solid mass a moment later.

But if you really struck a blow on one of these adversaries and, due to the audience present, he had to concede the point, a surprise was in store for you the following day. The Jew would be utterly oblivious to what had happened the day before. He would start once again by repeating his former absurdities, as if nothing had happened. If you became indignant and reminded him of yesterday's defeat, he feigned astonishment, and couldn't

remember a thing–except that on the day before, he was proven correct.

Sometimes I was simply dumbfounded.

I don't know what amazed me more: the agility of their speech or their art of lying.

I gradually came to hate them.

Yet all this had its good side. The more I came to know the individual leaders of Social Democracy, or at least the propagandists, the more my love for my own people grew. Considering the diabolical craftiness of these seducers, who could blame their unfortunate victims? How hard it was, even for me, to get the best of this race of dialectical liars! How futile it was to try to win over such people with argument, seeing how their mouths distorted the truth–disowning the very words they had just used, and then, a moment later, taking credit for them!

No. The more I came to know the Jew, the easier it was to excuse the workers.

In my opinion, the greatest guilt lay not with the workers but rather with those who didn't find it worthwhile to sympathize with their own people. They should have given the hard-working son of the national family what he was owed, and at the same time placed his seducer and corrupter up against the wall.

2.26 STUDY OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF MARXISM

Urged by my own daily experiences, I now began to investigate more thoroughly the sources of Marxist doctrine. Its effects were well-known to me in detail. As a result of careful observation, its daily progress became obvious. And one needed only a little imagination in order to be able to predict the consequences that must result. The only question now was: Did the founders foresee the effects of their work in the form that they appeared, or were they themselves the victims of an error?

To my mind, both alternatives were possible.

If the latter case, it was the duty of every thinking person to oppose this sinister movement, hoping to avoid the worst results.

But if the former were true, then it must be admitted that the original authors of this plague of nations must have been devils incarnate. For only in the brain of a monster, and not that of a man, could such a plan take shape--one whose workings must finally bring about the collapse of human civilization and the devastation of the world.

Such being the case, the only alternative left was to fight. This fight must employ all the weapons that the human spirit, intellect, and will can muster–leaving it to fate to decide who shall prevail.

And so I began to make myself familiar with the authors of this doctrine, in order to study the principles of the movement. The fact that I attained my objective faster than anticipated was due to the deeper insight that I had acquired into the Jewish question–my prior knowledge having been rather superficial. This newly acquired knowledge, by itself, enabled me to make a practical comparison between the real content and the theoretical pretentiousness of the doctrine laid down by the apostolic founders of Social Democracy; I now understood the language of the Jewish people. I realized that they use language for the purpose of disguising or veiling their thought, so that their real aim cannot be discovered by what they say, but rather only by reading between the lines.

This insight was, for me, the greatest inner revolution that I had yet experienced.

From being a soft-hearted cosmopolitan, I became an outright anti-Semite.

2.27 MARXISM AS DESTROYER OF CULTURE

Only on one further occasion-and that for the last time-did oppressing thoughts arise that caused me some moments of profound anguish.

As I critically reviewed the historical activities of the Jewish people, I became anxious. I asked myself if, for some inscrutable reasons beyond mortal comprehension, destiny might not have irrevocably decreed that final victory must go to this little nation?

Is it possible that this people, which has lived only for the earth,

was promised the earth as compensation?

Do we have an objective right to struggle for our own self-preservation, or is it merely a subjective thing?

Fate answered the question for me, insofar as it led me to make a detached and exhaustive inquiry into Marxist doctrine, and into the activities of the Jewish people in connection with it.

The Jewish doctrine of Marxism rejects the aristocratic principle of nature, substituting for it the eternal privilege of force and energy, numerical mass and dead weight. Thus it denies the individual value of the human personality, and impugns the idea that nationhood and race have primary significance. In doing so, it takes away the very foundations of human existence and culture.

If this doctrine were ever accepted as the foundation of the universe, it would lead to the disappearance of all conceivable order. Adopting such a law would provoke chaos in the structure of the greatest organism that we know–and the inhabitants of this earth would vanish.

If the Jew, with the aid of his Marxist creed, were to triumph over the people of this world, his crown will be the funeral wreath of mankind. And this planet will once again follow its orbit through the ether devoid of humanity, just as it did millions of years ago.

Eternal Nature inevitably avenges those who violate her commands.

Hence today I believe that I am acting in accordance with the will of the Almighty Creator: In defending myself against the Jew, I am fighting for the work of the Lord.

CHAPTER 3

GENERAL POLITICAL REFLECTIONS FROM MY TIME IN VIENNA

Today I am convinced that, in general, a man should not publicly take part in politics before the age of 30–except for cases of extraordinary talent. Until then, a man's mental development will mostly consist in acquiring the necessary knowledge to serve as the groundwork of a general platform, one from which he can evaluate different political problems. One must first acquire a fund of general ideas–a worldview. Then he will have that mental equipment necessary for consistency and steadfastness in the formation of his political opinions. He will then be qualified to take part in politics.

Otherwise he will run a twofold risk. He may find that his original position was wrong, at least regarding some essential questions. He will then either have to abandon his former position, or else stick with it–against his better judgment, and after reason has shown it untenable. In the former case, he will find himself in a difficult personal situation. He will appear inconsistent, and will lose the right to expect his followers to remain loyal. The followers themselves may see him as lacking in judgment, causing them to feel uncomfortable and nervous.

In the second case–which happens frequently–the leader no longer has the power of personal persuasion. Hence the defense of his cause becomes hollow and superficial. He now becomes vulgar. He no longer fights seriously for his political ideas (no man will die in defense of something that he does not believe), and he makes increasing demands on his followers . Indeed, the greater his own insincerity, the more unfortunate and inconsiderate become his claims on his followers. Finally, he

abandons the last vestiges of true leadership and becomes ‘a politician.’ At this point, his only consistency is his inconsistency– combined with overbearing insolence and an artful lying, all developed to a shameful degree.

If, to the misfortune of all decent people, such a person succeeds in becoming a parliamentarian, it will be clear at the outset that, for him, the essence of political activity consists in a heroic struggle to keep a permanent hold on this milk-bottle for himself and his family. The more his wife and children are dependent on him, the more stubbornly he will fight to stay in office. For that reason, anyone else who shows signs of political competence ·is his personal enemy. In every new movement, he will sense the possible beginning of his own end. And anyone who is a better man than himself will appear to him as a danger.

I shall have more to say later about this kind of parliamentary vermin.

3.1 THE POLITICIAN

At the age of 30, a man obviously still has a great deal to learn. But henceforth, what he learns will principally be an amplification of his basic ideas; it will support his basic worldview. What he learns will not imply the abandonment of his principles, but rather a deeper knowledge of them. And thus his supporters will never have the uncomfortable feeling that they have been misled by him. On the contrary: their confidence will grow when they see that their leader's qualities are progressing and developing organically by the assimilation of new ideas. His followers will see this process as an enrichment of his doctrine, one that reinforces the correctness of the view.

A leader who must abandon the platform founded on his general worldview, because he recognizes it as false, can only act honorably when he declares his readiness to accept the final consequences of his erroneous views. In such a case, he should refrain from any further political activity. Having once gone astray on essential matters, he may possibly go astray a second time. In any case, he has no right whatsoever to expect or demand that his

fellow citizens continue to support him.

How little such a line of conduct commends itself to our public leaders nowadays is proved by the general corruption prevalent among the present cabal, which feels itself ‘called’ to political leadership.

Overall, there is scarcely one who is prepared for this task.

Even though, in those days, I used to give more time than most others to the consideration of political questions, I still carefully refrained from taking an open part in politics. I spoke of those things that bothered me, but only to a small circle of friends. This habit had many advantages. Rather than talk at them, I learned to listen-to get the feel of others ' way of thinking. Often their outlook and views were quite primitive. But I trained myself well, without losing the time and opportunity for education.

Nowhere in Germany was the opportunity for making such a study so favorable as in Vienna.

In the old Danubian Monarchy, political thought had a wider range and richer variety of interests than in old Germany of the same era–excepting certain parts of Prussia, Hamburg, and the districts bordering on the North Sea. When I say ‘Austria,’ I mean that part of the great Habsburg Empire that supplied, through its German population, not only the historic basis for the formation of this state, but also whose population was, for several centuries, also the exclusive source of cultural life in that artificial political system. As time went on, the stability of the Austrian State and the guarantee of its continued existence depended more and more on the maintenance of this germ-cell of the empire.

3.2 VIENNA’S LAST REVIVAL

The hereditary territories were the heart of the empire. And it was this heart that constantly sent the life-blood pulsating through the whole political and cultural system. If this was the heart, Vienna was the brain and the will.

At that time, Vienna appeared like an enthroned queen, whose authoritative sway united the conglomeration of heterogenous nationalities. The radiant beauty of the capital city made one

forget the sad symptoms of senile decay that were manifested in the state as a whole.

Though the empire was quivering internally because of the conflicts among the various nationalities, the outside world-and Germany in particular–saw only that lovely picture of the city. The illusion was all the greater because, at that time, Vienna seemed to have experienced its greatest revival. Under a truly gifted mayor, one who had the stamp of administrative genius, the venerable Residence of the Emperors seemed to have recaptured the glory of its youth. The last great German who sprang from the ranks of the people that had colonized the Ostmark was not a so-called statesman. This Dr. Lueger, in his role as mayor of the Imperial Capital Vienna, achieved so much in almost all spheres of municipal activity-both economic and cultural–that the heart of the empire throbbed with renewed energy. He thus proved himself a much greater statesman than the so-called 'diplomats ' of that period.

3.3 GERMANDOM IN AUSTRIA

The fact that this political system of heterogeneous nations called ‘Austria’ finally broke down is no sign of political incapacity on the part of the Germans in the old Ostmark. The collapse was the inevitable result of an impossible situation. Ten million people cannot permanently hold together a state of 50 million, one composed of different and conflicting nationalities–unless certain definite prerequisite conditions are established in time.

The German-Austrian had very big ways of thinking.

Accustomed to living in a great empire, he had a strong sense of obligation. He was the only member of the Austrian State who looked beyond the narrow borders of his own people and took in the full sweep of the empire. When destiny severed him from his common Fatherland, he tried to manage the tremendous task at hand. This task was to maintain for the German-Austrians that which, through innumerable struggles, their ancestors had originally won from the East. And it must be remembered that

they couldn't put their undivided strength into this effort, because their hearts and minds were always turning back towards their kinsfolk in the Motherland-leaving only a small part for the homeland.

The general horizon of the German-Austrian was comparatively broad. His commercial interests comprised almost every part of the heterogeneous empire. The conduct of nearly all major business activity was in his hands. For the most part, he provided the state with its leading technical experts and civil servants . He was responsible for conducting foreign trade, to the extent that that sphere of activity was not under Jewish control. He held the state together. His military duties carried him far beyond the narrow borders of his homeland. Though the recruit might join a German regiment, the regiment itself might be stationed in Herzegovina, Vienna, or Galicia. The officers in the Habsburg armies were still Germans, and so were the better parts of the civil service.

Furthermore, art and science were in German hands. Apart from the new artistic trash-which might just as well have been produced by a nation of Negroes–all genuine artistic inspiration came from the Germans. In music, architecture, sculpture, and painting, Vienna abundantly supplied the entire Dual Monarchy. And this source never seemed to show signs of exhaustion.

Finally, it was the German element that determined the conduct of foreign policy–though a small number of Hungarians were also active in that field.

All efforts, however, to save the unity of the state were doomed to end in failure, because the essential prerequisites were missing.

3.4 CENTRIFUGAL FORCES OF THE AUSTRIAN PEOPLE

There was only one possible way to control and hold in check the centrifugal forces of the differing nationalities. This was to centrally govern the Austrian State and organize it internally on this basis. In no other way could the existence of that state be assured.

Now and then there were lucid moments in the ruling authorities when this truth was recognized. But it was quickly forgotten or ignored, because of the practical difficulties. Every step toward federalism was bound to fail because, without a strong central authority, there was insufficient power to hold the federal elements together.

Conditions in Austria were quite the opposite.

Apart from Hungary, there was no great political tradition in any of the various nations . If there were, time either erased all traces, or at least rendered them obscure. Moreover, this was the age of ascendant nationalism–the awakening of national instincts in the various countries of the empire. They were difficult to control because, just outside the borders of the empire, new national states were forming, consisting of the same racial stock as those within it. These new states were able to exercise a greater influence than the German element.

Even Vienna couldn't hold out forever in this conflict.

When Budapest developed into a metropolis, a rival appeared–one who's mission was to strengthen one part of the empire, and not to help hold it together. Soon Prague followed the example of Budapest; and later on came Lemberg, Laibach, and others. As these former provincial towns rose to become national cities, they became the centers of an independent cultural life. Through this, local national instincts acquired a spiritual foundation and thereby gained a deeper hold on the people. The time was bound to come when the particular interests of those various nations would become stronger than their common imperial interests. Once that stage was reached, Austria's doom was sealed.

The course of this development was clearly perceptible since the death of Joseph II.[23] Its rapidity depended on a number of factors, some of which had their source in the Monarchy itself. Others resulted from the position that the empire took in foreign policy.

Only a firm and persistent policy of centralization could hope to be successful at enforcing a permanent consolidation of the

[23] Joseph II was emperor of the Holy Roman Empire from 1765 to his death in 1790.

Austrian State. Before all, the principle should have been adopted that only one common language could be used as the official language of the state. In this way it would be possible to emphasize the formal unity of the imperial commonwealth. And thus the administration would have in its hands a technical instrument to ensure the persistence of the state as a political unity. In the same way, schools and other forms of education should have been used to inculcate a feeling of common citizenship. Such an objective could not be reached in 10 or 20 years; the effort would take centuries. Just as in all problems of colonization, steady perseverance is a far more important element than a momentary output of energetic effort.

It goes without saying that, in such circumstances, the country must be governed by strictly adhering to the principle of uniformity.

3.5 CONSEQUENCES OF ETHNIC DIVERSITY

For me it was quite instructive to discover why this did not occur– or rather, why it was not done. Those who were guilty of the omission must be held responsible for the break-up of the Habsburg Empire.

More than any other state, the existence of the old Austria depended on a strong and capable government. It lacked ethnic uniformity; this constitutes the fundamental basis of a national state, and will preserve its existence even should the ruling power be grossly inefficient. When a state is composed of a homogeneous population, the natural inertia of such a population will hold it together and maintain its existence through astonishingly long periods of misgovernment and poor administration. It may often seem as if there were no life in such a body-politic. But a time comes when the supposed corpse rises up and displays to the world an astonishing manifestation of its indestructible vitality.

But the situation is utterly different in a country where the population is not homogeneous, where there is no bond of common blood, but only a ruling hand. Should that hand show

signs of weakness, the result will not be a kind of hibernation of the state, but rather an awakening of the individual instincts that are slumbering in the various ethnicities. These instincts are dormant when the state has a strong central government. The danger that exists in these slumbering instincts can be attenuated only by centuries of common education, traditions, and interests.

The younger such states are, the more their existence will depend on the ability and strength of the central government. If they survive only due to the power of a strong individual leader, they often collapse as soon as he dies. But even after centuries of effort, these separatist instincts cannot always be completely overcome. They may suddenly awaken when the central government shows weakness, or when centralizing efforts prove unable to counteract the vital energies of the separate nationalities, as they forge ahead towards shaping their own individual existence.

The failure to see the truth of all this constituted perhaps the tragic guilt of the House of Habsburg.

3.6 JOSEPH II

For only one Habsburg ruler did Destiny hold aloft the torch over the future of his country. But the torch was then extinguished forever.

Joseph II, Roman Kaiser of the German nation, was filled with growing anxiety when he realized that his House was moved to an outlying comer of the Reich, and that before long it would be overturned and engulfed in the whirlpool of Babylonian nationalities-unless something was done at the eleventh hour to overcome the dire consequences of longstanding negligence. With superhuman energy, this ‘Friend of Humanity’ made every possible effort to counteract the carelessness of his predecessors. Within one decade he strove to repair centuries of damage. If Destiny had granted him 40 years for his labors, and if but two generations had carried on his work, the miracle might have been performed. But when he died, broken in body and spirit after ten years of rulership, his work sank with him into the grave. They

now rest forever in that Capuchin crypt, never to awake.

His successors had neither the ability nor the will-power necessary for the task they faced.

When the first signs of a new revolutionary epoch appeared in Europe, they gradually scattered the fire throughout Austria. And when the fire began to steadily burn, it was fanned, not by the social or political conditions, but by forces that had their origin in the nationalist yearnings of the various ethnic groups.

The European revolutions of 1848 primarily took the form of a class conflict in almost every other country, but in Austria it took the form of a new racial struggle. Insofar as the German-Austrians there forgot the origins of the movement–or perhaps had failed to recognize them at the start and consequently took part in the revolutionary uprising–they sealed their own fate. They helped to awaken the spirit of Western democracy that, within a short while, shattered the foundations of their own existence.

3.7 THE DISSOLUTION OF THE HABSBURG MONARCHY

Setting up a representative parliamentary body, without first insisting that only one language be used in all public discourse, was the first great blow to the German element in the Dual Monarchy. From that moment on, the state itself was lost. All that followed was nothing but the historic liquidation of an empire.

To watch that process of progressive disintegration was a tragic but also instructive experience. The execution of history's decree was carried out in thousands of details. The fact that great numbers of people wandered around blindly, even as they were surrounded by signs of decay, only proves that the gods had decreed Austria's destruction.

I don’t want to dwell on details here, because that would lie outside the scope of this book. I want to treat in detail only those events that are typical among the causes that lead to the decline of nations and states, and which are therefore of importance to our present age. Moreover, the study of these events helped to furnish the basis of my own political outlook.

3.8 PARLIAMENTARIANISM

Among the institutions that most clearly showed unmistakable signs of decay, even to the weak-sighted Philistine, was that which, of all the institutions of state, should have been the most firmly founded–I mean the Parliament, or *Reichsrat* as it was called in Austria.

The pattern for this corporate body was obviously that which existed in England, the land of classic 'democracy.' The whole of that blissful organization was bodily transferred, unchanged, to Vienna.

An Austrian counterpart to the British two-chamber system was established: a Chamber of Deputies and a House of Lords. The 'houses' themselves, considered as buildings, were somewhat different. When Barry built his palaces on the shore of the Thames, he could look to the history of the British Empire for his inspiration.[24] In that history he found sufficient material to fill and decorate the 1,200 niches, brackets, and pillars of his magnificent edifice. The House of Lords and the House of Commons became temples dedicated to the glory of the nation.

This was when the first difficulty came for Vienna. When Hansen, the Danish architect,[25] completed the last gable of the marble palace, he turned to the ancient classical world for subjects to fill out his decorative plan. This theatrical shrine of 'western democracy' was adorned with the statues and portraits of Greek and Roman statesmen and philosophers . As if in symbolic irony, the horses of the *quadriga* atop the two Houses are pulling apart in all four directions. There could be no better symbol for the kind of activity going on within the walls of that very building.

The 'nationalities' were opposed to any kind of glorification of Austrian history in the decoration of this building; they insisted that it would constitute an offence to them. Much the same happened in Germany, where Wallot's Reichstag building was

[24] Charles Barry (1795- 1860) designed and rebuilt the Houses of Parliament in the mid-1800s.
[25] Theophil Hansen (1813-1891).

dedicated to the Germans only under the thunder of cannons in the World War-and then only in an inscription.

I was not yet 20 when I first entered the Palace on the *Franzensring* to watch and listen in the Chamber of Deputies. That first experience aroused in me a profound feeling of repugnance.

I always hated the Parliament, but not as an institution in itself. On the contrary, as one who cherished ideals of political freedom, I couldn't even imagine any other form of government. In light of my attitude towards the House of Habsburg, I would then have thought it a crime against liberty and reason to consider any kind of dictatorship as a possible form of government.

I had a certain admiration for the British Parliament, and this contributed to the formation of my opinion. This feeling came almost unconsciously, much of it while reading the newspapers when I was young. I couldn't discard that admiration in an instant. The dignified way in which the British House of Commons fulfilled its function impressed me greatly, thanks largely to the glowing terms used by the Austrian press. Could there could be any nobler form of government than self-government by the people?

But these considerations furnished the very basis of my hostility to the Austrian Parliament. The way it was represented here seemed unworthy of its great example. The following thoughts also influenced my attitude:

The fate of the Germans in the Austrian State depended on their position in the *Reichsrat*. Prior to the introduction of universal suffrage by secret ballot, the Germans had a majority in the *Reichsrat*–though not a very substantial one. This was a cause for concern because the Social-Democratic faction of the German majority was unreliable regarding national questions. In matters of critical concern to the Germans, the Social-Democrats always took an anti-German stand because they were afraid of losing support among the other national groups. Even before universal suffrage, the Social-Democratic Party could no longer be considered a German Party. Universal suffrage put an end even to the purely numerical dominance of the German element. The way was now clear for the further de-Germanization of the state.

My nationalist instinct of self-preservation made it impossible for me to welcome a system in which the German element was not really represented as such, but always betrayed by the Social-Democratic faction. Yet all these defects, and many others, could not be attributed to the parliamentary system as such, but rather to the Austrian State in particular. I still believed that if the German majority could be restored in the representative body, there would be no occasion to oppose such a system as long as the old Austrian State continued to exist.

Such was my general attitude at the time when I first entered those sacred and contentious halls. For me, they were sacred only because of the radiant beauty of that majestic building. A Greek wonder on German soil.

But I soon became enraged by the hideous spectacle that met my eyes!

Several hundred representatives were there to discuss a problem of great economic importance, and each one had the right to have his say.

That experience of a single day was enough to supply me with food for thought during several weeks afterwards.

The intellectual level of the debate was quite low. Sometimes the debaters didn't make themselves intelligible at all. Several of those present didn't speak German, but only their Slav vernaculars or dialects . Thus I had the opportunity of hearing with my own ears what I had previously known only by reading the newspapers. A turbulent mass of people, all gesticulating and screaming at one another, with a pathetic old man shaking his bell and making frantic efforts to call the House to order by friendly appeals, exhortations, and grave warnings.[26]

I had to laugh.

I paid a second visit several weeks later. It was an entirely

[26] Interestingly, Mark Twain made a similar observation just a decade before. In the non-fiction essay “Stirring times in Austria” (1898), he lampoons the chaotic and sorry state of the Austrian parliament. Notably, he remarks on how all sides found the Jews to blame for their problems: “In all cases the Jew had to roast, no matter which side he was on” (p. 540). A follow-up essay, "Concerning the Jews" (1899), is also relevant for the discussion at hand.

different picture–almost unrecognizable. The hall was nearly empty. They were sleeping in the other rooms below. Only a few deputies were in their places, yawning in each other's faces. One was 'speaking.' A deputy speaker was in the chair. He looked around with obvious boredom.

Then I began to reflect seriously on the whole thing. I went to the Parliament whenever I had any time to spare, and silently but attentively watched the spectacle. I listened to the debates, as far as they could be understood. And I studied the more or less intelligent features of those elected representatives of the various nationalities that composed that motley state. Gradually I formed my own ideas about what I saw.

A year of such quiet observation was sufficient to transform or completely eliminate my former convictions regarding the character of this institution. I no longer opposed merely the perverted form that the principle of parliamentary representation had assumed in Austria; no. It became impossible for me to accept the system in itself. Up to that time, I had believed that the disastrous deficiencies of the Austrian Parliament were due to the lack of a German majority. But now I recognized that the very essence and form of the institution itself was wrong.

A number of questions arose in my mind.

I studied the democratic principle of majority rule more closely. And I scrutinized no less carefully the intellectual and moral worth of the gentlemen who, as the chosen representatives of the nation, were entrusted with the task of making this institution function.

Thus I came to know both the institution itself and those in it.

And thus I formed a clear and vivid picture of a typical example of that most dignified phenomenon of our time: the parliamentarian. The picture of him that I then formed became deeply engraved on my mind, and I have never altered its essential character.

Once again, these object-lessons taken from real life saved me from getting firmly entangled by a theory that, at first glance, seems so alluring to many people–though that theory itself is a symptom of human decadence.

Western democracy, as practised today, is the forerunner of

Marxism. In fact, the latter would be inconceivable without the former. Democracy is the breeding ground in which the bacilli of the Marxist world-pest can grow and spread. By the introduction of parliamentarianism, democracy produced an 'abomination of filth and fire'[27]–the creative fire of which, however, seems to have died out.

I'm very grateful to Fate that I noticed this problem when I was still in Vienna; if I had been in Germany at that time, I might easily have found only a superficial solution. If I had been in Berlin when I first discovered what an illogical institution 'parliament' is, I might easily have gone to the other extreme. I might have believed–as many did, and not without apparently good reason-that the salvation of the people and the empire could be secured only by restrengthening imperial authority. Those who believed didn't understand the tendencies of their time, and were blind to the aspirations of the people.

In Austria, this was impossible.

Here it wasn't so easy to fall from one error into another. If the Parliament was worthless, the Habsburgs were worse–or at least no better. The problem wasn't solved by rejecting the parliamentary system. A question immediately arose: What then? To repudiate and abolish the Vienna Parliament would have resulted in leaving all power in the hands of the Habsburgs. For me especially, that idea was unthinkable.

Since this problem was particularly difficult in regard to Austria, I was forced, while still quite young, to go more thoroughly into the essentials of the whole question than I would otherwise have done.

3.9 LACK OF RESPONSIBILITY

The aspect of the situation that was most thought-provoking to me was the manifest lack of any individual responsibility.

The parliament takes an action that may have the most devastating consequences, and yet nobody bears responsibility for

[27] A reference to Goethe's Faust (part 1, line 5356).

it. No one can be called to account. Can we call the government responsible if, in the face of a catastrophe, it simply resigns? Or if the coalition is changed, or even if parliament is dissolved?

Can a fluctuating majority of people ever be truly responsible for anything?

Isn't the idea of responsibility bound to an individual person?

Is it even possible to actually hold the parliamentary leaders accountable for any action that originated in the desires of the mass of representatives, and was carried out under their direction?

Instead of developing constructive ideas and plans, does the true statesman's business really consist in the art of making a whole pack of blockheads understand his projects? Is it really his job to beg and plead so that they will grant him their generous consent?

Is it really an indispensable quality in a statesman that he should possess a gift of persuasion commensurate with his ability to conceive great political measures, and to carry them through into practice?

Does it really prove that a statesman is incompetent if he should fail to win over a majority of votes in an assembly that has been called together as the chance result of an electoral system?

Has there ever been a case where such an assembly has worthily appraised a great political concept *before* that concept was proven a success?

In this world, isn't the creative act of genius always a protest against the inertia of the mass? And what should the statesman do if he doesn't succeed in coaxing the parliamentary mob to give its consent?

Should he buy it?

Or, when confronted with the obstinate stupidity of his fellow citizens, should he then refrain from pushing forward the vital necessities? Should he resign or remain in power?

In such a case, doesn't a man of character find himself face to face with an insoluble contradiction between knowledge and moral integrity-or better, his sense of honesty?

3.10 THE DESTRUCTION OF THE IDEA OF LEADERSHIP

Where can we draw the line between public duty and personal honor?

Shouldn't every genuine leader renounce the idea of degrading himself to the level of a political gangster?

And, on the other hand, doesn't every gangster feel the itch to 'play politics,' seeing that the final responsibility will never rest with him personally but rather with an anonymous, unaccountable mob?

Doesn't our parliamentary principle of majority rule necessarily lead to the destruction of the idea of leadership?

Does anyone honestly believe that human progress originates in the brain of the majority, and not in the brain of the individual personality?

Or may it be presumed that future human civilization can dispense with this as a condition of its existence?

Or rather, doesn't this seem today to be more indispensible than ever?

The parliamentary principle of majority rule rejects the authority of the individual and puts a numerical quota of anonymous heads in its place. In doing so, it contradicts the aristocratic principle, which is a fundamental law of nature– though it must be admitted that this principle is not reflected in the decadence of our upper 10,000.[28]

The devastating influence of this parliamentary institution might not easily be recognized by those who read the Jewish press, unless the reader has learned how to think independently and examine facts for himself. This institution is primarily responsible for the crowded inrush of mediocre people into the field of politics. Confronted with such a phenomenon, a man who is endowed with real qualities of leadership will be tempted to refrain from taking part in politics; under these circumstances, the situation doesn't call for a man who has a capacity for constructive

[28] In other words, of the "1%".

statesmanship but rather for a man who is capable of bargaining for the favor of the majority. The situation appeals to small minds, and it attracts them accordingly.

The narrower the spirit and knowledge of our leather-handlers, the more accurately can they assess their own situation. They will therefore be all the more inclined to praise a system that doesn't demand creative genius or even high-class talent, but rather the craftiness of an efficient town clerk. Indeed, they value this kind of petty craftiness more than the political genius of a Pericles.[29] Such mediocrity never worries about responsibility. From the beginning, our parliamentarian knows that, whatever be the results of his 'statesmanship,' his end is already written in the stars; one day, he will have to clear out and make room for another equally great spirit.

It's a sign of our decadent times that the number of eminent statesmen grows as the caliber of individual personality dwindles. That caliber will inevitably shrink as the individual politician increasingly depends upon parliamentary majorities. A man of real political ability will refuse to be the lackey of idiotic incompetents and big-mouths. And they in turn, being the representatives of the majority–and hence of stupidity–hate nothing so much as a superior mind.

For such an assembly of wise men, it's always a consolation to be led by a person whose intellectual stature is on par with their own. Thus each one may have the occasional opportunity to shine in debate; and above all, each one feels that he too may rise to the top. If Peter be boss today, then why not Paul tomorrow?

3.11 THE EXCLUSION OF THE INDIVIDUAL LEADER

This invention of democracy is very closely connected with a peculiar phenomenon that has recently become a real disgrace–namely, the cowardice of a large section of our so-called political leaders. Whenever important decisions must be made, they always

[29] Pericles (ca. 495 - 429 BC) was one of the great Athenian statesmen.

find themselves fortunate in being able to hide behind the so-called majority!

In observing one of these political manipulators, one notices how he begs the majority for their approval for whatever action he takes. He needs to have accomplices, in order to shift responsibility to other shoulders whenever it is convenient to do so. That's the main reason why this kind of political activity is abhorrent to men of character and courage. At the same time, it attracts inferior types; for a person who is not willing to accept responsibility for his own actions, but is always seeking to hide, is a cowardly scoundrel. Whenever a national leader comes from that low class of politicians, evil consequences will soon follow. No one will then have the courage to take a decisive step. They will submit to abuse and defamation rather than rise up and take a stand. And thus nobody is left who is willing to risk his position and his career, if necessary, in support of a determined line of policy.

One truth must always be kept in mind: the majority can never replace the man. The majority represents not only ignorance but also cowardice. And just as a hundred blockheads don't equal one wise man, so a hundred cowards are incapable of any heroic action.

The lighter the burden of responsibility on each individual leader, the greater will be the number of those who, in spite of their sorry mediocrity, will come to place their immortal energies at the service of the nation. They are so anxious that they find it hard to wait their turn. They stand in a long line, painfully and sadly counting the number of those ahead of them, and calculating the hours until their turn comes. They watch every change in personnel, and they are grateful for every scandal that thins the ranks ahead of them.

And if someone sticks to his stool too long, they consider this as almost a breach of a holy pact of solidarity. They grow vindictive, and don't rest until that inconsiderate person is finally driven out and forced to hand over his cosy berth back to the public. After that, he will have little chance of getting another opportunity. Usually those creatures who have been forced to give

up their posts try to get in line again, unless they are hounded away by the protests of the others.

The result of all this is that, in such a state, the succession of sudden changes in public offices has a very troubling effect in general, one that may easily lead to disaster. It's not only the ignorant and the incompetent person who may fall victim to those parliamentary conditions; the genuine leader may be affected just as much as the others, if not more so, whenever Fate has placed a capable man in a leadership position. If the superior quality of such a leader becomes recognized, it will result in a united front against him–particularly if that leader, though not coming from their ranks, should fall into the habit of intermingling with this exalted society. They want to have only their own types as company, and they will quickly take a hostile attitude towards any man who might show himself superior to them. Their instinct, which is so blind in other ways, is very sharp in this respect.

The inevitable result is that the intellectual level of the ruling class steadily declines. One can easily predict how much the nation and state are bound to suffer from such a condition–provided one doesn't belong to that same class of ‘leaders.’

The parliamentary regime in the old Austria was the purest form of this institution.

Though the Austrian prime minister was appointed by the emperor and king, this act of appointment merely gave practical effect to the parliamentary will. The huckstering and bargaining that went on in regard to every ministerial position showed all the typical marks of western democracy. The results that followed were in keeping with the principles applied. The intervals between the replacement of one person by another gradually became shorter, finally ending up in a veritable chase. With each change, the quality of the ‘statesman’ in question deteriorated, until finally only the petty type of political gangster remained. In such people, the qualities of statesmanship were measured and valued according to the skill with which they pieced together one coalition after another; in other words, their craftiness in manipulating the pettiest political transactions, which is the only kind of practical activity suited to the aptitudes of these

representatives.

In this sphere, Vienna was the school that offered the most impressive examples.

Another feature that engaged my attention even more was the contrast between the talents and knowledge of these representatives of the people on the one hand and, on the other, the nature of the tasks they had to face. Willingly or unwillingly, one couldn't help thinking seriously of the narrow intellectual outlook of these chosen representatives of the various nationalities. And one couldn't avoid contemplating the methods through which these noble figures in our public life were first discovered.

It was worthwhile to make a thorough study of the way in which the real talents of these gentlemen were devoted to the service of their country–in other words, to thoroughly analyze the technical process of their activities.

The more I penetrated into the intimate structure of parliamentary life, and the more I studied the persons and principles of the system in a spirit of ruthless objectivity, the more deplorable it became. Indeed, it's mandatory to be strictly obj ective in the study of an institution whose sponsors speak of ‘objectivity’ as the only fair basis of examination and judgment. If one studied these gentlemen and the laws of their sordid existence, the results were surprising.

3.12 ‘PUBLIC OPINION’

Objectively considered, there is no other principle that turns out to be quite so ill-conceived as parliamentarianism.

Here we may pass over the methods according to which the election of the representatives takes place, as well as the ways that bring them into office and bestow new titles on them. It is quite evident that public wishes are satisfied only to a small degree, by the manner in which an election takes place. Everyone who properly estimates the political intelligence of the masses can easily see that it is insufficient to independently form a general political outlook, or to select the men who might be competent to

carry out their ideas.

Whatever definition we may give of the term 'public opinion,' only a very small part of it originates from personal experience or individual insight. The greater portion results from the manner in which public matters have been presented to the people, through an overwhelmingly impressive and persistent system of 'information.'

In the theologial sphere, religious yearnings slumber in the soul, and the profession of a denominational belief is largely the result of education. So too, the political opinions of the masses are the final result of influences systematically operating on the human soul and intelligence, in light of a method that is applied with unbelievable thoroughness and perseverance.

By far the most effective branch of political education–that which is best expressed by the word 'propaganda'–is conducted by the press. The press is the chief means employed in the process of political 'enlightenment.' It represents a kind of school for adults. This educational activity, however, is not in the hands of the state but in the clutches of powers that are of a very inferior character.

While still a young man in Vienna, I had excellent opportunities for coming to know the men who owned this machine for mass instruction, as well as those who supplied it with ideas. At first I was quite surprised when I realized how little time was necessary for this great evil power within the state to produce a certain belief among the public. In doing so, the genuine will and convictions of the public were often completely misconstrued. It took the press only a few days to transform some ridiculously trivial matter into an issue of national importance–while vital problems were completely ignored or hidden away from public view.

The press succeeded in the magical art of producing names from nowhere within just a few weeks. They made it appear that the great hopes of the masses were bound up with those names. And so they made those names more popular than any man of real ability could ever hope for. All this was done, despite the fact that such names were utterly unknown, even up to a month before the press publicly extolled them.

At the same time, older figures in politics and other spheres of life quickly faded from the public memory, and were forgotten as if they were dead-though they were still vigorous and healthy. Or they were so vilely abused that it looked as if their names would soon stand as permanent symbols of villainy. To understand the really pernicious influence that the press can exercise, one must study this infamous Jewish method whereby honorable and decent people are besmirched with filth, in the lowest form of abuse and slander, from hundreds of directions simultaneously-as if by magic.

These spiritual robbers will grab at anything that might serve their evil ends.

They would poke their noses into the most intimate family affairs, and not rest until they had sniffed out some petty issue that could be used to destroy the victim's reputation. But even if nothing were discovered in the private or public life of the victim, they continued to hurl abuse at him in the belief that some of their charges would stick, even though refuted a thousand times. In most cases, it finally became impossible for the victim to continue his defense because the accuser worked together with so many accomplices that his slanders were repeated interminably.

But these slanderers would never admit that they were acting from motives that were believable or comprehensible to the common run of humanity. God forbid! The scoundrel who defamed his contemporaries in this villainous way would, like an octopus, cover himself with a cloud of respectability and clever phrases about his ‘journalistic duty’ and other such nonsense. When these pests gathered together in large numbers at meetings and congresses, they would dish out a lot of slimy talk about a special kind of ‘honor’–namely, the professional honor of the journalist. Then the assembled species would bow their respects to one another.

This rabble fabricates more than two-thirds of the so-called

public opinion, from whose foam the parliamentary Aphrodite eventually arises.[30]

3.13 THE MAJORITY PRINCIPLE

Several volumes would be needed if one were to give an adequate account of all its hollow fallacies. But if we pass over the details and look at the product itself while in operation, I think this alone will suffice to open the eyes of even the most innocent and naive person, so that he may recognize the absurdity of this institution by looking at it objectively.

This human aberration is as harmful as it is absurd. In order to see this, the best and easiest method is to compare democratic parliamentarianism with a genuine German democracy.

The remarkable characteristic of the parliamentary form of democracy is the fact that a number of persons, let us say 500-these days, including women also–are elected to parliament and invested with authority to give final judgment on everything. In practice, they alone are the governing body; for although they may appoint a cabinet that outwardly seems to direct state affairs, this cabinet has no real existence of its own. In reality this so-called government can't do anything against the will of the assembly. It can never be called to account for anything, since the right of decision is not vested in the cabinet but in the parliamentary majority. The cabinet always functions only as the executor of the will of the majority. Its political ability can be judged only by how far it succeeds in adapting to the will of the majority, or in persuading the majority to agree to its proposals.

But this means that it must descend from the level of a real governing power to that of a beggar, one who has to beg for the approval of a majority. Indeed, the main job of the cabinet is to secure for itself the favor of the majority then in power or, failing that, to form a new majority that will be more favorably disposed. If it should succeed in either of these efforts, it may go on 'governing' for a little while. If it should fail to win or form a

[30] The name 'Aphrodite' means literally 'foam-risen.' In Greek mythology, Aphrodite arose from the foam of the sea.

majority, it must resign. Whether its policy per se was right or wrong doesn't matter at all.

For all practical purposes, responsibility is abolished.

The consequences of such a state of affairs can easily be understood from the following simple considerations:

Those 500 deputies who have been elected by the people come from various dissimilar callings in life; they show widely varying degrees of political capacity, with the result that the whole picture is incoherent and deplorable. Surely nobody believes that these elected representatives of the nation are the choice spirits or first-class intellects! No one, I hope, is foolish enough to pretend that hundreds of true statesmen can emerge from papers placed in the ballot box by voters who are just of average intelligence.

The absurd notion that men of genius are born out of universal suffrage cannot be too strongly repudiated. In the first place, those times may be really called blessed when one genuine statesman appears among a people. Such statesmen don't appear by the hundreds or more. Secondly, the broad masses instinctively display a definite antipathy towards every outstanding genius. There's a better chance of a camel passing through the eye of a needle than of a truly great man being 'discovered' through an election.

Throughout world history, exceptional events have mostly been due to the driving force of an individual personality.

But here, 500 persons of sub-par intellectual qualities pass judgment on the most important problems affecting the nation. They form governments, that in turn learn to win the approval of the illustrious assembly for every legislative step–which means that the policy to be carried out is actually the policy of the 500.

And that's just what it usually looks like.

But let's pass over the intellectual qualities of these representatives and ask what is the nature of the task set before them. If we consider the fact that the problems to be addressed are variable and diverse, we can very well realize how inefficient a governing system must be that entrusts the right of decision to a mass assembly, one in which only very few possess the requisite knowledge and experience to properly deal with the matters. The

most important economic measures are submitted to a tribunal in which not more than 10 percent have studied economics. This means that final authority is vested in men who are utterly devoid of any preparatory training that would make them competent to decide on the questions at hand.

The same holds true of every other problem. It's always a majority of ignorant and incompetent people who decide on each measure. The composition of the institution does not change, while the problems to be dealt with come from the most varied spheres of public life. An intelligent judgment would be possible only if different deputies had the authority to deal with different issues. It's out of the question to think that the same people are qualified to decide on transportation questions as well as, say, on questions of foreign policy–unless each is a universal genius. But scarcely more than one true genius appears in a century.

Here we are scarcely ever dealing with real thinkers, but only with dilettantes who are as narrow-minded as they are conceited and arrogant–intellectual prostitutes of the worst kind. That's why these honorable gentlemen show such astonishing levity in debating matters that would demand the most painstaking consideration, even from great minds. Measures of momentous importance for the future existence of the state are discussed in an atmosphere more suited to the card-table. Indeed, the latter would be a much more fitting occupation for these gentlemen than that of deciding the destinies of a race.

Of course, it would be unfair to assume that every member in such a parliament was endowed by nature with such a small sense of responsibility.

No, by no means.

3.14 THE DESTRUCTION OF CHARACTER

But this system, by forcing the individual to pass judgment on questions for which he is not competent, gradually debases his moral character. Nobody will have the courage to say, "Gentlemen, I'm afraid we know nothing about what we are talking about. I for one have no competency in the matter at all."

(Besides, if such a declaration were made, it wouldn't change matters very much; such outspoken honesty would not be understood. The person who made the declaration would be deemed an honorable ass who shouldn't be allowed to spoil the game.) Those who know human nature know that nobody likes to be considered a fool among his associates; and in certain circles, honesty is taken as a measure of stupidity.

Thus even a man who was originally honest, once he finds himself elected to parliament, may eventually be forced to acquiesce in a line of conduct that is base in itself, and which amounts to a betrayal of the public trust. This destroys every real sense of honor that might occasionally rise up in the conscience of one person or another. Finally, the otherwise upright deputy will succeed in persuading himself that he is by no means the worst of the lot, and that by playing along, he may prevent something worse from happening.

An objection may be raised here. It may be said that, of course, the individual member may not have a knowledge of what's required for addressing this or that question. But in such a case, the party sets up special committees of experts who have more than the required knowledge for dealing with the questions before them.

At first glance, that argument seems sound. But then another question arises: namely, why are 500 persons elected if only a few have the wisdom that is required to deal with the more important problems?

Yes–this is the worm in the apple.

3.15 JEWISH DEMOCRACY

It isn't the aim of our modem democratic parliamentary system to bring together an assembly of intelligent and well-informed men. The aim rather is to bring together a group of non-entities who are dependent on others for their views, and who can be all the more easily led, the narrower their mental outlook. This is the only way that party policy–according to the evil meaning it has today–can be put into effect.

Only in this way is it possible for the wire-puller, who exercises real control, to remain in the dark, so that he personally can never be held accountable. Under such circumstances, none of the decisions taken, no matter how disastrous they may be, can be laid at the foot of the scoundrel who is truly to blame. All responsibility is shifted to the shoulders of the party as a whole.

In practice, no actual responsibility remains. It arises only from personal duty and not from the obligations that rest with a parliamentary assembly of empty talkers.

The parliamentary institution attracts liars and moles, people who shun the light of day. No upright man, who is ready to accept personal responsibility for his acts, will be attracted to such an institution.

That's the reason why this brand of democracy has become a tool in the hand of that race that, because of its inner goals, must shun the open light–as it has always done and always will do. Only the Jew can praise an institution which is as corrupt and false as himself.

By contrast, consider a truly German democracy. Here the leader is freely chosen and is obliged to accept full responsibility for all his actions and omissions. Problems are not put to a majority vote, but they are decided upon by the individual. As a guarantee of responsibility for those decisions, he pledges his worldly belongings, and even his life.

The objection may be raised here that, under such conditions, it would be very difficult to find a man who would be ready to devote himself to so risky a task. There is only one answer to that:

Thank God that our German democracy will prevent the chance careerist, who may be intellectually worthless and a moral slacker, from coming to power in devious ways. The fear of undertaking such far-reaching responsibilities, under German democracy, will scare off the ignorant and the incompetent.

But if it happens that such a person sneaks in, it will be easy enough to ruthlessly identify and challenge him–somewhat as follows: “Be gone, you scoundrel! Don't soil these steps with your feet; these are the steps of the Pantheon of History, and they are not meant for status-seekers but for men of noble character!”

Such were the views I formed after two years of attending the sessions of the Viennese Parliament.

Then I never went back.

3.16 THE COLLAPSING DUAL MONARCHY

The parliamentary regime was one of the chief reasons why the Habsburg State steadily declined during its final years. The more that the German element was whittled away through parliamentary procedure, the stronger was the system of playing off the various constituent nationalities against the other. In the *Reichsrat*, this always occurred at the expense of the Germans, which meant that the results were detrimental to the empire as a whole. At the close of the century, even a simpleton could see that the cohesive forces in the Dual Monarchy could no longer counterbalance the separatist tendencies of the provincial nationalities.

On the contrary.

The measures that the state adopted for its own maintenance became increasingly mean-spirited; correspondingly, general disrespect for the state increased. Hungary and the various Slav provinces gradually ceased to identify themselves with the unified monarchy, and therefore they didn't feel its weakness as in any way detrimental to themselves. Rather, they welcomed those symptoms of decay. They looked forward to the final dissolution of the state, not to its recovery.

Complete collapse was temporarily averted in parliament by the humiliating concessions that were made to all kinds of annoying demands, at the expense of the Germans. Everywhere the defense of the state rested on playing off the various nationalities against one another. But the general trend of this development was always directed against the Germans. Given that the right of royal succession gave a certain influence to the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, a policy of increasing the power of the Czechs was systematically enacted throughout the administration.[31] With all

[31] Franz Ferdinand (1863-1914) supported equal representation for the Slavic nations of the empire. His assassination on 28 June 1914 precipitated World War I.

the means at his disposal, the heir to the Dual Monarchy personally furthered a policy aimed at eliminating the influence of the Germans–or at least he defended that policy. Purely German districts were gradually but decisively brought within the danger zone of the mixed languages. Even in Lower Austria, this process began to make increasingly rapid progress, and Vienna was looked upon by the Czechs as their largest city.

The central idea of this new Habsburg was to establish a Slavic State in Central Europe. The Czech language was favored. (The Archduke's wife had formerly been a Czech countess, and she was wedded to the prince by an arranged marriage. She came from an environment of traditional hostility to the Germans.) This new state was to be constructed on a purely Catholic basis, so as to serve as a bulwark against Orthodox Russia. As had happened often in Habsburg history, religion was thus exploited to serve a purely political policy–and in this case, a fatal policy, at least for the Germans.

The result was lamentable in many respects.

Neither the House of Habsburg nor the Catholic Church received the reward that they expected.

Habsburg lost the throne, and the Church lost a great state.

By employing religious motives in the service of politics, a spirit was aroused that the instigators had never thought possible.

The attempt to root out Germandom in the old monarchy led to the emergence of the Pan-German Movement in Austria.

In the 1880s, Manchester Liberalism, which was fundamentally Jewish in its outlook, had reached or even passed the zenith of its influence in the Dual Monarchy.[32] The reaction that set in arose not from social but from nationalistic tendencies, as was always the case in old Austria. The instinct for self-preservation drove the Germans to vigorously defend themselves. Economic considerations only slowly began to grow in influence; but they were of secondary concern. But of the general political chaos, two

[32] Manchester Liberalism was an economic school of thought that originated in Manchester, England in the mid-19th century. It was "Jewish" insofar as it promoted free trade and globalism generally.

party organizations emerged. The one was more of a national character, and the other more social. Both were highly interesting and instructive for the future.

After the humiliating end of the War of 1866, the House of Habsburg contemplated a military revenge.[33] Only the tragic death of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico prevented a still closer collaboration with France. The chief blame for Maximilian's disastrous expedition was attributed to Napoleon III; the fact that the French abandoned him aroused a general feeling of indignation. Yet the Habsburgs were still lying in wait for their opportunity. If the War of 1870-71 had not been such a singular triumph, the Viennese Court might have risked a bloody venture in order to avenge Sadowa.[34] But when the first reports arrived from the Franco-German battlefield, which, though true, seemed miraculous and almost incredible, the 'wisest' of all monarchs recognized that it was an inopportune moment, and tried to put the best face on a bad situation.

The heroic conflict of those two years [1870-71] produced an even greater miracle. With the Habsburgs, the change of attitude came only from the pressure of circumstances, never from a heartfelt urge. The German people of the Ostmark, however, were entranced by the triumphant glory of the newly-established German Reich, and were profoundly moved when they saw the dream of their fathers resurrected in a glorious reality.

Let there be no mistake: The true German-Austrian realized, from this time onward, that Königgrätz was the tragic but necessary pre-condition for the re-establishment of an empire that would no longer be burdened with the morbidity of the old alliance. Above all, the German-Austrian came to feel, in the very depths of his own being, that the historic mission of the House of Habsburg had come to an end, and that the new empire could

[33] The War of 1866 was essentially a German civil war, in which Prussia triumphed over the Austrian-Germans.

[34] The War of 1870, also known as the Franco-Prussian War, resulted in German victory, the fall of Paris, and the absorption of Alsace-Lorraine into the German empire. ‘Sadowa’ (‘Königgrätz,’ in German) is present-day Sadova, in the Czech Republic; it was the decisive battle in the war, and ended in Prussian victory.

choose only a kaiser whose heroic convictions were worthy to wear the 'Crown of the Rhine.' It was right and just that destiny be praised for having chosen a scion of that house which, in Frederick the Great, gave the nation an elevated and shining symbol for all time to come.

3.17 REBELLION OF THE GERMAN-AUSTRIANS

After the great war [of 1870-71], the House of Habsburg desperately set to work to slowly and deliberately root out the dangerous German element–whose inner feelings and attitude could not be doubted. Such a process would be the final result of the Slavization policy. It was then that the fire of rebellion burned among the doomed people, such as has never been seen in modem German history.

For the first time, nationalists and patriots were transformed into rebels. Not rebels against the nation or the state as such, but rebels against that form of government that they were convinced would inevitably bring about the ruin of their own people.

For the first time in modem history, the traditional dynastic patriotism and national love of fatherland and people were in open conflict.

It was to the merit of the pan-German movement in Austria during the 1890s that it pointed out clearly and unequivocally that a state is entitled to demand respect and protection only when it is administered in accordance with the interests of the nation–or at least not in a manner detrimental to those interests.

The authority of the state can never be an end in itself. If that were so, any kind of tyranny would be inviolable and sacred.

If a government uses the instruments of power in its hands for the purpose of leading a people to ruin, then rebellion is not only the right of every individual citizen–it is his duty.

The question of whether and when such a situation exists cannot be answered by theoretical dissertations, but only by the exercise of force; and it is success that decides the issue.

Every government–even one that is the worst possible, and even though it may have betrayed the nation's trust in a thousand ways–

will claim that its duty is to uphold the authority of the state. Its adversaries, who are fighting for national self-preservation, must use the same weapons that the government uses, if they are to prevail against such a rule and secure their own freedom and independence. Therefore the conflict will be fought with 'legal' means as long as the power to be overthrown uses them. But the insurgents won't hesitate to apply illegal means if the oppressor himself uses them.

Generally speaking, we must not forget that the highest aim of human existence is not the maintenance of a state of government, but rather the preservation of the species.

3.18 HUMAN RIGHTS OVERRIDE STATES' RIGHTS

If the species is in danger of being oppressed or even eliminated, the question of legality is only of secondary importance. The established power may, in such a case, employ only those means that are alleged to be 'legal.' And yet the instinct of self-preservation on the part of the oppressed will always justify, to the greater degree, the use of all possible resources.

Only on the basis of this principle was it possible to conduct those struggles against foreign enslavement or domestic oppression, of which history supplies us with many magnificent examples.

Human rights surpass the rights of the state.

But if a people be defeated in the struggle for its human rights, this means that its weight has proved too light in the scale of destiny, to be worthy of survival on this earth. When a people is unwilling or unable to fight for its existence, then Providence, in its eternal justice, will decree that people's end.

The world is not here for cowards.

Austria affords a very clear and striking example of how easy it is for tyranny to hide its head under the cloak of so-called 'legality.'

The legal exercise of power in the Habsburg State was then based on the anti-German attitude of the parliament, with its non-

German majorities, and on the dynastic House, which was also hostile to the German element. The whole authority of the state was incorporated in these two factors. Any attempt to alter the lot of the Germans through these two factors would have been absurd. Those who advised the 'legal' way as the only possible means offered no resistance; no policy of resistance could have been put into effect through legal measures. To follow the advice of the legalist counsellors would have meant the inevitable ruin of the German element within the monarchy. And this disaster would have come very soon. The Germans were actually saved only by the collapse of the state.

The spectacled theorist would still rather die for his doctrine than for his people.

Because men have made laws, he subsequently comes to think that they exist for the sake of the laws.

The pan-German movement rendered a great service by abolishing all such nonsense–to the horror of all doctrinaire theorists and other fetish-worshippers.

When the Habsburgs attempted to attack the German element through all available means, the Pan-German Party hit back ruthlessly against the 'illustrious' dynasty. This party was the first to probe into the corrupt condition of the state. In doing so, they opened the eyes of hundreds of thousands. To its credit, it liberated the high ideal of love for one's country from the embrace of this deplorable dynasty.

When that party first made its appearance, it secured a large following–in fact, almost an avalanche. But the initial successes didn't last. When I came to Vienna, the Pan-German Party had been eclipsed by the Christian-Socialist Party, which had meanwhile come into power. Indeed, the Pan-German Party had been reduced to almost complete insignificance.

The rise and fall of the pan-German movement on the one hand, and the unprecedented progress of the Christian-Socialist Party on the other, became a classic object of study for me. They played an important part in the development of my own views.

When I came to Vienna, all my sympathies were exclusively with the pan-German movement.

I was impressed by the fact that they had the courage to shout *'Heil Hohenzollern,'* and I rejoiced at their determination to consider themselves an integral part of the German Reich, from which they were only temporarily separated. They never missed an opportunity to explain their attitude in public, which raised my enthusiasm and confidence. To publicly avow one's principles on every problem that concerned Germanism, and to never compromise, seemed to me the only way of saving our people. What I couldn't understand was how this movement declined so soon after such a magnificent start. And it was no less incomprehensible that the Christian-Socialists should gain such tremendous power within such a short time. They had just reached the pinnacle of their popularity.

When I began to compare those two movements, Fate gave me the best means of understanding the causes of this puzzling problem–in this case, accelerated by my own sad circumstances.

3.19 SCHÖNERER AND LUEGER

I'll begin my analysis with an account of the two men who must be regarded as the founders and leaders of the two movements: George von Schönerer and Dr. Karl Lueger.

As far as personality goes, both were far above the level and stature of the so-called parliamentary figures. They lived lives of immaculate and irreproachable purity amidst the morass of general political corruption. My initial sympathies lay with the Pan-German representative, Schönerer; it was only afterwards, and gradually, that I felt an equal liking for the Christian-Socialist leader.

When I compared their respective abilities, Schönerer seemed to me a better and more profound thinker on fundamental problems. He foresaw the inevitable downfall of the Austrian State more clearly and accurately than anyone else. If this warning to the Habsburg Empire had been heeded in Germany, the disastrous World War, which pitted Germany against the whole of Europe, would never have taken place.

But though Schönerer succeeded in penetrating to the essentials

of a problem, he was frequently mistaken in his judgment of men.

And here, on the other hand, lay Dr. Lueger's strength.

He had a rare gift of insight into human nature, and he was very careful not to take men as something better than they really were. He based his plans on the practical possibilities that human life offered him, whereas Schönerer had only little understanding in that respect. All ideas that this pan-German had were theoretically right, but he didn't have the forcefulness or understanding necessary to put his ideas across to the broad masses. He was unable to formulate them for the masses, whose powers of comprehension are limited, and will always remain so. Therefore all Schönerer's knowledge was only visionary wisdom; he never could succeed in putting it into practice.

This lack of insight into human nature led him to err in estimating the forces behind certain movements and the inherent strength of old institutions.

Schönerer indeed realized that his questions involved the nature of a worldview. But he didn't understand that only the broad masses of a nation can make such convictions–which are almost religious in nature–prevail.

Unfortunately, he only poorly understood how weak the fighting spirit of the so-called bourgeoisie is. That weakness is due to their business interests; they are much too afraid of taking risks, and this deters them from acting.

And generally speaking, a worldview has no prospect of success unless the broad masses declare themselves ready to act as its standard-bearers, and to fight on its behalf–wherever and to whatever degree necessary.

This failure to understand the importance of the lower strata of society resulted in a very inadequate conception of the social question.

In all this, Dr. Lueger was the opposite of Schönerer.

His profound knowledge of human nature enabled him to correctly judge the various social forces, and it saved him from underrating the power of existing institutions. And it was perhaps this very quality that enabled him to utilize those institutions as a means to serve the purposes of his policy.

He saw only too clearly that, in our day, the political fighting power of the upper classes is quite insignificant; it is incapable of fighting for a great new movement until the triumph of that movement is secured. Thus he devoted the larger part of his political activity to the task of winning over those sections of the population whose existence was in danger, and to fostering a militant spirit in them rather than attempting to paralyze it. He was also quick to adopt all available means for winning the support of long-established institutions, in order to derive the greatest possible advantage for his movement from those old sources of power.

Thus it was that, first of all, he chose as the social basis of his new party a middle class that was threatened with extinction. He thus secured a solid following, one that was willing to make great sacrifices and had good fighting power. His extremely wise attitude towards the Catholic Church rapidly won over large numbers of younger clergy–so much so that the old Clerical Party was forced to abandon the field of action or else, which was the wiser course, join the new party, in the hope of gradually winning back one position after another.

But it would be a serious injustice to the man if we regarded this as his essential characteristic. For he possessed the qualities of an astute tactician, and had the true genius of a great reformer; but all these were limited by his exact perception of the possibilities at hand, and also of his own capabilities.

The goals that this really eminent man decided to pursue were intensely practical. He wished to conquer Vienna, the heart of the monarchy. It was from Vienna that the last pulses of life beat through the diseased, worn-out body of the crumbling empire. If the heart could be made healthier, the others parts of the body were bound to revive. That idea was correct in principle. But the time required to make this happen was strictly limited.

And that was the man's weakness.

His achievements as mayor of the city of Vienna are immortal, in the best sense of the word. But all that could not save the monarchy-it came too late.

His rival, Schönerer, saw this more clearly.

All of Dr. Lueger's practical efforts were marvellously successful; but the hoped-for results never materialized.

Schönerer failed to attain his goals, but his most terrible fears came true. Thus both these men failed to attain their ultimate objectives. Lueger couldn't save Austria, and Schönerer couldn't save the German people in Austria from ruin.

To study the causes of failure in the case of these two parties is to learn a highly instructive lesson for our own time. This is especially useful for my friends, because in many points the circumstances of our own day are similar to those of that time. Therefore such a lesson may help us to guard against the mistakes that brought one of those movements to an end, and rendered the other sterile.

3.20 THE CAUSES OF SHÖNERER'S FAILURE

In my opinion, the collapse of the pan-German movement in Austria must be attributed to three causes.

First, the leaders didn't have a clear concept of the importance of the social problem, particularly for a new and revolutionary party.

Schönerer and his followers directed their attention primarily to the bourgeoisie. For that reason, the party was bound to turn out mediocre and tame.

The German bourgeoisie, especially in its upper circles, is pacifist even to the point of complete self-abnegation-though some may not be aware of this–wherever the internal affairs of the nation or state are concerned. In good times, which in this case means times of good government, such a psychological attitude makes this class extraordinarily valuable to the state. But when there is bad government, such a quality has a destructive effect. In order to assure the possibility of carrying through a really serious struggle, the pan-German movement should have devoted its efforts to winning over the masses. The failure to do this left the movement, from the very beginning, without the elemental impulse that such a wave needs if it's not to shortly ebb away.

In failing to see the truth of this principle clearly at the very

outset of the movement, and in neglecting to put it into practice, the new party made an initial mistake from which it couldn't recover. The numerous moderate bourgeois elements admitted into the movement increasingly determined its internal orientation. This preempted all further prospects of gaining any appreciable support among the masses. Under such conditions, the movement couldn't get beyond mere discussion and criticism. Quasi-religious faith and the spirit of sacrifice were no longer found in the movement. Their place was taken by the effort towards 'positive' collaboration, which in this case meant acknowledging the existing state of affairs. Such a gradual whittling away of the rough comers of the questions in dispute resulted in the making of a dishonorable peace.

Such was the fate of the pan-German movement because, from the start, the leaders didn't realize that the most important condition of success was to recruit their followers from the broad masses. The movement thus became 'bourgeois' and 'respectable'–and only moderately 'radical.'

3.21 PAN-GERMANS AND PARLIAMENT

From this failure came the second cause of its rapid decline.

The position of the Germans in Austria was already desperate when pan-Germanism arose. Year after year, parliament was being used more and more as an instrument for the slow destruction of the German-Austrian people. The only hope for an eleventh-hour effort to save it lay in the overthrow of the parliamentary system; but there was very little prospect of this happening.

Thus the movement was confronted with a question of primary importance:

To overthrow the parliament, should the pan-Germanists have entered it 'to undermine it from within,' as they say? Or should they have attacked the institution as such from the outside?

They went in, and came out defeated.

But they were compelled to enter.

In order to wage an effective war against such a power from the

outside, indomitable courage and a ready spirit of sacrifice are necessary weapons. In such cases, the bull must be seized by the horns. Furious attacks may drive you to the ground again and again. But if you have a stout heart, you will stand up, perhaps with broken bones. And only after a long and tough struggle will you triumph. New fighters are attracted to a cause by the appeal of great sacrifices made for its sake, until at last tenacity is rewarded with success.

For such a result, however, the children of the great masses are necessary.

They alone have the requisite determination and tenacity to fight through to the end.

But the pan-German movement didn't have these broad masses, and so the only other solution was to enter parliament.

It would be a mistake to think that this decision resulted from a long series of internal moral hesitations, or that it was the outcome of careful calculation. No; they didn't even consider another solution. Those who participated in this blunder were motivated by vague notions regarding the significance and effect of participating in an institution that they had condemned on principle. In general, they hoped that they would thus be able to promote their cause to the great masses of people, because they could speak before ‘the forum of the whole nation.’ Also, it seemed reasonable to believe that by attacking the root of the evil, they would be more effective than by attacking from outside. They believed that, if protected by the immunity of parliament, the position of the individual protagonists would be strengthened, and that therefore the force of their attacks would be enhanced.

In reality, everything turned out very differently.

The forum before which the pan-German representatives spoke hadn't grown greater, but had actually become smaller. Each spoke only to the circle that was ready to listen to him or could read the report of his speech in the newspapers.

But the largest forum of direct listeners isn't the parliamentary auditorium; it's the great public meeting.

Here alone there will be thousands of men who have come simply to hear what a speaker has to say, whereas in parliament

only a few hundred are present. For the most part, they are there only to earn their daily attendance fees and not to be enlightened by the wisdom of one of the 'representatives of the people.'

Above all: The same public is always present, and it never wishes to learn anything new. Setting aside the question of its intelligence, it lacks even that modest amount of will power that's necessary for learning.

Not one of the peoples' representatives will honor a superior truth and devote himself to its service. No, not one of them will do this, unless he has grounds for hoping that, by such a conversion, he can retain the representation of his constituency in the coming legislature. Therefore, only when it becomes obvious that the old party is likely to have a bad time at the forthcoming elections, will those models of manly virtue set out in search of a new party or a new policy that may have better electoral prospects. But of course, this change of position will be accompanied by a veritable deluge of high moral justifications. And thus it always happens that, when an existing party has incurred such general disfavor among the public that it is threatened with a crushing defeat, then a great migration begins. The parliamentary rats abandon the party ship.

All this happens not because the affected individuals have become better informed on the questions at issue and have resolved to act accordingly. These superficial changes are evidence only of that gift of clairvoyance that warns the parliamentary flea at the right moment, and causes him to hop into another warm party bed.

To speak before such a forum signifies casting pearls before a certain well-known animal. It is truly worthless! The result will always be negative.

And that's what actually happened. The pan-German deputies could have talked themselves hoarse: but to no result.

The press either ignored them totally or so mutilated their speeches that the logical consistency was destroyed, and the meaning twisted around in such a way that the public got the wrong impression of the aims of the new movement. What the individual members said wasn't important. The important matter

was what people read as coming from them. This consisted of mere extracts that had been taken out of context, and gave an impression of incoherent nonsense–as was in fact intended. Thus the only public before which they really spoke consisted of a mere 500 parliamentarians–and that says it all.

But the worst was the following:

The pan-German movement could only hope for success if the leaders realized from the very start that it was not a question of a new party as of a new *worldview*. This alone could arouse the inner moral forces that were necessary for such a gigantic struggle. And for this struggle, the leaders must be men of first-class minds and indomitable courage.

If the struggle on behalf of a worldview is not led by men of heroic spirit who are ready to sacrifice everything, it will soon become impossible to find real warriors who are ready to die for the cause. A man who fights only for his own existence has little remaining for society.

In order to secure the requirements for success, everyone concerned must understand that the new movement looks to posterity for its honor and glory, and that it has nothing to offer to present-day members. If a movement offers a large number of positions and offices to be filled, the number of inferior candidates will constantly grow. Eventually, a day will come when there will be such a preponderance of political profiteers that the original combatants will now scarcely recognize their own party. They may even be ejected by the later arrivals as unwanted ballast. At this point, the 'mission' of the movement is lost.

Once the pan-Germanists decided to collaborate with parliament, they were no longer leaders and combatants in a popular movement, but merely 'parliamentarians.' The movement thus sank to the level of a common political party, and no longer had the strength to face a hostile fate and defy the risk of martyrdom. Instead of fighting, the pan-German leaders fell into the habit of 'talking' and 'negotiating.' These new parliamentarians soon found that it was a more satisfactory, and less risky, way of fulfilling their task: to defend their new worldview with the intellectual weapon of parliamentary rhetoric

rather than take up a fight in which they would risk their lives. Such a fight would have uncertain outcomes, and offer no possibility of personal gain.

3.22 THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SPOKEN WORD

Once they had members in parliament, their outside supporters hoped and waited for miracles. Of course, no such miracles occurred, or could occur. The supporters of the movement soon grew impatient, because reports they read about their own deputies was in no way up to their expectations. The reason for this wasn't hard to find. It was due to the fact that a hostile press failed to give a true account of what the pan-German deputies were actually doing.

As the new deputies became accustomed to this mild form of 'revolution,' and to the provincial diets, they gradually became reluctant to resume the more hazardous work of expounding the movement's principles to the broad masses of the people.

Mass meetings in public became rarer and rarer, though these are the only means of exercising an effective influence on people. Here, the influence comes from direct personal contact, and earns the support of large numbers.

Once the parliamentary platform was substituted for the beer-hall table, where thousands were addressed, and once speeches were no longer addressed to the people directly but to the so-called 'chosen' representatives, the pan-German movement lost its popular character. It soon degenerated to the level of an academic discussion club.

Thus, the misleading impression created by the press was no longer corrected by personal contact with the people through public meetings, wherein a true account might be given. The end result of this neglect was that the word 'pan-German' came to have an unpleasant sound in the ears of the masses.

The knights of the pen and the literary snobs of today must realize that the great transformations that have taken place in this world were never conducted by a goose-quill!

No–the task of the pen must always be reserved to that of

presenting the theoretical foundations.

The force that has ever and always set in motion great historical avalanches of religious and political movements is the magic power of the spoken word.

The broad masses of a population are more amenable to the appeal of rhetoric than to any other force. All great movements are popular movements. They are the volcanic eruptions of human passions and emotions, stirred into activity either by the ruthless Goddess of Distress or by the torch of the spoken word cast into the people's midst. In no case have great movements been set afoot by the syrupy effusions of literary aesthetes and drawing-room heroes.

A nation’s destiny can be averted only by a storm of hot passion. But only those who are passionate themselves can arouse passion in others.

It's only the capacity for passionate feeling that, like hammer blows, will open the door to the hearts of the people.

3.23 EFFECT ON THE MASS

He who is incapable of passionate feeling and speech was never chosen by Providence to proclaim its will.

Therefore a mere writer should stick to his ink-bottle and busy himself with theoretical questions, if he has the requisite ability and knowledge. He has been neither born nor chosen to be a leader.

A movement that has great ends to achieve must carefully guard against the danger of losing contact with the masses of the people.

Every question encountered must be examined primarily from this viewpoint, and the decision to be made must always be accordingly.

The movement must avoid everything that might weaken its power of influencing the masses–not from ‘demagogic’ motives but because of the simple fact that no great idea, no matter how sublime and exalted it may appear, can be realized in practice without the effective power of the popular masses.

Hard reality alone must mark the way to the goal.

Unwillingness to walk the road of hardship means, only too often in this world, the total renunciation of one's aims and purposes– whether consciously willed or not.

As soon as the pan-German leaders accepted the parliamentary principle and moved the center of their activities away from the people, they sacrificed the future for the sake of a cheap momentary success.

They chose the easier way in the struggle, and in doing so rendered themselves unworthy of final victory.

While in Vienna, I used to seriously ponder over these two questions. I saw that the main reason for the collapse of the pan-German movement lay in the fact that these very questions were underappreciated. In my opinion, the movement seemed chosen to lead the German element in Austria.

These first two blunders, which led to the downfall of the pan-German movement, were very closely related. Faulty recognition of the inner driving forces that push great movements forward led to an inadequate appreciation of the part played by the broad masses. The result was that too little attention was given to the social problem, and that attempts to capture the minds of the lower classes were too few and too weak. Another failure was in accepting the parliamentary policy.

If there had been a proper appreciation of the tremendous powers of endurance always shown by the masses in revolutionary movements, a different attitude towards the social problem and propaganda would have been taken. The movement’s center wouldn't have been transferred to parliament, but would have remained in the workshops and the streets.

2.24 THE ‘AWAY-FROM-ROME’ MOVEMENT

There was a third mistake, one that also had its roots in the failure to understand the value of the masses. The masses are first set in motion, in a definite direction, by men of superior talents. But once in motion, they are like a flywheel; they sustain the momentum and steady balance of the offensive.

The policy of the pan-German leaders in deciding to carry

through a hard struggle against the Catholic Church can be explained only by attributing it to an inadequate understanding of the spiritual nature of the people.

The reasons why the new party engaged in a violent campaign against Rome were as follows:

As soon as the House of Habsburg had definitely decided to transform Austria into a Slav State, all sorts of means were adopted that seemed to serve that end. The Habsburg rulers had no scruples of conscience about exploiting even religious institutions in the service of this new 'State Idea.'

One of the many methods thus employed was the use of Czech parishes and their clergy as instruments for spreading Slav hegemony throughout Austria.

This proceeding was carried out as follows:

Czech priests were appointed in purely German districts. They gradually and steadily pushed forward the interests of the Czech people before those of the Church, and thus became germ cells in the de-Germanization process.

Unfortunately the German-Austrian clergy completely failed to counter this procedure. Not only were they incapable of taking a similar initiative on the German side, but they showed themselves unable to meet the Czech offensive with adequate resistance. Germandom was accordingly pushed backwards, slowly but steadily, through the perversion of religious belief on the one side, and the lack of resistance on the other side.

Such tactics were used in dealing with the smaller problems; and in larger matters, the situation was not very different.

The anti-German aims pursued by the Habsburgs, especially through the higher clergy, didn't meet with any vigorous resistance, while the clerical representatives of the German interests withdrew completely to the rear.

The general impression could only be that the Catholic clergy as such grossly neglected the rights of the German population.

Therefore it looked as if the Catholic Church was not in sympathy with the German people, but rather that it unjustly supported their enemies. The root of the whole evil, especially in Schönerer's opinion, lay in the fact that the leadership of the

Catholic Church was not in Germany, and that this fact alone accounted for the hostile attitude of the Church towards the interests of our people.

The so-called cultural problem receded almost completely into the background, as was generally the case everywhere throughout Austria at that time. In assuming a hostile attitude towards the Catholic Church, the pan-German leaders were influenced not so much by the Church's position on science, etc., but rather because of its failure to defend German rights, and conversely, its aid and support for Slavic arrogance and greed.

George Schönerer wasn't a man who did things half-way. He went into battle against the Church because he was convinced that this was the only way to save the German people. The "Away-from-Rome" movement seemed the most powerful, but at the same time most difficult, way of attacking the adversary's citadel. Schönerer believed that if this movement succeeded, the tragic division between the two great religious denominations in Germany would be wiped out, and the inner forces of the German Reich and nation would be enormously enhanced by such a victory.

But both the premise and the conclusion in this case were erroneous.

It was undoubtedly true that the national powers of resistance, in everything concerning Germanism as such, were much weaker among the German Catholic clergy than among their non-German brethren, especially the Czechs.

And only a fool could be unaware of the fact that it never entered the mind of the German clergy to take the offensive on behalf of German interests.

But at the same time, everyone who isn't blind to facts must admit that all this can be attributed to a characteristic under which all we Germans must suffer: that is, the objective way in which we regard our own nationality, along with everything else.

While the Czech priest adopted a *subjective* attitude towards his own people and only an objective attitude towards the Church, the German priest showed a subjective devotion to his Church and remained *objective* in regard to his nation. This phenomenon,

unfortunately, can be found occurring in exactly the same way in thousands of other cases.

It is by no means a peculiar legacy from Catholicism; but it is something in us that quickly corrodes almost every institution, especially institutions of state and those that have ideal aims.

Take, for example, the attitude of our state officials in regard to the efforts made for bringing about a national resurgence. Compare this attitude with the stand that the officials of any other nation would have taken in such a case. Or should we believe that the military officers of any other country in the world would refuse to come forward on behalf of national aspirations, and would rather hide behind the phrase 'state authority,' as has been the case in our country during the last five years? Or let us take another example. In regard to the Jewish question, don't both Christian denominations take up a standpoint today that responds to neither national requirements nor to real needs of religion? Compare the attitude of a Jewish rabbi towards any question, even an insignificant one, concerning Jewry as a race, with that of the majority of our clergy, whether Catholic or Protestant!

We observe the same phenomenon wherever it is a matter of defending an abstract idea.

'State authority,' 'democracy,' 'pacifism,' 'international solidarity,' etc.–all such notions become rigid, dogmatic concepts with us. And the more vital the general necessities of the nation, the more will they be judged exclusively in light of those concepts.

This unfortunate habit of looking at all national demands from the viewpoint of a pre-conceived notion makes it impossible for us to see the subjective side of a thing that objectively contradicts one's own doctrine. It finally leads to a complete reversal of means and ends. Any attempt at a national revival will be opposed if a pre-condition is that a bad and pernicious regime must first of all be overthrown; such an action will be considered as a violation of 'state authority.'

From this standpoint, 'state authority' is not a means to serve an end but rather, to the mind of the dogmatic believer in objectivity, an end in itself. He looks upon that as sufficient apology for his own miserable life. Such people would raise an

outcry if, for instance, anyone should attempt to set up a dictatorship, even if it were a Frederick the Great, and even though the parliamentary politicians were small and incompetent men.

To such sticklers for abstract principles, the law of democracy is more sacred than the welfare of the nation. Accordingly, such men will defend the worst kind of tyranny, though it may be leading a people to ruin, because it is the fleeting embodiment of 'state authority.' Others will reject even a highly beneficent government if it should fall short of their notion of 'democracy.'

In the same way, our German pacifist will remain silent while the nation is groaning under oppression by a vicious military power, if this condition calls for active resistance; such resistance means the employment of physical force, which is against the spirit of the pacifist society. The international German socialist may be plundered by his comrades around the world in the name of 'solidarity,' but he responds with fraternal kindness, and never thinks of retribution, or even of self-defense. Simply because he is–a German.

It may be unpleasant to dwell on such truths, but if something is to be changed, we must first acknowledge it.

The same is true with the weak manner in which German interests are promoted and defended by a part of the clergy.

Such conduct is not the result of a malicious intent, nor is it the outcome of orders given from 'above'; but such a lack of national determination is due to defects in our educational system. Instead of inculcating a lively sense of German nationality, the aim of the educational system is to make the youth submit to 'the idea' become idol.

Education in such abstract notions as 'democracy,' 'international socialism,' 'pacifism,' etc., is so hard-and-fast and exclusive, and so purely subjective, that they fundamentally influence one 's picture of the world. But on the other hand, the attitude towards their own German nationality has been very objective from youth upwards. The pacifist (insofar as he is a German) who surrenders himself subjectively to the dictates of dogmatic principles will always first consider the objective right or wrong of a situation when danger threatens. But he will never

take his stand in the ranks of his own people, and fight for them from the sheer instinct of self-preservation.

That this also applies to the different religious denominations is shown by the following:

Insofar as its origin and tradition are based on German ideals, Protestantism defends those ideals better. But it fails the moment it is called upon to defend *national* interests, ones that don't belong to the sphere of its ideals and traditional development–or which, for some reason or other, may be rejected by that sphere.

Therefore Protestantism will always take its part in promoting German ideals as concerns moral integrity or national education, when the German spiritual being, or language, or spiritual freedom are to be defended; these represent the principles on which Protestantism itself is grounded. But this same Protestantism violently opposes every attempt to rescue the nation from the clutches of its mortal enemy. The Protestant attitude towards the Jews is more or less rigidly and dogmatically fixed. And yet this is the first problem which has to be solved, unless all attempts to bring about a German resurgence, or to raise the level of the nation's standing, are to remain senseless and impossible.

During my sojourn in Vienna, I had ample leisure time to study this problem without allowing any prejudices to intervene; and in my daily contacts I was able to confirm my view thousands of times.

In this focal point of various nationalities, it was quite obvious that the German pacifist was always and exclusively the one who tried to consider his own national interests objectively. But you would never find a Jew who took a similar attitude towards his own people. Furthermore, I found that only the German Socialist is ‘international’ in the sense that he feels himself obliged to demand justice for his own people only by whining and wailing to his international comrades. No one could ever charge the Czechs, or Poles, or other nations with such conduct. In short, I recognized even then that this evil is only partly a result of these doctrines, but mainly the result of our totally inadequate system of education, and its resulting lack of devotion to our own nation.

Thus, the first theoretical argument advanced by the pan-

German leaders in their offensive against Catholicism was quite untenable.

The only way to remedy this evil is to train the Germans from youth upwards to an absolute recognition of the rights of their own people, instead of poisoning their minds with the curse of 'objectivity'–even in matters concerning the very maintenance of our own existence. The result of this would be that the Catholic in Germany–just as in Ireland, Poland, or France–would be a German above all. But all this presupposes a radical change in the national government.

The strongest proof of this is supplied by what took place at that historical juncture when our people were last called, before the tribunal of history to defend their own existence in a life-or-death struggle.

As long as there was no lack of leadership, the people overwhelmingly fulfilled their duty and obligations. Whether Protestant pastor or Catholic priest, each did his very utmost in helping our powers of resistance to hold out–not only in the trenches but also, and even more so, at home. During those years, and especially during the first outburst of enthusiasm, in both religious camps there was one undivided and sacred German Reich, for whose preservation and future existence they all prayed to heaven.

The pan-German movement in Austria should have asked itself one question: Is the maintenance of Germandom in Austria possible or not, as long as it remains within the fold of the Catholic faith? If yes, then the political party shouldn't have meddled in religious and denominational questions. But if no, then a religious reformation should have been started, and not a political party movement.

Anyone who believes that religious reformation can be achieved through the agency of a political organization shows that he has no understanding of the development of religious conceptions and doctrines, and of how these are given practical effect by the Church.

No man can serve two masters. And I hold that the foundation or overthrow of a religion has far greater consequences than the

foundation or overthrow of a state, let alone a party.

It is no counterargument to say that the attacks were only defensive measures against attacks from the other side!

Undoubtedly there have always been unscrupulous rogues who did not hesitate to degrade religion to a tool of politics. Nearly always such a people had nothing else in mind except to make a business of religions and politics. But on the other hand, it would be wrong to hold religion itself, or a religious denomination, responsible for a number of rascals who exploit the Church for their own base interests, just as they would exploit anything else in which they had a part.

Nothing could be more to the taste of these parliamentary loungers and tricksters than to find a scapegoat for their political swindling-even after the fact. The moment that religion is attacked and made responsible for his personal misdeeds, this shrewd fellow will raise an outcry at once, and call the world to witness how justified he was in acting as he did, proclaiming that he and his eloquence alone have saved the Church. The public, which is mostly stupid and forgetful, is incapable of recognizing the real instigator of the quarrel in the midst of the ruckus . Frequently it doesn't even remember the beginning of the fight, and so the rogue gets away with his stunt.

A cunning fellow of that sort is well aware that his misdeeds have nothing to do with religion. And so he will quietly laugh up his sleeve when his honest but artless opponent loses the game and, eventually losing faith in humanity, resigns from it all.

And there is another sense in which it would be wrong to make religion, or the Church per se, responsible for individual misdeeds. If one compares the magnitude of the organization as it appears to all, with the typical weakness of human nature, we will have to admit that the proportion of good to bad is more favorable here than anywhere else. Among the priests there may, of course, be some who use their sacred calling to further their political ambitions. There are clergy who unfortunately forget that in the political struggle they should be the guardians of higher truths and not the abettors of lies and slander. But for each one of these unworthy specimens we can find a thousand or more who fulfil

their mission nobly, as the trustworthy guardians of souls, and who tower above the level of our corrupt epoch, as little islands above the morass.

I cannot condemn the Church per se, and I would still feel unjustified in doing so if some depraved person in a priest's robe commits some offence against moral law. Nor would I for a moment think of blaming the Church if one of its innumerable members betrays and besmirches his compatriots, especially not at a time when such conduct is quite common. We must not forget, particularly in our day, that for one such Ephialtes[35] there are a thousand whose hearts bleed in sympathy with their people during these years of misfortune, and who, together with the best of our nation, yearn for the hour when fortune will smile on us again.

If it be objected that here we are concerned not with the petty problems of everyday life but principally with fundamental truths and questions of dogma, the only way of answering that objection is to ask a question:

Do you feel that fate has called you to proclaim the truth to the world? If so, then go and do it. But have the courage to do it directly, and not use some political party as your mouthpiece; for this is a swindle. For today's evil, substitute your future good.

But if you lack the courage, or if your good isn’t clear even to yourself, then leave the whole thing alone. But whatever happens, don’t try to reach the goal in the roundabout way of a political party if you aren't brave enough to fight with your cap lifted.

Political parties have no right to meddle in religious questions, except when these relate to something that is alien to the national well-being, and thus calculated to undermine racial customs and morals.

If some Church dignitaries should misuse religious ceremonies or religious teaching to injure their own nation, their opponents should never take the same road and fight them with the same weapons.

To a political leader, the religious teachings and practices of his

[35] Ephialtes of Trachis (ca. 480 BC) was an Athenian who betrayed his homeland to the Persians, thus helping them to win the Battle of Thermopylae

people should be sacred and inviolable. Otherwise he shouldn't be a statesman but a reformer–if he has the necessary qualities for such a task!

Any other line of conduct will lead to disaster, especially in Germany. In studying the pan-German movement and its conflict with Rome, I was then firmly persuaded, and especially in the years to come, of the following conviction: By their failure to understand the importance of the social problem, the pan-Germanists lost the support of the broad masses, who are the indispensable combatants. By entering parliament, the pan-German leaders deprived themselves of the great driving force that resides in the masses, and also took on all the defects of the parliamentary institution. Their struggle against the Church made their position impossible in the lower and middle classes, while at the same time it robbed them of innumerable high-class elements-some of the best that the nation possessed.

Thus the outcome of the Austrian *Kulturkampf* was practically nothing. Although they succeeded in winning 100,000 members away from the Church, that didn't cause much harm. The Church didn't really need to shed any tears over these lost sheep; it lost only those who had long ago ceased to belong to it in their hearts. The difference between this new reformation and the great Reformation was that, in the historic epoch of the great Reformation, some of the best members left the Church because of religious convictions. Whereas in this new reformation, only those left who had been indifferent before and were now influenced by political considerations.

From the political point of view alone, the result was as laughable as it was deplorable.

Once again, a political movement that had promised so much for the German nation collapsed, because it was not conducted in a spirit of unflinching adherence to naked reality, but rather became lost in fields where it was bound to disintegrate.

3.25 CONCENTRATION ON A SINGLE ENEMY

One thing is certainly true:

The pan-German movement would never have made this mistake if it had properly understood the psyche of the broad masses. If the leaders had known that, for psychological reasons alone, one should never place two or more sets of adversaries before the masses–since that divides their fighting strength–they would have concentrated the full and undivided force of their attack against a single adversary. Nothing in the policy of a political party is so fraught with danger as to allow its decisions to be directed by those j ack-of-all-trades who want everything, even though they don't know how to do anything.

But even though much can be said against the various religious denominations, political leaders mustn't forget that the experience of history teaches us that no purely political party, in similar circumstances, ever successfully brought about a religious reformation. One doesn't study history for the purpose of later forgetting or mistrusting its lessons. It would be a mistake to believe that in this particular case things were different, so that the eternal truths of history no longer applied. One learns history in order to be able to apply its lessons in the present day, and whoever fails to do this cannot pretend to be a political leader. In reality he is quite a superficial person or, as is mostly the case, a conceited simpleton whose good intentions cannot make up for his incompetence in practical affairs.

The art of leadership, as displayed by all truly great popular leaders of history, consists in focusing the attention of the people against a single adversary, and ensuring that nothing will break it up. The more the militant energies of the people are directed towards one objective, the more will new recruits join the movement–attracted by the magnetism of its unified action. Therefore the striking power will be all the greater. The leader of genius must have the ability to make different opponents appear as if they belonged to one category. Otherwise, weak and wavering followers may easily begin to doubt the justice of their own cause, if they have to face different enemies.

As soon as the vacillating masses find themselves facing many enemies, their sense of objectivity will be aroused. They will ask how it is possible that all the others can be wrong, and that they themselves, and their movement, alone are right.

Such a feeling would be the first step towards a paralysis of their own power. Hence it will always be necessary to group all opponents together, as forming one solid front, so that the mass of followers will see only one common enemy against whom they have to fight. Such uniformity intensifies their belief in the justice of their own cause, and strengthens their feeling of hostility towards the opponent.

The pan-German movement was unsuccessful because the leaders didn't grasp the significance of that truth.

They clearly saw that the goal and their intentions were right; but they took the wrong road. It was like an Alpine climber who never loses sight of the peak he wants to reach, and who sets out with the greatest determination and energy, but pays no attention to the road beneath his feet. With his eye always fixed firmly on the goal, he overlooks the nature of the ascent, and finally he fails.

3.26 THE WAY OF CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

The manner in which the great competitor of the Pan-German Party–the Christian Social Party-set out to attain its goal was quite different.

The way it took was correct and well–chosen; but it didn't have a clear vision of the goal.

In almost all the matters where the pan-German movement failed, the policy of the Christian-Socialist Party was correct and systematic.

They assessed the importance of the masses correctly, and thus they gained the support of large numbers by emphasizing the social character of the movement from the very start. By directing their appeal especially to the lower middle class and the artisans, they gained adherents who were faithful, enduring, and self-sacrificing. The Christian-Socialist leaders took care to avoid all controversy with the institutions of religion, and thus they secured

the support of that mighty organization, the Catholic Church. Those leaders recognized the value of propaganda on a large scale, and they were veritable virtuosos in working up the spiritual instincts of the broad masses of their followers.

2.27 ANTI-SEMITISM ON A RELIGIOUS BASIS

The failure of this party to fulfill its dream of saving Austria from dissolution must be attributed to two main defects in the means they employed, and also the lack of clarity regarding the goal itself.

First: The anti-Semitism of the new movement was based on religious instead of racial principles . The reason for this mistake gave rise to the second error also.

The founders of the Christian-Socialist Party believed that they couldn't base their position on the racial principle if they wished to save Austria, because they felt that a general disintegration of the state might quickly result. In the opinion of the party chiefs, the situation in Vienna demanded that all factors that tended to estrange the nationalities from one another should be carefully avoided, and that all factors making for unity should be encouraged.

At that time, Vienna was so permeated with foreign elements, especially Czechs, that great tolerance was necessary if these elements were to be enlisted in any party that was not anti-German on principle. If Austria was to be saved, those elements were indispensable. And so attempts were made to win the support of the small traders–a great number of whom were Czechs–by combating liberal Manchesterism. And they believed that by adopting this attitude, they had found a slogan against Jewry that would unite all the different nationalities that made up the population of old Austria.

It was obvious, however, that this kind of anti-Semitism didn't upset the Jews very much, simply because it had a purely religious foundation. If worst came to worst, a few drops of baptismal water could always save the Jew and the business at the same time.

On such superficial grounds, it was impossible to deal with the

whole problem in a serious and rational way. The result was that many people couldn't understand this kind of anti-Semitism, and therefore refused to join it. The attractive force of the idea was thus restricted exclusively to narrowminded circles, because the leaders failed to go beyond the mere emotional appeal and didn't ground their position on a truly rational basis. The intellectuals were opposed to such a policy on principle. It looked more and more as if the whole movement was a new attempt to convert the Jews or, on the other hand, as if it merely wished to compete with other movements.

Thus the struggle lost all traces of having been organized for a higher spiritual mission. Indeed, it seemed to some people–and these were by no means the worst ones–to be immoral and reprehensible. The movement failed to awaken a belief that this was a problem of vital importance for the whole of humanity, and that the destiny of the whole non-Jewish world depended on a solution.

Through this half-hearted approach, the anti-Semitism of the Christian-Socialists turned out to be worthless.

It was a sham anti-Semitism–almost worse than none at all. The pretence gave rise to a false sense of security among people, who believed that the enemy had been taken by the ears . But in reality, the people themselves were being led by the nose.

The Jew readily adapted to this form of anti-Semitism. In fact, its continuance was more beneficial to him than its absence would have been.

This led to great sacrifices being made for the sake of that multi-national state; but much greater sacrifices were required by the German element.

One didn’t dare to be a ‘nationalist,’ even in Vienna, lest the ground should fall away from under one's feet. It was hoped that the Habsburg State might be saved by quietly avoiding the nationalist question; but this policy led that state to ruin. The same policy also led to the collapse of Christian Socialism, as this movement lost the only source of energy from which a political party can draw the necessary driving force. It became a party like any other.

3.28 PAN-GERMANISM AND CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

During those years, I carefully followed the two movements and observed how they developed: the one, because my heart was with it, and the other because of my admiration for that remarkable man who then appeared to me as a bitter symbol of all Austrian-Germanism.

When the imposing funeral procession of the dead mayor wound its way from city hall towards the Ring Strasse, I stood among the hundreds of thousands who watched it pass by. As I stood there, I felt deeply moved, and my instinct clearly told me that the work of this man was all in vain; a fatal destiny was inexorably leading this state to its downfall. If Dr. Karl Lueger had lived in Germany, he would have been ranked among the great leaders of our people. It was a misfortune for his work, and for himself, that he had to live in this impossible state.

When he died, a fire had already been kindled in the Balkans, and it was spreading month by month. Fate was merciful in sparing him the sight of that which, even to the end, he had hoped to prevent.

I tried to analyze the cause that rendered the one movement futile, and wrecked the progress of the other. The outcome was the profound conviction that, apart from the inherent impossibility of bolstering the position of the state in old Austria, the two parties made the following fatal mistake:

The Pan-German Party was perfectly right in its fundamental ideas regarding its aim, which was to bring about a German renaissance. But it was unfortunate in its choice of means. It was nationalist, but unfortunately it was not socialistic enough to gain the support of the masses. Its anti-Semitic policy, however, was grounded on a correct perception of the significance of race and not on religious principles. But its struggle against one of the religious denominations was tactically false.

The Christian-Social movement had only a vague concept of a German revival, but it was intelligent and fortunate in its choice of means to. The Christian-Socialists grasped the significance of

the social question, but they had wrong ideas in the struggle against Jewry, and had no sense of the power of the nationalistic idea.

If only the Christian-Socialist Party, together with its shrewd judgment of the worth of the popular masses, had rightly judged the importance of the racial problem–as the pan-German movement did-and if this party had been really nationalist, then a movement would have developed that, in my opinion, might have successfully altered the course of German destiny. Or if the pan-German leaders, on the other hand, in addition to their correct judgment of the Jewish question and of the national idea, had adopted the practical wisdom of the Christian-Socialist Party-and particularly their attitude towards socialism-the same might have happened.

If things didn't turn out this way, the fault primarily lay in the nature of the Austrian State.

No other party then in existence supported my convictions, and so I couldn't bring myself to enlist as a member in any of them, or even lend a hand in their struggle. Even at that time, all those organizations seemed to be already exhausted in their energies, and were therefore incapable of bringing about a national revival of the German people in a really profound way, rather than in a merely superficial way.

3.29 GROWING AVERSION TO THE HABSBURG STATE

My inner aversion to the Habsburg State was steadily increasing.

The more I paid special attention to questions of foreign policy, the more my conviction grew that this state would surely bring misfortune on the Germans. I realized more and more that the destiny of the German nation couldn't be decisively influenced from here, but only in the German Reich itself. And this was true not only in regard to general political questions but also–and to an equal degree–regarding the whole sphere of cultural life.

Here too, in all matters affecting national culture and art, the

Austrian State showed all the signs of degeneration-or at least, of ceasing to be of any consequence to the German nation. This was especially true of its architecture. The new architecture couldn't produce any great results in Austria because, since the building of the Ring Strasse, architectural activities–at least in Vienna–became insignificant when compared with the progressive plans arising in Germany.

And so I came, more and more, to lead a double life. Reason and reality told me to continue my harsh but beneficial apprenticeship in Austria. But my heart was elsewhere.

A growing sense of discontentment made me depressed, the more that I came to realize the inner hollowness of this state, and the impossibility of saving it from collapse. At the same time, I felt perfectly certain that it would bring nothing but misfortune to the German people.

I was convinced that the Habsburg State would hinder and oppress every German who might show signs of real greatness-while at the same time, it would aid and abet every non-German activity. I was repelled by the conglomeration of heterogeneous races that the capital of the Dual Monarchy showed me: this motley crew of Czechs, Poles, Hungarians, Ruthenians, Serbs, and Croats, etc. And above all, that eternal fungus of humanity–Jews and more Jews.

The giant city seemed to be the incarnation of racial depravity.

The German vernacular of my youth was the local idiom of Lower Bavaria. I never forgot that particular style of speech, and I never learned the Viennese dialect. The longer I lived there, the stronger became my hatred for the mixture of foreign peoples that had begun to erode that ancient ground of German culture.

The idea that this state could maintain its existence much longer was quite laughable.

Austria was then like an ancient mosaic, one in which the cohesive cement had dried up and become old and crumbly. As long as it remains untouched, it may hold together and continue to exist. But the moment some blow is struck, it then breaks up into a thousand fragments. The question was only when the blow would come.

Because my heart was always with the German Reich and not the Austrian monarchy, the hour of Austria's dissolution as a state appeared as only the first step towards the emancipation of the German nation.

3.30 THE SCHOOL OF MY LIFE

All these considerations intensified my desire to go to that country that my heart had been secretly longing for, since the days of my youth.

I hoped someday to make my mark as an architect, and that I could devote my talents to the service of my country on a large or small scale, according to the will of fate.

But finally I wanted to enjoy the happiness of living and working in the land from which the movement that I had always longed for would be launched: namely, the union of my beloved homeland with our common fatherland, the German Reich.

There are many who may not understand how such a yearning can be so strong. But I appeal especially to two groups of people. The first includes all those who are still denied the happiness I have spoken of; and the second embraces those who once enjoyed that happiness but had it cruelly tom from them. I turn to all those who have been tom from their motherland, who have to struggle for the preservation of their sacred language, and who are persecuted and harried because of their loyalty and love for the homeland. To such people I address my words, and I know: they will understand me!

Only he who has experienced in his inner being what it means to be German, and yet denied the right of belonging to his fatherland, can appreciate the profound longing caused by enforced exile. It’s an eternal heartache; and there's no place for joy and contentment until the doors of the paternal home are thrown open, and all those of kindred blood find peace and tranquillity in their common Reich.

Vienna was and remains the hardest, though most profound, school of my life. I was scarcely more than a boy when I came to live there, and when I left it, I had grown to be a grave and

thoughtful man. In Vienna I acquired the foundations of a worldview, and I developed a faculty for analyzing political questions in particular. That worldview and the political ideas then formed have never been abandoned–though they were later expanded upon in certain directions. Only now can I fully appreciate how valuable those years of study were for me.

That's why I have given a detailed account of this period. There, in Vienna, stark reality taught me the truths that now form the fundamental principles of the party that, within the course of five years, has grown from modest beginnings to a great mass movement. I don't know what my attitude towards Jewry, Social Democracy, even more to Marxism in general, to the social problem, etc., would be today, if l hadn't acquired a stock of personal beliefs at such an early age, under the duress of fate–and by my own hard study.

For, although the misfortunes of the Fatherland may have stimulated many thousands to ponder over the inner causes of the collapse, that couldn't lead to such a thorough knowledge and deep insight as a man may develop, who has fought a hard struggle for many years so that he might be the master of his own destiny.

CHAPTER 4
MUNICH

Finally I came to Munich, in the spring of 1912.[36]

The city itself was as familiar to me as if I had lived there for years. This was because my architectural studies had been constantly turning my attention to the metropolis of German art. One must know Munich if one would know Germany, and it's impossible to acquire a knowledge of German art without seeing Munich.

In any case, this period was by far the happiest and most contented time of my life. My earnings were very meager. But after all, I didn't live for the sake of painting; I painted in order to get the bare necessities of life while I continued my studies. I was firmly convinced that I would finally succeed in reaching the goal I set for myself. And this conviction alone was strong enough to enable me to bear the petty hardships of everyday life without worrying too much about them.

Moreover, almost from the very first moment of my sojourn there, I came to love that city more than any other place I had known. A German city! How different from Vienna! It was with a feeling of disgust that I recalled that Babylon of races. I enjoyed the spoken language; the Munich idiom recalled the days of my youth, especially when I spoke with those who had come to Munich from Lower Bavaria. There were a thousand or more things that I truly loved, or came to love, during the course of my stay. But what attracted me most was the marvelous marriage of native folk-energy with the fine artistic spirit of the city–that unique harmony from the Hofbräuhaus to the Odeon, from the

[36] At age 23.

Oktoberfest to the Pinakothek, and so on.[37] Today I am more attached to this city than any other; it will remain inseparably connected to the development of my own career. My feelings of inner happiness and satisfaction with the place can be attributed to the charm of the Residence of the Wittelsbachs;[38] it has attracted probably everyone who is blessed with a feeling for beauty, as well as a calculating mind.

4.1 GERMANY'S DEFECTIVE ALLIANCE POLICY

Apart from my professional work, what most attracted me was the study of current political events-particularly those connected with foreign relations. I approached these by way of the German policy of alliances which, from my Austrian days, I had considered to be utterly mistaken. But in Vienna, I hadn't yet seen quite clearly how deluded the German Empire had become. There I was inclined to assume–or probably I persuaded myself, as an excuse-that possibly the authorities in Berlin knew how weak and unreliable their ally would prove to be. But I thought that, for some strange reason, they refrained from making their opinions on this known. In reality, they believed that they should support the policy of alliances that Bismarck had initiated. They felt that a sudden break would be undesirable-if for no other reason than that it might arouse those foreign countries that were lying in wait for their chance, or might alarm the businessmen at home.

But my contact with the people soon taught me, to my horror, that my assumptions were wrong. I was amazed to find everywhere, even in knowledgeable circles, that nobody had the slightest idea of the real character of the Habsburg monarchy. Especially among the common people, there was a prevalent illusion that the Austrian ally was a true power–one that would have to be seriously reckoned with, and would rally its people in

[37] The Hofbräuhaus is a large, state-owned beer hall in central Munich; it was founded in 1589. The Odeon was a concert hall and ballroom, built in 1828. The Pinakothek is the main art museum of Munich, dating originally from 1836.

[38] The Wittelsbachs are a famous Bavarian royal family, having ruled in the region since the year 1200.

the hour of need. The masses continued to look upon the Dual Monarchy as a 'German' state. They believed that it was dependable. They assumed that its strength could be measured by the millions of its subjects, as was the case in Germany. But first of all, they didn't realize that Austria had ceased to be a German state. And secondly, that the prevailing conditions in the Austrian Empire were steadily pushing it toward disintegration.

I knew then the state of affairs in Austria better than the so-called diplomats. They stumbled along, nearly always blindly, on their way to disaster. The prevailing opinions among most people reflected only what had been drummed into them from above. And the higher authorities groveled before the 'ally,' as though bowing down before the Golden Calf. They probably thought that by being polite and amiable, they might offset the lack of honesty on the other side. Thus they took every declaration at face value.

Even while in Vienna, I was repeatedly annoyed by the discrepancy between the speeches of the official statesmen and the contents of the Viennese press. And yet Vienna was still a German city–at least on the surface. But it was an utterly different state of affairs on leaving Vienna–or rather German-Austria–and coming into the Slav provinces! Only a glance at the Prague newspapers was needed to see how the whole exalted hocus-pocus of the Triple Alliance was judged from there.[39] In Prague, there was nothing but gibes and sneers for that 'masterpiece of statesmanship.' Even in times of peace, when the two emperors kissed each other on the brow in token friendship, those papers didn't hide their belief that the alliance would be finished the moment an attempt was made to bring it down from the shimmering glory of a Nibelungen ideal to practical reality.

Great indignation was aroused a few years later, when the alliances were put to the first practical test. Italy not only withdrew from the Triple Alliance–leaving the other two on their own–but she even joined their enemies! That anyone would believe, even for a moment, in the possibility of such a miracle as Italy fighting

[39] The Triple Alliance was a pact between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. It was formed in 1882 and survived until the start of WWI.

on the same side as Austria is simply incredible to anyone–at least, who didn't suffer from diplomatic blindness. And that was just how people felt in Austria too.

In Austria, only the Habsburgs and the German-Austrians supported the alliance. The Habsburgs did so from shrewd calculation of their own self-interests, and necessity. The Germans did it out of good faith and political–stupidity. They acted in good faith, inasmuch as they believed that by establishing the Triple Alliance they were doing a great service to the German Reich and were thus helping to defend it. They showed their political stupidity, however, in holding such ideas, because, instead of helping the Reich they really chained it to a moribund state that might drag its partner to the grave. And above all, by championing this alliance they fell more and more prey to the Habsburg policy of de-Germanization.

The alliance gave the Habsburgs good grounds for believing that the German Reich wouldn't interfere in their domestic affairs, and thus they were in a position to carry out, with more ease and less risk, their domestic policy of gradually eliminating the German element. Not only could the 'objectiveness' of the German government be counted on, and thus there need be no fear of protest from that quarter, but one could always remind the German-Austrians of the alliance. This would silence them in case they might ever object to the reprehensible Slavization.

But what could the German-Austrians do, when the people of the German Reich itself had openly proclaimed their trust and confidence in the Habsburg government? Should they resist, and thus be openly branded as traitors before their own people? They, who for so many decades had sacrificed so much for the sake of their German tradition?

What would be the value of the alliance, once the influence of the Germans in Austria had been rooted out? If the Triple Alliance were to be advantageous to Germany, wasn't it necessary that the predominance of the Germans in Austria be maintained? Or did anyone really believe that Germany could continue to be an ally of a Slavic Habsburg Empire?

The official attitude of German diplomacy, as well as that of the

general public towards internal problems affecting the Austrian nationalities, was not merely stupid; it was simply insane! On the alliance, as if a solid foundation, they grounded the security and future existence of a nation of 70 million. At the same time, they allowed their partner to continue its policy of methodically undermining the sole foundation of that alliance. The day was bound to come when nothing but a 'contract' with Viennese diplomats would be left. The alliance itself would be lost to Germany.

Concerning Italy, such had been the case from the beginning.

If people in Germany had studied the history and psychology of nations a bit more carefully, not one of them could have believed for a minute that the Quirinal and the Viennese Hofburg could ever stand together on a common battle front. Italy would have exploded like a volcano if any Italian government had dared to send a single Italian soldier to the battlefield with the Habsburg State–except as an enemy. More than once in Vienna, I witnessed the contempt and profound hatred that 'allied' the Italian to the Austrian State. The crimes that the House of Habsburg committed against Italian freedom and independence during several centuries were too grave to be forgiven, even with the best of goodwill. But this goodwill didn't exist, either among the rank and file of the population or in the government. Therefore, for Italy, there were only two ways of co-existing with Austria: alliance or war.

By choosing the first, the Italians could leisurely prepare for the second.

Especially since relations between Russia and Austria tended more and more towards military conflict, the German policy of alliances was as senseless as it was dangerous.

Here was a classic case that demonstrated the lack of any broad or logical lines of thinking.

But what was the reason for forming the alliance at all? It must have been the wish to better secure the future of the Reich, than if it were to depend exclusively on its own resources. But 'the future of the Reich' could mean only the matter of securing the means of existence for the German people.

4.2 THE FOUR PATHS OF GERMAN POLICY

Therefore the only questions were the following: What form will the life of the nation take in the near future? And by what means can the necessary foundation and security be guaranteed, within the framework of the general power distribution among the European nations?

A clear analysis of the principles on which the foreign policy of German statecraft were to be based should have led to the following conclusions:

The annual population increase in Germany amounts to almost 900,000 souls. The difficulties of feeding this army of new citizens must grow from year to year, and must finally lead to a catastrophe, unless ways and means are found to forestall the danger of misery and hunger.

There were four ways of avoiding this terrible future calamity:

(1) It was possible to follow the French example and artificially restrict the number of births, thus avoiding an excess of population.

Nature herself–in periods of distress or under bad climatic condition, or if the soil becomes depleted–tends to restrict the increase of population among certain countries and races. And her method is quite as ruthless as it is wise. It doesn't impede the procreative faculty per se; but it does restrict the further existence of the offspring by submitting them to such tests and privations that everything that is less strong, or less healthy, is forced to retreat into the bosom of the unknown. Whatever survives these hardships of existence has been tested and tried a thousand-fold; it is hardened, and rendered fit to continue the process of procreation. Hence the same thorough selection will begin all over again. By thus dealing brutally with the individual, and recalling him the very moment he shows that he is not fit for the trials of life, nature preserves the strength of the race and the species; she raises it to the highest degree of efficiency.

A *decrease* in numbers therefore implies an *increase* in strength of the individual, and in this way the species is invigorated.

But the case is different when man himself starts to restrict his

own numbers. Man is not carved from the same wood as nature; he is 'humane.' He thinks he knows better than the ruthless Queen of Wisdom. He doesn't impede the preservation of lesser individuals, but prevents procreation itself. To the individual, who always sees only himself and not the race, this approach seems more humane and more justified than the opposite way. But unfortunately, the consequences are also the opposite:

By leaving the process of procreation unchecked, and by submitting the individual to the hardest tests in life, nature selects the best from an abundance of individuals ; she stamps them as fit to live and carry on the conservation of the species. But man, when he restricts the procreative faculty, obstinately works to keep alive all who have been born. This 'correction' of the Divine Will seems to him to be wise and humane; he rejoices at having trumped nature's card-in one game at least-and thus 'proves' that she is inadequate. The dear little ape of an all-mighty Father is delighted to see that he has succeeded in reducing human numbers. But he would be very upset to hear that his system brings about a degeneration in personal value.

As soon as the procreative faculty is thwarted and the number of births diminished, the natural struggle for existence, which allows only healthy and strong individuals to survive, is replaced by a sheer desire to 'save' feeble and even diseased ones at any cost. And thus the seeds are sown for a human progeny that will become more and more deplorable from one generation to another, as long as nature's will is scorned.

And if that policy is carried out, the final results must be that such a nation will eventually terminate its own existence on this earth. Though man may defy the eternal laws of procreation for a little while, vengeance will sooner or later follow. A stronger race will oust that which has grown weak. The vital urge, in its ultimate form, will break all the absurd chains of this so-called humanitarianism for the individual, and will replace it with the humanity of nature–which destroys what is weak in order to make way for the strong.

Any policy that aims at securing the existence of the German nation by restricting the birth-rate, robs that nation of its future.

(2) There is a second solution, one that is frequently proposed and recommended in our own time: internal colonization. It's a suggestion that is well-intended, but is misunderstood by most people. Thus it's the source of an unimaginable amount of harm.

Undoubtedly, the productivity of the soil can be increased somewhat; but only within defined limits, and not indefinitely. By increasing the productive powers of the soil, it will be possible to balance the effect of a surplus birth-rate in Germany for a short period of time, without running any danger of hunger. But we have to face the fact that the general life-demands are rising more quickly than even the birth rate. The need for food and clothing are becoming greater from year to year, and are disproportionate to those of our ancestors of, say, 100 years ago. It would, therefore, be crazy to argue that continuous increase in the productive powers of the soil will supply the needs for an increasing population. No; this is true up to a certain point only, for at least a portion of the increased productivity will be consumed by the growing demands caused by a steady rise in the standard of living.

But even if these demands were restricted to the narrowest range possible, we would still reach a definite limit, one that is conditioned by the inherent nature of the soil itself. No matter how hard we work, we cannot increase agricultural production beyond this limit.

Therefore, though we may postpone the time of distress, it will eventually arrive. First, there will be the recurrence of famine periods from time to time, after bad harvests, etc. The intervals between these famines will become shorter and shorter, the more the population increases. Finally, famine will disappear only in those rare years of plenty, when the granaries are full. And a time will ultimately come when, even in those years of plenty, there won't be enough to go around. Hunger will dog the footsteps of the nation. Nature will then step in once more and select those who are to survive–or else man will help himself by artificially preventing his own increase, with all the fatal consequences for the race and species mentioned above.

It may be objected here that, in one form or another, this future

is in store for all mankind, and that the individual nation cannot escape the general fate.

At first glance, this objection seems correct. But we have to take the following into account:

The day will certainly come when the whole of mankind will be forced to restrict the growth of the human species, because there will be no further possibility of adjusting the productivity of the soil to the perpetual increase in population. Nature must then be allowed to use her own methods; or man may possibly take the task of regulation into his own hands and establish the necessary equilibrium, using better means than we have today. But then it will be a problem for all of mankind, whereas now only those races must suffer which no longer have the strength and daring to acquire sufficient soil to meet their needs. As things stand today, there are vast spaces uncultivated spaces all over the surface of the globe. Those spaces are only waiting to be used. And it's quite certain that nature didn't set those territories apart for any one nation or race; such land awaits the people who have the strength to acquire it and the diligence to cultivate it.

Nature knows no political boundaries. She begins by establishing life on this globe, and then watches the free play of forces. Those who show the greatest courage and industry are the children nearest to her heart. They will be granted the sovereign right of existence.

If a nation confines itself to internal colonization while other races are perpetually increasing their territories, that nation will be forced to restrict the growth of its population at a time when the others are increasing theirs. This situation must eventually arrive, and it will arrive sooner if the nation has a small territory. It is unfortunately true that, only too often, the best nations–or rather, the only really cultured nations, who are also the standard-bearers of human progress–have decided, in their blind pacifism, to refrain from the acquisition of new territory, and to be content with 'internal' colonization. But at the same time, inferior nations succeed in grabbing large spaces for colonization all over the globe. This must lead to the following result:

Races that are culturally superior but less ruthless will be forced

to restrict their increase, because of insufficient territory to support their population; less civilized races could increase indefinitely, owing to the vast territories at their disposal. In other words: Should that state of affairs continue, then the world will one day be possessed by that portion of mankind that is culturally inferior but more energetic.

A time will come, even though in the distant future, when there can be only two alternatives: Either the world will be ruled according to our modern concept of democracy, in which case every decision will be in favor of the numerically larger races. Or the world will be governed by the law of the natural distribution of power-and then those nations will succeed who possess a more brutal will, and not the nations who have practiced self-restriction.

No one can doubt that this world will one day be the scene of dreadful struggles for existence on the part of mankind. In the end, only the instinct of self-preservation will triumph. This so-called humanitarianism–which connotes only a mixture of stupidity, cowardice, and self-conceit–will melt away like snow under a March sun. Man has become great through perpetual struggle. In perpetual peace, he must decline.

For us Germans, the slogan 'internal colonization' is fatal because it encourages the belief that we have discovered a means that is in accordance with our innate pacifism, and that will enable us to work for our livelihood in a half-slumbering existence. If such a teaching were taken seriously by our people, it would mean the end of all effort to acquire our rightful place in the world. If the average German were convinced that he could ensure his life and future this way, it would mean the end of any attempt to take an active and fruitful role in sustaining the vital demands of his country. Should the nation adopt such an attitude, then any really useful foreign policy might be looked upon as dead and buried–together with all hope for the future of the German people.

Once we understand these consequences, we can no longer consider it a mere accident the fact that, among those who propagate this dangerous mentality in our people, the Jew is always first in line. He knows well that his softies are ready to be the grateful victims of every swindle that promises them a gold-

brick in the shape of a discovery that will enable them to outwit nature, and thus avoid the hard and inexorable struggle for existence–and finally that they may become lords of the earth, partly by working, partly by doing nothing, depending on how things 'turn out.'

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that any German internal colonization must only serve to relieve social abuses. To carry out such a system, the most important preliminary measure would be to free the soil from the grip of the speculator. But such a system could never suffice to assure the future of the nation without acquiring new territory.

If we adopt a different plan, we will soon arrive not only at the end of our soil, but also at the end of our strength.

In conclusion, the following must be said:

The limitation to a small area of land–inherent in internal colonization, and similar to the effect achieved by restricting procreation–leads to an exceptionally unfavorable military and political situation for the nation.

The size of the national territory is a determining factor in the external security of a nation. The larger the territory that a people has at its disposal, the stronger are its national defenses. Military decisions against people living in a small area are more quickly and easily–and thus more completely and effectively–achieved, than against states that have large territories. Moreover, the size of a national territory is in itself a certain guarantee that an outside power will not hastily invade. In that case, the struggle would be long and exhausting before victory could be gained. The risk of assault would be great, and would not be undertaken without exceptional reasons. Hence the very size of a state furnishes a basis upon which national liberty and independence can be maintained with relative ease. Conversely, a state whose territory is small offers a natural temptation to the invader.

Actually, so-called nationalist circles in the German Reich rejected those first two possibilities of establishing a balance between the increasing population and a fixed national territory. But the reasons given for that rejection were different from those just mentioned: It was mainly on the basis of certain moral

sentiments that a restricted birth rate was rejected. Proposals for internal colonization were indignantly refused because it was suspected that such a policy might mean an attack on the big landowners, and that this might be the forerunner of a general assault on the principle of private property. The form of the latter solution [i.e. internal colonization] perhaps justified the concerns of the big landowners.

Overall, the resistance to the broad masses wasn't very clever, and in any case didn't go to the root of the problem.

Only two further ways were left open in which work and bread could be secured for the increasing population.

(3) Either it was possible to consider acquiring new territory, on which the excess of the increasing population could be settled each year; or else

(4) Industry and commerce could be organized for export, and thus support the people by the increased financial surplus.

In other words: Either territorial expansion, or a colonial and commercial policy.

Both ways were considered, examined, recommended, and rejected, from various standpoints–and as a result, the last alternative was finally adopted.

The sounder alternative, however, was undoubtedly the first [i.e. number (3)].

4.3 ACQUISITION OF NEW LAND

The principle of acquiring new territory on which to settle the surplus population has many advantages to recommend it, especially if we look to the future.[40]

In the first place, it's impossible to overestimate the need to maintain a healthy peasant class, as the basis of the national community. Many of our present evils have their origin exclusively in the imbalance between urban and rural populations. A solid group of small-and mid-scale farmers has always been the

[40] What follows is an elaboration of alternative (3), Hitler's preferred choice.

best protection against social disease. Moreover, this is the only solution that guarantees the daily bread of a nation, within the framework of its domestic national economy.

With this guaranteed, industry and commerce would recede from their present unhealthy position of dominance, and would take their due place in the economy, adjusting the balance between supply and demand. They would no longer constitute the basis of national subsistence, but would be supporting institutions. By fulfilling their proper role–to adjust the balance between national production and consumption–they allow the nation to be more or less free from foreign countries. This ensures the freedom and independence of the nation, especially in times of difficulty.

Such a territorial policy, however, cannot be fulfilled in the Cameroons, but rather exclusively here in Europe. One must calmly and squarely face the truth that it certainly cannot be Divine Will to give 50 times as much land to one nation as to another. In the present case, one mustn't allow existing political borders to distract attention from what should exist on the basis of eternal justice. If this earth has sufficient room for all, then we should have that share of the land that is absolutely necessary for our existence.

But people will not do this willingly. Then the right of self-preservation comes into effect. And when attempts to settle the difficulty in an amicable way fail, then the fist must take by force. If our ancestors had based their political decisions on pacifist nonsense like our present generation does, we wouldn't possess more than one-third of our present territory. And likely there would be no German nation to worry about its future in Europe. No–we owe the two Ostmarks of the Reich to the natural determination of our forefathers in their struggle for existence.[41] From this same policy arises our present inner strength, something that is based on the greatness of our state and national territory, and which alone has made it possible for us to persist. And there is still another reason why that solution would have been correct:

[41] The two Ostmarks are German-Austria and East Prussia. This latter is today a region covering parts of Poland, Russia, and Lithuania.

And there is still another reason why that solution would have been correct:

Many contemporary European nations are like pyramids standing on their peaks. Their European territory is ridiculously small when compared. with the enormous overhead weight of their colonies, foreign trade, etc.

One may say: apex in Europe, and the base all over the world- quite different from the USA, which has its base on the American continent and touches the rest of the world only through its apex. This accounts for the incomparable inner strength of the USA and the corresponding weakness of most of the colonial European powers

England is no proof to the contrary, because a quick glance at the British Empire overlooks the whole Anglo-Saxon world. England cannot be · compared with any other state in Europe, since it forms a vast community of language and culture together with the USA.

Therefore the only possibility that Germany had to conduct a sound territorial policy was to acquire new territory in Europe itself. Colonies cannot serve this purpose, since they aren't suited for large-scale European settlement. From the 19th century on, it was no longer possible to peacefully acquire such colonies. Therefore any attempt at such a colonial expansion would have meant an enormous military struggle. Thus it was more practical to undertake that military struggle for new territory in Europe, rather than to wage war for foreign acquisition.

Such a decision naturally demands the nation's undivided attention. A policy like this requires all available energy on the part of everyone concerned, and cannot be carried out by half-measures or hesitatingly. The political leadership of the German Reich should have been exclusively devoted to this goal. No step should have been taken other than one that served as a means to this end. It should have been clear that such a goal could only be reached by war; and this prospect should have been faced with calm and collected determination.

All alliances should have been envisioned and judged only from this standpoint. If new territory were to be acquired in

Europe, it should have been mainly at Russia's expense. Once again, the new German Reich should have set out on the same road as was formerly traveled by the Teutonic Knights-this time to acquire soil for the German plow by means of the German sword, and thus provide the nation with its daily bread.

4.4 WITH ENGLAND, AGAINST RUSSIA

Such a policy, however, could have only one possible European ally: England.

Only by alliance with England was it possible to safeguard the rear of the new German crusade. And the justification for undertaking such an expedition was stronger than that of our forefathers. Not one of our pacifists refuses to eat the bread made from grain grown in the East; and yet the first plow here was “the sword’!

No sacrifice should have been considered too great, in order to win England's friendship. Colonial and naval ambitions should have been abandoned, and attempts to compete against British industries avoided.

Only a clear and definite policy could achieve such a goal. This would involve renunciation of global trade and colonies, renunciation of a German navy, and a concentration of state military power on land forces.

The result would have been a temporary limitation, but for the sake of a great and powerful future.

There was a time when England might have reasoned with us, on such grounds. It would have understood that the problem of a steadily rising population would force Germany to look for a solution either within Europe–with the help of England–or without England, elsewhere in the world.

This outlook was probably the chief reason why London tried to draw nearer to Germany at the turn of the century. For the first time, an attitude became evident that, in recent years, has displayed itself in a most tragic way. People were unhappy with the thought of having to pull England's chestnuts out of the fire–as if there could ever be an alliance on any basis other than mutual

benefit. Such a deal could have been made with England. British diplomats were still wise enough to know that an equivalent must be offered in reply to any such services rendered.

Let's suppose that our German foreign policy was managed astutely enough in 1904 to enable us to take the part that Japan played. We can scarcely measure the beneficial consequences for Germany. There would have been no 'World War.'

Any bloodshed in 1904 would have been a tenth of that shed from 1914 to 1918.

And what a position Germany would hold in the world today!

4.5 SOLUTION TO THE AUSTRIAN ALLIANCE

In any case, the alliance with Austria was then an absurdity.

This mummified state didn't attach itself to Germany for the purpose of carrying out a war, but rather to maintain a perpetual state of peace–one that was to be exploited for the purpose of slowly but surely rooting out the German element in the Dual Monarchy.

Another reason for the impossible nature of this alliance was that no one could expect such a state to take an active part in defending German national interests, given that it had insufficient strength to end de-Germanization within its own borders. If Germany herself was neither sufficiently motivated nor ruthless to deny that absurd Habsburg State the right to decide the destinies of 10 million Germans, surely it was out of the question to expect the Habsburg State to assist in any great and courageous German undertaking. The attitude of the old Reich towards the Austrian question could have been considered a test of its stamina in the struggle of national destinies.

In any case, the policy of oppression against the German population in Austria should never have been allowed to continue and to strengthen year by year. The value of Austria as an ally could be determined only by preserving the German element there.

But that path was not followed.

Nothing was feared as much as war; and yet they were

ultimately forced to confront it, at the most unfavorable moment.

They wanted to flee from destiny, but it held them fast. They dreamt of maintaining world peace, but landed in a world war.

And this was the most significant reason why the above-mentioned third alternative was not even considered. New territory could be gained only in the East; but this meant war, whereas they wanted peace at any cost. Previously, the slogan of German foreign policy was: Preserve the German nation at all costs. Now it was changed to: Maintain world peace at all costs. We know the outcome.

I will return to this point in detail later on.

4.6 ECONOMIC EXPANSION POLICY

Meanwhile, there remained the fourth alternative: Industry and world trade, naval power and colonies.

Such a development would certainly have been easier and more rapidly attainable. To colonize a territory is a slow process, often extending over centuries. Yet this fact is the source of its inner strength; it doesn't happen through a sudden burst of enthusiasm, but rather through a gradual and enduring process of growth–one quite different from industrial progress, which can be expanded within a few years. Results are achieved, but they aren't of lasting quality; rather, something frail, like a soap-bubble. It's much easier to quickly build a navy than to carry through the tough task of settling new lands with farmers and establishing farmsteads. But the former is more quickly destroyed than the latter.

In adopting such a course, Germany must have known that it would eventually mean war, sooner or later. Only a child could believe those sweet and syrupy expressions of goodness: that peaceful intentions could get them their bananas through this ‘friendly competition between the nations,’ without ever having to fight for them.

No. Once we had taken this path, England was bound to become our enemy. Naturally, it fit in nicely with our innocent assumptions. But still, it was absurd to become indignant at the fact that the day came when England took the liberty of opposing

our peaceful activity with a violent and brutal self-interest.

Naturally, we on our side would never have done such a thing.

4.7 WITH RUSSIA, AGAINST ENGLAND

If a European territorial policy against Russia was only possible with England as our ally, by contrast then, a policy of colonies and global trade could have been conducted only against England and with Russia. But then we would have to face the consequences– and above all, to abandon Austria as quickly as possible.

At the turn of the century, the Austrian alliance had become a veritable absurdity from all points of view.

But no one considered an alliance with Russia against England, any more than one with England against Russia. In either case, the final result would have been war. And an avoidance of war was the very point of the commercial and industrial policy. It was believed that the 'peaceful, economic' conquest of the world provided a method that would permanently replace a policy of violence.

Occasionally, however, there were doubts about this principle, especially when some incomprehensible warnings came from England now and again. That was the reason why the [German] naval fleet was built. It wasn't for attacking or destroying England but rather to defend the concept of 'world peace' and the 'peaceful' conquest of the world. Therefore this fleet was kept within modest limits–not only regarding the number and tonnage of the vessels but their armaments as well. The idea was to show the transparency of our peaceful intentions.

Such talk about the 'peaceful, economic' conquest of the world was probably the greatest nonsense ever to be raised to the level of state policy. It became even more foolish when England was pointed out as a prime example of how it could be done. Our academic analyses of history and ideas have done irreparable harm; they offer a striking proof of how people 'learn' history without understanding anything of it.

In fact, England should have been looked upon as a convincing argument *against* the theory of such peaceful conquest. No nation

prepared the way for its commercial conquests more brutally than England did, and none has defended such conquests more ruthlessly. Isn't it typical of British statecraft that it knows how to use political power in order to gain economic advantages and, inversely, to turn economic conquests into political power? What an error it was to believe that England was too cowardly to spill its own blood for the purposes of economic expansion!

The fact that England didn't possess a national army proved nothing. It's not the military of the moment that matters, but rather the will and determination to use whatever strength is available. England has always had the arms needed. It always fought with the weapons necessary for success. It sent mercenary troops to fight, when mercenaries sufficed. But it never hesitated to draw from the best blood of the nation when that was the only means. And in every case, the determination, the tenacity, and the ruthless pursuit of victory remained unchanged.

4.8 GERMAN CARICATURE OF THE ENGLISHMAN

But in Germany, the schools, the press, and the comic papers promoted an idea of the Englishman that was eventually bound to lead to the worst kind of self-deception. This absurdity slowly but persistently spread into every aspect of German life. The result was an undervaluation that cost us dearly. The delusion was so deep that the Englishman was looked upon as a shrewd businessman, but personally as an unbelievable coward.

Unfortunately, our lofty history professors didn't impress their students with the truth that it's impossible to build up such a mighty organization as the British Empire by mere swindle and fraud. The few who called attention to that truth were either ignored or silenced. I can vividly recall the astonished looks of my comrades when they found themselves face to face, for the first time, with the Tommies in Flanders. After a few days of fighting, it slowly dawned on our soldiers that those Scotsmen were not like the ones described in the comic papers and press communiqués.

It was then that I formed my first ideas of the effectiveness of

various forms of propaganda.

Such a falsification, however, served a good purpose for those who fabricated it: This caricature of the Englishman, though false, could be used to prove the possibility of global economic conquest. If the Englishman succeeded, we could too. And our greater honesty, and our freedom from that specifically-English 'perfidy,' would be assets on our side. It was thereby hoped that the sympathy of the smaller nations-and the confidence of the larger-could be gained more easily.

We didn't realize that our honesty was an object of profound aversion for other people, because we ourselves believed in it. The rest of the world looked on our behavior as a kind of shrewd deceitfulness. But when the Revolution came, then they were amazed at the boundless stupidity of our 'honest' intentions.[42]

4.9 INNER WEAKNESS OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

Once we understand that absurd notion of 'peaceful economic conquest' of the world, we can more clearly understand that other absurdity, the Triple Alliance. With what other state could we have made an alliance? With Austria, we couldn't acquire new territory by military means, even in Europe. And this very fact was the real reason for the inner weakness of the Triple Alliance. A Bismarck could permit himself such a makeshift alliance to meet temporary needs, but certainly none of his bungling successors could do so–and least of all when the original conditions no longer existed. In Bismarck's time, Austria could still be looked upon as a German State. But the gradual introduction of universal suffrage turned the country into a non-German mishmash, one in which the German voice was scarcely heard.

From the standpoint of racial policy, the Austrian alliance was simply disastrous. A new, great Slavic power was allowed to grow up close to the borders of the German Reich. Later on, this power

[42] Hitler refers to the November Revolution of 1918–a tragic event of major historical importance, in his eyes. It is elaborated in Chapter 7.

was bound to take an entirely different attitude toward Germany than, say, Russia. The Alliance was thus bound to become emptier and feebler, because its only supporters were losing their influence and were being systematically pushed out of the more important public offices.

By the turn of the century, the alliance with Austria had already entered the same phase as Austria's alliance with Italy.

Here, too, there were just two possibilities: Either to take the side of the Habsburg Monarchy or to raise a protest against the oppression of the German element in Austria. But generally speaking, when one takes such a course, it's eventually bound to lead to open war.

Even psychologically, the Triple Alliance became weaker as long as its main objective was a defense of the status quo. Conversely, an alliance becomes stronger the more the parties involved see it as a means to territorial expansion. Here, as everywhere else, strength lies not in defense, but in attack.

4.10 LUDENDORFF'S 1912 MEMORANDUM

This truth was recognized in various quarters, but unfortunately, not by the so-called 'authorities.' As early as 1912, Ludendorff[43]–who was then colonel and an officer of the general staff-pointed out these weaknesses of the Alliance in a memorandum that he drew up. But of course, none of the 'statesmen' attached any importance or value to that it. In general, this seems to be due to the fact that common sense, which is active in ordinary people, is entirely lacking when it comes to those known as 'diplomats.'

It was lucky for Germany that the war of 1914 broke out indirectly, through Austria; therefore, the Habsburgs were compelled to participate. Had it been otherwise, Germany would have been left to her own resources. The Habsburg State would have been neither ready nor willing to enter a war of which Germany was responsible. That which was so shameful in the case

[43] Erich Ludendorff (1865-1937) was a leading German general during World War I. He was an early supporter of Hitler's, and participated with him in the failed putsch of 1923.

of Italy would, in the case of Austria, have happened earlier. In other words, Austria would have remained 'neutral' in order to safeguard against any revolution that might begin immediately after the war had started. The Slavs would rather have smashed the Dual Monarchy than come to Germany's assistance.

4.11 AUSTRIA AS A TEMPTING LEGACY

But at that time, there were only a few who understood all the dangers and aggravations that resulted from the alliance with the Danubian Monarchy.

In the first place, Austria had too many enemies who were eagerly looking forward to obtaining the legacy of that decrepit state. These people came to have a certain hatred of Germany because it held the monarchy together. Thus the idea emerged that Vienna could be reached only by passing through Berlin.

In the second place, Germany thus lost its best and most promising chances of other alliances. In their place, one now observed a growing tension in relations with Russia and even Italy. And this, despite a generally pro-German, anti-Austrian mood in Rome–a mood that slept in the heart of every Italian, flaring up now and then.

Since the adoption of a commercial and industrial policy, there was no longer a basis for war against Russia. Only the common enemies of these two countries, Germany and Russia, could have an active interest in such a war. As a matter of fact, it was only the Jews and the Marxists who tried to stir up bad blood between the two states.

In the third place, the Alliance constituted a permanent danger to German security. Any great power that was hostile to Bismarck's Reich could mobilize many other states in a war against Germany, simply by promising them tempting spoils at the expense of the Austrian ally.

It was possible to arouse the whole of Eastern Europe against the monarchy–especially Russia and Italy. The world coalition that developed under the leadership of King Edward could never have become a reality, if Germany's ally, Austria, hadn't offered

such an alluring prospect. This fact alone made it possible to combine so many heterogeneous states, with divergent interests, into a single offensive front. Every member could hope to enrich himself at the expense of Austria, if he joined in the general attack against Germany. The fact that Turkey was also a tacit party to the unfortunate alliance with Austria enhanced Germany's peril to an extraordinary degree.

International Jewish world finance needed this bait of the Austrian legacy in order to carry out its plans of ruining Germany, which thus far hadn't surrendered to the global superstate of finance and economics. Thus it was possible to consolidate that coalition and make it strong enough and brave enough–through the sheer weight of numbers–to join in physical conflict with the homed Siegfried.[44]

The alliance with the Habsburg monarchy–which I loathed while still in Austria–was a matter of grave concern on my part. It caused me to meditate on it so persistently that finally I came to the conclusions I mentioned above.

In the small circles that I frequented at that time, I didn't hide my conviction that this sinister agreement with a state doomed to collapse would also bring catastrophe to Germany, if she didn't free herself from it in time. I never once wavered in that firm conviction–even when the tempest of the World War seemed to have made a shipwreck of reasoning itself, and had put blind enthusiasm in its place, even among those circles where the coolest and hardest objective thinking should have held sway. In the trenches, I voiced and defended my own opinion whenever these problems came under discussion. I argued that abandoning the Habsburg monarchy would involve no sacrifice for Germany if it could thereby reduce the number of its own enemies. The millions of Germans who had donned the steel helmet had done so not to fight for the maintenance of a corrupt dynasty, but rather for the salvation of the German people.

Before the war, there were a few occasions on which it seemed

[44] In the Song of the Niebelungs, the Germanic warrior Siegfried kills a dragon. Bathing in its blood, his skin becomes dragon-like and ‘homed,’ and thus invincible.

that at least one section of the German public had some slight misgivings about the political wisdom of the alliance policy. From time to time, German conservative circles issued warnings against being over-confident about the value of that alliance. But like every other reasonable suggestion of the time, it was thrown to the winds. The general conviction was that the right measures had been adopted to 'conquer' the world, and that the success would be enormous, and the sacrifices negligible.

Once again, the 'regular people' could do nothing but watch how the 'authorities' were marching straight towards disaster, and were enticing their beloved people to follow them, like the Pied Piper of Hamelin.

4.12 STATE AND ECONOMY

The deeper reasons why it was possible to foist upon the people this absurd notion of 'peacefully conquering the world through commerce' lay in the generally sick condition of the whole body of German political thought. This also shows how it was possible to put forth the maintenance of world peace as a national aim.

The triumphant progress of technical science in Germany, and the marvelous development of German industries and commerce, led us to forget that a powerful state was the necessary prerequisite of that success. On the contrary, certain circles went even so far as to promote the theory that the state owed its very existence to these phenomena-that it was, above all, an economic institution and should be structured according to economic interests. Therefore, it was held, the state was dependent on economic structure. This condition of things was praised as the healthiest and most natural arrangement.

But the truth is that the state, in itself, has nothing whatsoever to do with any definite economic conception or development.

It's not a collection of contracting parties within a defined and limited space, for the purpose of serving economic ends. The state is a community of living beings who have kindred physical and spiritual natures. It's organized for the purpose of assuring the preservation of their own kind, and to help towards fulfilling those

ends assigned by Providence. Therein, and therein alone, lay the purpose and meaning of a state. Economic activity is one of the many auxiliary means that are necessary for the attainment of those aims. But economic activity is never the origin or purpose of a state–except where it has been founded on a false and unnatural basis.

And this alone explains why a state per se doesn't necessarily need a certain delimited territory. This becomes necessary only among those people who are ready to carry on the struggle for existence by means of their own work. People who can sneak their way into the human body politic and, like parasites, make others work for them, can form a state without possessing any specific territory. This is chiefly applicable to that parasitic nation which, today more than ever, preys upon the honest portion of mankind: the Jews.

The Jewish State has never been delimited in space. It has been spread all over the world, without any borders whatsoever, and has always been constituted by only one race. That's why the Jews have always formed a State within the State.[45] One of the most ingenious tricks ever devised has been to make this state sail under the flag of 'religion,' thus assuring it of the religious tolerance that Aryans are always ready to grant.[46] But the Mosaic religion is really nothing else than the doctrine of the preservation of the Jewish race. It therefore takes in all spheres of sociological, political, and economic knowledge that have any bearing on this function.

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[45] This was a long-standing complaint against the Jews, going back at least to the German philosopher Johann Fichte. In 1793, he wrote, "Throughout almost all the countries of Europe there is spreading a mighty hostile state that is at perpetual war with all other states, and in many of them imposes fearful burdens on the citizens: it is the Jews…. Do you not remember the state within the State? Does the thought not occur to you that if you give to the Jews, who are citizens of a state more solid and more powerful than any of yours, civil rights in your states, they will utterly crush the remainder of your citizens?" (cited in Poliakov 1965: 512).

[46] This is Hitler's first explicit mention of 'Aryan' in Mein Kampf. The word itself is ancient, dating back at least to the 6th century BC, when it simply meant 'Iranian.' It was in widespread use in the 1850s, due in part to the work of French theorist Arthur de Gobineau. And it achieved considerable publicity in Germany in the early 1900s, thanks to such writers as Houston S. Chamberlain. Despite common belief, the word was not an invention of Hitler or the Nazis. Hitler elaborates extensively on Aryanism in Chapter 11.

The instinct for the preservation of one's own species is the primary cause that leads to the formation of human communities. Hence the state is a racial organism, and not an economic organization. The difference between the two is so great as to be incomprehensible to our contemporary so-called 'statesmen.' That's why they like to believe that the state may be constituted as an economic structure, whereas the truth is that it has always resulted from a will to preserve the species and the race.

But these qualities always exist and operate through the heroic virtues, and have nothing to do with commercial egoism. The preservation of the species always presupposes that the individual is ready to sacrifice himself. Such is the meaning of the poet's lines:

If you do not stake your life,
You will never win life for yourself.[47]

Individual sacrifice is necessary in order to ensure the preservation of the race. Hence, the most essential condition for the establishment and maintenance of a state is a certain feeling of solidarity, one grounded in an identity of character and species, and in a willingness to defend these at all costs. For a people with their own territory, this results in a development of the heroic virtues. With a parasitic people, it will develop the arts of subterfuge and malignant cruelty–unless these are intrinsic racial characteristics, in which case the varying political forms are only the outward manifestations of these qualities.

At least in the beginning, the formation of a state can only result from a manifestation of the heroic qualities. And the people who fail in the struggle for existence-that is, those who become vassals and are thereby condemned to vanish–are those who do not display the heroic virtues, or who fall victim to the trickery of the parasites. And even in this latter case, the failure is not so much a lack of intelligence but rather of courage and determination–which then tries to conceal itself beneath a cloak of

[47] From Friedrich Schiller's Wallenstein trilogy (1799).

humanitarianism.

The qualities that are employed for the foundation and preservation of a state have therefore little or nothing to do with economics. And this is clearly demonstrated by the fact that the inner strength of a state only very rarely coincides with its economic prosperity. On the contrary, there are many examples showing that. such prosperity indicates the approaching decline of a state. If it were correct to attribute the foundation of human societies to economic forces, then the power of the state would be at its peak during periods of economic prosperity, and not vice versa.

It is particularly difficult to understand how the belief that the state exists by virtue of economic forces could become accepted in a country that has given proof of the opposite, in every phase of its history. The history of Prussia shows, in a particularly clear and distinct way, that it's not material qualities but rather ideal virtues alone that lead to the formation of a state. Only under the protection of those virtues can economic activities be developed; the latter will continue to flourish until a time comes when the creative political capacity declines. Then the economic structure will also break down–a phenomenon that's happening now, in an alarming manner, before our eyes. The material interests of humanity can prosper only in the shadow of heroic virtues. As soon as they become the primary considerations of life, they destroy the basis of their own existence.

Whenever German political power was particularly strong, the economic situation also improved. But whenever economic interests dominated the life of the people, and pushed transcendent ideals into the background, the state collapsed; and economic ruin followed soon thereafter.

If we ask about those forces that are necessary for the creation and preservation of a state, we find them under one single heading: The capacity and readiness of the individual to sacrifice for the common welfare. That this has nothing at all to do with economics can be proved by observing the simple fact that man doesn't sacrifice himself for material interests. In other words, he will die for an ideal, but not for a business.

The marvelous English gift for public psychology was clearly shown in the way they presented their case in the World War. We were fighting for our bread; but the English declared that they were fighting for 'freedom'–and not even their own freedom. No–for the freedom of the small nations. The Germans laughed at this effrontery, and were angered by it. But in doing so, they showed how much political thought had declined among our so-called diplomats in Germany, even before the war. We didn't have the slightest idea of the essence of that force that causes men to freely and willingly face their own death.

As long as the German people, in 1914, continued to believe that they were fighting for ideals, they stood firm. As soon as they were told that they were fighting only for their daily bread, they began to give up the struggle.

Our clever 'statesmen' were astounded at this change of attitude. They never understood that as soon as man is called upon to struggle for purely material causes, he'll avoid death as best he can; clearly, death and the enjoyment of the material rewards are quite incompatible. The frailest woman will become a heroine when the life of her own child is at stake. And only the will to save the species and the hearth–or the state that protects them–has, in all ages, compelled men to face the weapons of their enemies.

The following may be proclaimed as an eternal truth:

A state has never arisen from peaceful economic means, but always from the instinct to maintain the species–whether this instinct manifest itself in the heroic sphere, or in that of cunning craftiness. In the first case, we have the Aryan states, based on the principles of work and culture. In the second case, we have the Jewish parasitic colonies. But as soon as economic interests begin to predominate over the instincts in a people or a state, the situation quickly leads to subjugation and oppression.

4.13 THE MOMENT OF DECAY

The belief that prevailed in Germany before the war-that the world could be opened up and even conquered for Germany through a system of peaceful commerce and a colonial policy–was

a typical symptom that indicated the decline of those real qualities whereby states are created and preserved. It also showed the decline of the insight, will power, and practical determination that belong to those qualities. The penalty for this, like a law of nature, was the World War, with its attendant consequences.

To anyone who hadn't thought deeply about the matter, this general attitude of the German people must have seemed an insoluble enigma. After all, Germany itself was a magnificent example of an empire that had been built up purely through a policy of power. Prussia, which was the generative cell of the German Reich, was created by brilliant heroic deeds, and not by financial or commercial operations. And the Reich itself was but the magnificent compensation for a leadership that conducted a policy of power and military valor.

How then did it happen that the political instincts of this very same German people became so degenerate? It wasn't merely one isolated phenomenon that pointed to this decadence, but morbid symptoms which appeared in alarming numbers all over the body politic, eating into the nation like a gangrenous ulcer. It seemed as if some all–pervading poisonous fluid had been injected, by some mysterious hand, into the bloodstream of this once heroic body–bringing about a creeping paralysis that affected rationality and the basic instinct of self-preservation.

During the years 1912-1914, I wondered endlessly about those problems that related to the policy of the Triple Alliance and the economic policy then being pursued by the German Reich. Once again, I came to the conclusion that the only explanation for this enigma lay in the operation of that force that I had already become acquainted with in Vienna, though from a different angle of vision: the Marxist doctrine and worldview, and its organized action throughout the nation.

4.14 GERMANY'S ATTITUDE TOWARD MARXISM

For the second time in my life, I plunged deep into the study of that destructive teaching. This time, however, I was driven not by

the impressions and influences of daily life, but rather by observation of general phenomena in German political life. In delving again into the theoretical literature of this new world, and trying to get a clear view of the possible consequences of its teaching, I compared the theoretical principles of Marxism with the phenomena and events brought about by its activities in political, cultural, and economic life.

For the first time in my life, I now turned my attention to the efforts that were being made to subdue this world plague.

I studied Bismarck's exceptional legislation in its original concept, its operation, and its results. Gradually I formed a basis for my own opinions, one that has proved as solid as a rock; I have never since had to change my attitude towards the general problem. I also made a further and more thorough analysis of the relationship between Marxism and Jewry.

Earlier in Vienna, I looked upon Germany as an imperturbable colossus. But even then, serious doubts and misgivings often disturbed me. In my own mind, and in my conversation with my small circle of acquaintances, I criticized Germany's foreign policy and the incredibly superficial way in which it dealt with Marxism–though it was then the most important problem in Germany. I couldn't understand how they could stumble blindfolded into the midst of this peril, the effects of which would be momentous, if Marxism's openly declared aims were put into practice. Even then I warned people around me, just as I am warning a wider audience now, against that soothing but cowardly slogan: 'Nothing can happen to us!' A similar mental contagion had already destroyed a mighty empire. Could Germany hope to escape the operation of those laws that bind all other human communities?

In the years 1913 and 1914, I expressed my opinion for the first time in various circles–now including some members of the National Socialist movement–that the question of securing the future of the German nation is the same as the question of destroying Marxism.

I considered the disastrous policy of the Triple Alliance as one of the consequences resulting from the disintegrating effects of

Marxist teaching. The truly alarming feature was that this teaching was invisibly corrupting the foundations of a healthy political and economic outlook. Those who became contaminated by it frequently didn't realize that their aims and actions sprang from this worldview, which they otherwise openly rejected.

The spiritual and moral decline of the German people had long since begun. And yet, those who were affected by the morbid decadence were frequently unaware–as often happens–of the forces that were destroying their very existence. Sometimes they tried to cure the disease by treating the symptoms, which were taken as the cause. But since no one recognized, or wanted to recognize, the real cause of the disease, this way of combating Marxism was as ineffective as bungling quackery.

CHAPTER 5
THE WORLD WAR

During my boisterous youth, nothing dampened my wild spirits so much as the thought that I was born at a time when there would be no more temples of fame, except to honor businessmen and state officials. The historical tempest had subsided, and the future seemed to be given over to 'the peaceful competition of nations'– in other words, to a cozy mutual swindling match without the use of violence. Individual countries became commercial enterprises, grabbing customers and striving for concessions from each other. And it was all accompanied by loud but innocuous shouting.

This trend seemed destined to steadily and permanently progress. It seemed bound to eventually transform the world into a giant department store. In the entryway of this emporium, there would be rows of busts of profiteers and sheepish governmental officials. The salesmen were represented by the English, and the administrative officials by the Germans. The Jews would be sacrificed to the position of ownership–since, as they claim, they make no money and are always being called upon to 'pay out.' Moreover, they have the advantage of being versed in the foreign languages.

I used to ask, Why wasn't I born a hundred years ago? Perhaps around the time of the Wars of Liberation,[48] when a man was still of some value, even though he had no 'business'!

Thus I thought of it as an ill-deserved stroke of bad luck that I had arrived too late on this earth. I was chagrined at the idea that my life would have to run its course along peaceful and orderly lines. As a boy, I was anything but a pacifist, and all attempts to make me so were futile.

[48] Also known as the German Campaign of 1813. It liberated the German states from French control.

Then came the Boer War, like a flash of lightning.[49] Day after day, I gazed intently at the newspapers, and I devoured the telegrams and communiqués. I was overjoyed at witnessing that heroic struggle, even from so great a distance.

When the Russo-Japanese War came, I was older and better able to judge for myself.[50] For nationalistic reasons, I then took the side of the Japanese in our discussions. I looked upon the defeat of the Russians as a blow to Austrian Slavism.

Many years have passed between that time and my arrival in Munich. I now realized that what I formerly believed to be a morbid decadence was only the lull before the storm. During my Vienna days, the Balkans were already in the grip of that sultry pause that precedes a violent storm. Flashes of lightning occasionally appeared; but they rapidly disappeared in the sinister gloom. Then the Balkan War broke out.[51] The first gusts of the forthcoming tornado then swept across a highly-strung Europe. The intervening calm was an atmosphere of foreboding–so much so that the sense of an impending catastrophe was transformed into a feeling of anticipation. People wished that heaven would give free rein to a fate that could no longer be curbed. Then the first great bolt of lightning struck the earth. The storm broke, and a heavenly thunder intermingled with the roar of the cannons in the World War.

When news reached Munich that the Archduke Franz Ferdinand had been murdered, I was at home all day and didn't get the particulars of how it happened.[52] At first I feared that the shots may have been fired by some German-Austrian students who had become furiously aroused by his pro-Slav activities, and wished to free the Germans from this internal enemy. It was easy to

[49] Formally, the “second” Boer War, which ran from 1899 to 1902. In this war, Britain reasserted its control over black South Africans.

[50] The Russo-Japanese War ran from 1904 to 1905, regarding territory in Manchuria. It ended in Japanese victory.

[51] The Balkan War was a two-phase offensive, over the years 1912 to 1913. The Balkan states defeated the Ottoman Empire, though it regained some ground in the latter phase of the conflict.

[52] On 28 June 1914. This event precipitated World War I.

imagine what the result of such a mistake would have been: a new wave of persecution, all ‘justified’ and ‘explained’ to the world. But soon afterwards, I heard the names of the presumed assassins, and also that they were known to be Serbs. I was somewhat dumbfounded by the inscrutable vengeance that destiny had wrought.

The greatest friend of the Slavs fell victim to the bullets of Slavic fanatics.

Anyone observing the relationship between Austria and Serbia during the past few years could have no doubt: a stone had been set rolling, and it couldn't be stopped.

5.1 THE AUSTRIAN ULTIMATUM

It is unjust to the Vienna government to blame it now for the form and content of the ultimatum it issued. In a similar position and under similar circumstances, no other world power would have acted otherwise. On her southern border, Austria had a relentless mortal foe who indulged in increasingly frequent acts of provocation. This action would not have ceased until the moment came for the destruction of the empire. In Austria, there was good reason to fear that this would occur, at the latest, with the death of the emperor. Once he was gone, it was unlikely that the monarchy could offer any serious resistance. For several years, the state had been so completely identified with the personality of Franz Joseph that, in the eyes of most people, the death of this venerable personality would be tantamount to the death of the empire itself.

Indeed, it was one of the clever constructions of Slav policy to foster the impression that the Austrian State owed its very existence solely to the rare talents of that monarch. This kind of flattery was particularly welcomed at the Hofburg–all the more because it had no relation whatsoever to the real merits of the emperor. No effort whatsoever was made to locate the carefully hidden thorns within in this glorifying praise. One fact that was entirely overlooked, perhaps intentionally, was that the more the empire remained dependent on the so-called administrative talents of ‘the wisest monarch of all times,’ the more catastrophic the

situation would be, when fate came knocking at the door and demanded payment.

Was it even possible to imagine the Austrian Empire without its venerable ruler?

Wouldn't the tragedy that once befell Maria Theresa be repeated?[53]

It's an injustice to the circles of Viennese government to reproach them for having instigated a war that might have been prevented. The war was bound to come. Perhaps it might have been postponed for a year or two, at the most. But it was always the misfortune of German–and Austrian–diplomats that they endeavored to put off the inevitable day of reckoning, with the result that they were finally compelled to deliver their blow at a most inopportune moment.

No. Those who didn't want this war should have had the courage to take the consequences of the refusal, which must necessarily have meant the sacrifice of Austria. And even then, war would have come–not as a war of all nations against us, but in the form of a partition of the Habsburg monarchy. Then we would have had to decide either to join in, or to look on with folded arms, allowing fate to run its course.

Those, however, who are loudest today in their denouncing of the war, and offering the sagest opinions, are the very same ones who contributed most fatally in steering us towards the war.

For decades, the German Social Democrats were agitating, in an underhanded and knavish way, for war against Russia. At the same time, the German Center Party, with religious ends in view, worked to make the Austrian State the focal point of German policy. We now live with the consequences of this insanity. What came was bound to come–and it could never have been avoided. German guilt lay in the fact that it missed all opportunities for attack, simply to preserve the peace. It became entangled in an alliance for world peace, and thus became victim of an anti-German world coalition that was determined to bring about a

[53] Maria Theresa (1717- 1780) ruled Austria for the last 40 years of her life. The "tragedy" was apparently her loss of Silesia to Prussia in 1748.

world war.

Even if the Vienna government had formulated its ultimatum in less drastic terms, that wouldn't have changed the situation at all. But it certainly might have aroused public indignation. In the eyes of the great masses, the ultimatum was too moderate and certainly not excessive or brutal. Anyone who would deny this today is either a simpleton with a feeble memory, or else a deliberate liar.

The War of 1914 was certainly not forced on the masses; for God's sake, no. It was even desired by the whole people.

There was a desire to bring the general feeling of uncertainty to an end, once and for all. And it's only in this light that we can understand how more than two million German men and boys voluntarily joined the colors, ready to shed the last drop of their blood for the cause.

5.2 THE GERMAN WAR FOR FREEDOM

For me, these hours came as a deliverance from the distress that had weighed upon me during the days of my youth. I'm not ashamed to admit today that I was carried away by the enthusiasm of the moment. I sank down on my knees and thanked heaven, out of the fullness of my heart, for the good fortune of living at such a time.

The fight for freedom had begun, on an unparalleled scale in world history. From the moment that fate took the helm, a conviction grew among the masses that now it wasn't a question of deciding the destinies of Austria or Serbia, but that the very existence of the German nation itself was at stake.

At last, after many years, the people clearly saw the future. Therefore, almost immediately after the gigantic struggle began, an excessive enthusiasm was replaced by a more earnest and more fitting undertone; the rapture of the popular spirit was not a mere passing frenzy. It was only too necessary that the gravity of the situation be recognized. At that time there was, generally speaking, not the slightest presentiment or conception Of how long the war might last. People dreamed of the soldiers being home that winter, and that they would then resume their daily

work in peace.

Whatever a man wants is what he hopes for and believes in. The overwhelming majority of the people have long since tired of the perpetual insecurity in public affairs. Hence it was only natural that few anticipated a peaceful conclusion to the Austro-Serbian conflict; they looked forward to a definitive resolution. I, too, was one of these millions.

The moment the news of the assassination reached Munich, two thoughts came into my mind: First, that war was absolutely inevitable; and second, that the Habsburg State would now be forced to honor its alliance. What I had most feared was that one day Germany itself, perhaps as a result of the alliance, would become involved in a conflict not directly caused by Austria. In this case, Austria might not be able to muster the will to fight on behalf of its ally. The Slavic majority in the empire would have immediately begun to undermine any such intentions, and would have always preferred to shatter the entire state rather than to aid its ally. But now this danger was removed. The old state was compelled to fight, whether it wished to or not.

My own attitude towards the conflict was equally simple and clear. I believed that it wasn't a case of Austria fighting to get satisfaction from Serbia, but rather a case of Germany fighting for her own existence–for the life or death of the German nation, for its freedom and for its future.

Bismarck’s work must now be carried on. Young Germany must show itself worthy of the blood shed by our fathers on so many heroic battlefields, from Weissenburg to Sedan and Paris. And if this struggle should bring us victory, our people will again rank foremost among the great nations. Only then could the German Reich assert itself as the mighty champion of peace, without needing to restrict the daily bread of its children for the sake of maintaining the peace.

As a boy and young man, I often wished for the occasion to prove that my national enthusiasm was no mere empty whim. Cheering sometimes seemed to me to be a kind of sinful indulgence, though I couldn’t give any justification for that feeling. After all, who has the right to shout a triumphant word if

he hasn't won the right to do so in a place where there is no play-acting, and where the Goddess of Destiny's inexorable hand tests the truth and sincerity of nations and men? Just as millions of others, I felt a proud joy in being permitted to go through this test. I had so often sung *Deutschland über Alles*, and so often roared *'Heil,'* that I now saw it as a kind of belated grace that I was allowed to appear before the Court of Eternal Justice, and to testify to the truth of those feelings.

One thing was clear to me from the very beginning, namely, that in the event of war–which now seemed inevitable-my books would have to be set aside. I also realized that my place would have to be where my inner voice directed me.

I left Austria principally for political reasons. Even more rational, however, was that, now that the war had begun, that I should put into practice the logical consequences of my political opinions! I had no desire to fight for the Habsburg cause, but I was prepared to die at any time for my own people and the Reich to which they belonged.

5.3 ENLISTMENT IN BAVARIAN REGIMENT

On 3 August 1914, I presented an urgent petition to His Majesty, King Ludwig III, requesting to be allowed to serve in a Bavarian regiment. In those days, the chancellery certainly had its hands full, and I was therefore all the more pleased when I received an answer the next day. I opened the document with trembling hands; and no words could describe the joy that I felt on reading that I was instructed to report to a Bavarian regiment. Within a few days, I was wearing the uniform that I was not to take off again for nearly six years.

For me, as for every German, the most memorable period of my life now began. Face to face with that mighty struggle, everything past fell away into oblivion. I look back on those days with a wistful pride, especially because we are now approaching the tenth anniversary of that memorable event. I think back on those early weeks of war, when kind Fate allowed me to take my place in that heroic struggle among the nations.

As I recall the scene, it seems like only yesterday. I see myself among my young comrades on our first parade drill, exercising, and so on, until at last the day came for us to march off.

Like so many others, I had one worry during those days: that we might not reach the front in time. Again and again, that thought disturbed me; every announcement of a victorious battle left a slight bitter taste–which only increased as news of further victories arrived.

5.4 BAPTISM BY FIRE

At long last, the day came when we left Munich to fulfill our duty. For the first time in my life, I saw the Rhine; we journeyed westwards to stand guard before that historic German river, against its traditional and greedy enemy. As the first soft rays of the morning sun broke through the light mist, showing the Niederwald Statue,[54] the whole transport train broke into strains of *Die Wacht am Rhein*. I felt as though my heart would burst.

Then followed a damp, cold night in Flanders. We marched in silence throughout the night, and as the morning sun came through the mist, an iron greeting suddenly burst above our heads. Shrapnel exploded in our midst, spluttering in the damp ground. But before the smoke of the explosion disappeared, a wild 'Hurrah' arose from 200 throats, in response to this first greeting of death. Then began the whistling of bullets and the booming of cannons, the shouting and singing of the combatants. With eyes straining feverishly, we pressed forward, quicker and quicker, until we finally came to hand-to-hand combat–there beyond the beet-fields and meadows. Soon the strains of a song reached us from afar. Nearer and nearer, from company to company, it came. And while death began to wreak havoc in our ranks, we passed the song on to those beside us: *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles, über Alles in der Welt!*

[54] The Niederwald Statue was begun in 1871 by Kaiser Wilhelm I, to commemorate the unification of Germany. It was dedicated in 1883.

5.5 FROM YOUNG VOLUNTEER TO OLD SOLDIER

After four days in the trenches, we came back. Even our step had changed. Boys of 17 now looked like men.

The volunteers of the List Regiment may not have learned how to fight properly, but they knew how to die like old soldiers.

That was the beginning.

And thus we carried on from year to year. A feeling of horror replaced the romantic fighting spirit. Enthusiasm gradually cooled down, and exuberant spirits were quelled by the fear of ever-present death. A time came for each of us to experience the conflict between the urge to self-preservation and the call of duty. I, too, had to go through that conflict. As death unrelentingly sought its prey everywhere, a vague something rebelled within the body. It tried to pass as common sense; but in reality, it was fear. Fear took on this cloak in order to impose itself on the individual. Yet the more this voice called for caution, and the louder and more persistent its demands, the stronger our resistance became. Finally, the internal struggle was over, and the call of duty was triumphant. By the winter of 1915-1916, I had come through that inner struggle. My will had asserted its indisputable mastery.

In the early days, I went into the fight with a cheer and a laugh. Now, however, I was calm and resolute. And that frame of mind endured. Fate could now put me to the final test without my nerves or reason giving way.

The young volunteer had become an old soldier.

This same transformation took place throughout the whole army. Constant fighting had aged, toughened, and hardened it, so that it stood firm and dauntless against every assault.

Only now is it possible to judge that army. After two or three years of continuous fighting, and having been thrown into one battle after another, bravely facing superior numbers and superior armament, suffering hunger and privation, the time had come when one could assess the value of that singular fighting force.

For a thousand years to come, no one will dare to speak of heroism without recalling the German Army of the World War.

And then, from the dim past, there will emerge an immortal vision of those solid ranks of steel helmets that never flinched and never faltered. As long as Germans live, they will be proud to remember that these men were the sons of their people.

5.6 ARTIFICIAL DAMPENING OF ENTHUSIASM

I was a soldier then, and didn't really wish to meddle in politics–all the more so because the time was inopportune. I still believe that the humblest stable-boy of those days served his country better than the best of, let's say, our 'parliamentarians.' My hatred for those big-mouths was never greater than in the days when all decent men, who had anything to say, said it point-blank to the enemy's face; or else, failing this, kept their mouths shut and did their duty elsewhere. Yes, I hated all those politicians. And if I had my way, I would have formed them into a labor battalion and given them the opportunity to babble amongst themselves all they liked, without offence or harm to decent people.

In those days, I cared nothing for politics. But I couldn't help forming an opinion on certain manifestations that affected not only the whole nation but also us soldiers in particular.

There were two things that caused me the greatest anxiety at that time, and which I had come to regard as harmful.

First: Shortly after our first series of victories, a certain section of the press already began to throw cold water, drip by drip, on public enthusiasm. At first this wasn't obvious. It was done under the mask of good intentions and solicitude. The public was told that big victory celebrations were somewhat out of place, and weren't worthy expressions of the spirit of a great nation. The fortitude and valor of German soldiers were accepted facts that didn't necessarily call for celebration. Furthermore, foreign opinion would have much to say about such activities. It would react better to a quiet and sober form of celebration rather than to a bunch of wild jubilation. Surely the time had come for us Germans to remember that this war was not our doing, and thus that we should always be willing to contribute our share to a

reconciliation of mankind. For this reason, it wouldn't be wise to besmirch the radiant deeds of our army with unbecoming jubilation; the rest of the world would never understand this. Furthermore, nothing is more appreciated than the modesty with which a true hero quietly and unassumingly carries on–and willingly forgets the past. Such was the gist of their warning.

Instead of taking these fellows by their long ears, dragging them to some ditch, and stringing them up on a rope–so that the victorious enthusiasm of the nation would no longer offend the aesthetic sensibilities of these knights of the pen–a general campaign was conducted against what was called 'unseemly' forms of celebration.

No one seemed to have the faintest idea that, once public enthusiasm is damped, nothing can spark it again, when the need arises. It's an intoxication, and must be maintained in that form. Without the power of an enthusiastic spirit, how would it be possible to endure a struggle that made such immense demands on the spiritual qualities of the nation?

I was only too well acquainted with the psychology of the broad masses not to know that, in such cases, a high 'aesthetic' tone cannot fan the fire enough to keep the iron hot. In my eyes, it was even a mistake not to have tried to raise the pitch of public enthusiasm higher still. Therefore I couldn't at all understand why they adopted the opposite policy–that is, of damping the public spirit.

5.7 MISRECOGNIZING MARXISM

The second thing that irritated me was the manner in which Marxism was regarded and accepted. In my eyes, all this proved how little they knew about this plague. It was believed, in all seriousness, that the abolition of party distinctions during the war made Marxism a mild and moderate thing.

But this was no question of party. It was a matter of a doctrine that must lead to the destruction of all humanity. The intention of this doctrine was misunderstood because nothing was said about it in our Jew-ridden universities, and because our arrogant

bureaucratic officials didn't think it worthwhile to study a subject that wasn't included in the university curriculum. This mighty revolutionary trend was going right in front of them; but those 'intellectuals' didn't pay any attention. That's why state institutions nearly always lag behind private enterprises. It is to such people, by God, that the maxim applies: 'What the peasant doesn't know, won't bother him.' Here too, a few exceptions only confirm the rule.

In August of 1914, the German worker was looked upon as a Marxist. That was absurd. When those fateful hours dawned, the German worker shook off the poisonous clutches of that plague; otherwise he wouldn't have been so ready and willing to fight. People were stupid enough to imagine that Marxism had now become 'national'–another demonstration of the fact that the authorities never took the trouble to study the essence of Marxist teaching. If they had done so, they never would have made such foolish errors.

Marxism–whose final objective was, is, and will continue to be the destruction of all non-Jewish national states–saw in those days of July 1914 how the German working classes were aroused by a national spirit, and rapidly entered the service of the Fatherland. Within a few days, the deceptive smoke-screen of that infamous national betrayal vanished into thin air, and the gang of Jewish bosses suddenly found themselves alone and deserted. It was as if no vestige remained of the folly and madness that was foisted upon the mass of the German people for 60 years. That was a bad day for the betrayers of the German working class. The moment, however, that the leaders recognized the danger that threatened them, they pulled the magic cap of deceit over their ears, and insolently mimicked the national awakening.

The time had come for taking action against these Jewish poisoners of the people. That was the time to deal with them, regardless of any whining or protestation. At one stroke, in August of 1914, all the empty nonsense about international solidarity was knocked out of the heads of the German working classes. A few weeks later, instead of this stupid talk ringing in their ears, they heard the noise of American-made shrapnel bursting over the

heads of the marching columns; there was your ‘international brotherhood.’ Now that the German worker had rediscovered the road to nationhood, it should have been the duty of any caring government to mercilessly root out the agitators who were misleading the nation.

If the best were dying at the front, the least we could do is to exterminate the vermin.

Instead, His Majesty the Kaiser held out his hand to these old criminals, thus sparing these treacherous murderers of the nation and allowing them to regain their composure.

And so the viper could begin his work again–this time, more carefully than before, but even more destructively. While honest people dreamt of reconciliation, these perjured criminals were organizing a revolution.

5.8 THE USE OF NAKED FORCE

Naturally I was distressed at the half-measures that were adopted at that time; but I never thought it possible that the final consequences could have been so disastrous.

But what should have been done? Throw the ringleaders into jail, prosecute them, and rid the nation of them. Uncompromising military measures should have been adopted to root out this pestilence. Parties should have been abolished, and the Reichstag brought to its senses at the point of the bayonet, if necessary–or better still, immediately dissolved.

Just as the Republic today dissolves the parties when it wants to, so in those days there was even more justification for doing so, seeing that the very existence of the nation was at stake!

Of course, this suggestion would give rise to the question: Is it possible to eradicate ideas with the sword? Can a worldview be attacked by means of force?

At that time, I turned these questions over and over again in my mind.

By studying analogous cases in history, particularly those arising from religious circumstances, I came to the following fundamental conclusion:

Ideas and philosophical systems, as well as movements grounded on a definite spiritual foundation, whether true or not, can never be broken by the use of force after a certain stage, except on one condition: namely, that this use of force is in the service of a new creative idea or worldview.

The application of force alone, without moral support based on a spiritual concept, can never bring about the destruction of an idea or halt its propagation–unless one is willing to ruthlessly root out its last remaining defenders, and also to destroy any remaining tradition. Now, in most cases, the result of such action has been to exclude such a state, either temporarily or forever, from the sphere of political significance. But experience has also shown that such a blood sacrifice arouses the better segment of the people. As a matter of fact, every persecution that is unsupported by spiritual motives is morally unjust; it raises opposition among the best elements of the population–to the point that they are driven to champion the very ideas that are unjustly persecuted. With many people, this arises from a sheer feeling of opposition to every attempt at suppressing ideas by brute force.

In this way, the number of convinced followers of the persecuted doctrine grows as the persecution increases. Hence the total destruction of a new doctrine can be accomplished only by a complete rooting-out–which ultimately means the loss of some of the best blood in a nation or state. As a consequence, even though a so-called ‘internal’ clean-up may occur, it will cause a collapse in the nation's strength. And such a procedure is always condemned to futility from the very start, if the attacked doctrine has spread beyond a small circle.

That’s why in this case, as with all other growths, the doctrine can best be destroyed in its earliest stages. As time goes on, its powers of resistance increase–until it approaches old age and then gives way to younger ideas, but in another form and from other motives.

5.9 ATTACK OF A WORLDVIEW

The fact remains that nearly all attempts to root out a doctrine and its organizational manifestations, without having some spiritual basis of attack against it, are doomed to failure. In many cases, in fact, the very opposite was achieved, for the following reasons:

When sheer force is used to combat the spread of a doctrine, then that force must be employed systematically and persistently. In other words, the chances of success in the suppression of a doctrine lie only in the persistent and uniform application of the methods chosen. The moment hesitation is shown, and periods of tolerance alternate with the application of force, the targeted doctrine will not only recover strength, but every successive persecution will bring with it new adherents who have been shocked by the oppressive methods used. The old followers will become more embittered, and their allegiance will thereby be strengthened. Therefore, when force is employed, success is dependent on the consistent manner in which it is used.

This persistence, however, is nothing less than the product of definite spiritual convictions. Every form of force that isn't supported by a spiritual backing will always be indecisive and uncertain. Such a force lacks the stability that can be found only in a worldview that has its devoted champions. Such a force is the expression of individual energies; it therefore is periodically dependent upon the change of persons in charge, and also upon their characters and capacities.

But there is something else to be said:

Every worldview, whether religious or political–and it's sometimes hard to differentiate the two–fights not so much for the negative destruction of the opposing world of ideas as for the positive realization of its own ideas. Its struggle thus lies more in attack rather than in defense. It has the advantage of knowing where its objective lies, and this objective represents the realization of its own ideas.

Inversely, it’s difficult to say when the negative aim of the destruction of a hostile doctrine is achieved. For this reason alone,

an aggressive worldview is more powerful and decisive in action than one that takes up a merely defensive attitude. If force is used to combat a spiritual power, that force remains a defensive measure, as long as its advocates aren't the standard-bearers and apostles of a new spiritual doctrine.

To sum up, we can establish the following:

That every attempt to combat a worldview by means of force will turn out futile in the end, if the struggle fails to take the form of an offensive for the establishment of an entirely new spiritual attitude. It is only in the struggle between two worldviews that physical force, consistently and ruthlessly applied, will eventually succeed.

This is why the fight against Marxism failed.

This was also the reason why Bismarck's anti-socialist legislation failed, and was bound to fail in the long run, despite everything. It lacked the basis of a new worldview to serve as the basis for the development and extension of the struggle. To say that the drivel about so-called 'state authority' or 'law and order' was an adequate foundation for the spiritual driving force in a life-or-death struggle is just what one would expect to hear from the 'wise ones' in high official positions.

It was because there were no adequate spiritual motives behind this offensive that Bismarck was compelled to hand over the administration of his socialist legislative measures to the judgment of those who were themselves the product of the Marxist teaching. Thus the Iron Chancellor surrendered the fate of his struggle against Marxism to the goodwill of the bourgeois democracy. He left the goat to take care of the garden.

But this was only the necessary result of the failure to find a fundamentally new anti-Marxist worldview, one with a stormy will to conquer.

And thus the result of the Bismarckian campaign was deplorable.

Were the conditions any different during the World War, or at the beginning of it? Unfortunately, no.

5.10 BOURGEOIS CLASS PARTIES

The more I examined the need for a change in the government's attitude towards Social Democracy as the embodiment of contemporary Marxism, the more I realized the lack of a practical substitute for this doctrine. Supposing Social Democracy were overthrown, what would be offered to the masses instead? There wasn't one movement in existence that promised any success in attracting large numbers of workers who are presently leaderless. It is nonsensical to imagine that the international fanatic who has just severed his connection with a class party would henceforth join a bourgeois party–or in other words, another class organization. However unsatisfactory these various organizations may appear to be, it cannot be denied that bourgeois politicians view the distinction between classes as a very important factor in social life–provided it doesn't become politically disadvantageous to them.

The denial of this fact only proves the impudence, and also the stupidity, of the liars.

Generally speaking, one should guard against considering the masses as stupider than they really are. In political matters, it often happens that feeling is a better judge than intellect. But the idea that this stupid international attitude of the masses is sufficient proof of their unsoundness is refuted by the simple fact that pacifist democracy is no less insane, even though it draws its supporters almost exclusively from bourgeois circles. As long as millions of citizens daily swallow what the Jewish democratic press tells them, they are in no position to joke about the stupidity of the ‘comrades’–who, in the end, swallow the same garbage, though in a different form. In both cases, the maker is one and the same Jew.

One has to be careful about contradicting established facts. It's an undeniable fact that the class question has nothing to do with questions concerning ideals, as is claimed at election time. Class arrogance among a large section of our people, as well as a prevailing tendency to look down on the manual laborer, are obvious facts, and not the fantasies of some daydreamer.

Nevertheless, it only shows the mentality of our so-called intelligentsia, that they have not yet grasped the fact that any circumstances that are incapable of preventing the growth of such a plague as Marxism are certainly not capable of restoring what has been lost.

The ‘bourgeois’ parties, as they call themselves, will never again be able to win over the ‘proletarian’ masses. The two worlds stand opposed to one. another, partly by nature and partly artificially. These two camps have just one mutual relation, namely, struggle. But in such a fight, the younger will succeed– and that's Marxism.

In 1914, a fight against Social Democracy was indeed quite conceivable. But the lack of any practical substitute made it doubtful how long the fight could be kept up.

In this respect, there was a gaping void.

Long before the war, I was of the same opinion. This was why I couldn't decide to join any of the existing parties. During the course of the World War, my conviction was still further confirmed by the obvious impossibility of fighting Social Democracy in anything like a thorough way. This would have required a movement that was something more than a mere ‘parliamentary’ party.

I frequently discussed this with my intimate comrades.

And it was then that I first thought of taking up political work later on.

I often assured my friends that, after the war, I intended to become a speaker, in addition to my professional work.

And I know that I was very serious about this.

CHAPTER 6
WAR PROPAGANDA

In watching the course of political events, I was always struck by the active part played by propaganda. I saw that the Marxist socialist organizations knew how to handle this tool in a masterly way, and how to put it to practical uses. Thus I soon came to realize that the right use of propaganda was an art in itself, and that this art was practically unknown to our bourgeois parties. Only the Christian-Socialist Party, especially in Lueger 's time, showed a certain efficiency in the use of this instrument, and owed much of their success to it.

It was during the war, however, that we had the best chance of estimating the tremendous results that could be obtained by a properly conducted propagandist system. Here again, unfortunately, everything was left to the other side. The work done on our side was worse than insignificant. It was the total failure of the whole German system of information–perfectly obvious to every soldier–that urged me to consider the question of propaganda in a comprehensive way.

I had ample opportunity to learn a practical lesson in this matter; unfortunately, it was only too well taught by the enemy.

The lack on our side was exploited by the enemy in such an efficient manner that it showed itself as a real work of genius. In that enemy propaganda, I found admirable sources of instruction. The lesson to be learned from this unfortunately had no attraction for the geniuses on our own side. They were simply above such things–partly because they were too clever to learn from the enemy, and partly because there was a lack of good will.

Had we any propaganda at all?

Unfortunately I must answer in the negative. Everything that was actually done in this direction was so utterly inadequate and misconceived from the very beginning that proved not only

useless, but at times downright harmful.

In substance it was insufficient. Psychologically it was all wrong. Anyone who examined German propaganda would see that.

There wasn't even any clarity about the primary question itself: Is propaganda a means or an end?

Propaganda is a means, and must therefore be judged in relation to its end. It must be organized in such a way as to be capable of attaining its objective. And it's also obvious that the objective can vary in importance from the standpoint of general need, and that the essential internal character of the propaganda must vary accordingly. The cause for which we fought during the war was the noblest and highest that man could strive for. We were fighting for the freedom and independence of our country, for the security of our future welfare, and for the honor of the nation. Despite all views to the contrary, such honor does actually exist–or rather it will have to exist. A nation without honor will sooner or later lose its freedom and independence. This is in accordance with the ruling of higher justice, for a generation of rabble is not entitled to freedom. He who would be a slave cannot have honor. In such a case, honor would soon become an object of contempt.

6.1 THE PURPOSE OF PROPAGANDA

Germany was waging war for its very existence. The purpose of its war propaganda should have been to strengthen the fighting spirit in that struggle, and to help bring about victory.

But when nations are fighting for their existence on this earth, when the fateful question of 'to be or not to be' must be answered, then all humane and aesthetic considerations must be set aside. These ideals don't float about in the air, but are the product of man's creative imagination; they disappear when he disappears. Nature knows nothing of them. Moreover, they are characteristic of only a small number of nations–or rather, of races–and their value depends on the degree to which they spring from the national or racial feeling. Humane and aesthetic ideals will disappear from the inhabited earth when those races that created

and upheld them disappear.

All such ideals are only of secondary importance when a nation is fighting for its existence. In fact, they must be excluded from the struggle as soon as they threaten to weaken the nation's power of self-preservation. That has always been their only visible effect.

As for humanitarianism, Moltke stated that in time of war, one must reach the quickest decision, and that the most ruthless methods of fighting are also the most humane.[55]

When people attempt to answer this reasoning with nonsense about aesthetics and so on, only one answer can be given: that the vital questions involved in the struggle of a nation for its existence must not be subordinated to aesthetic considerations. The yoke of slavery is and always will remain the most unpleasant experience that mankind can endure. Do the Schwabing[56] decadents look upon Germany's lot today as 'aesthetic'? And we certainly don't have to discuss such a question with the Jews, because they are the modem inventors of this cultural perfume. Their very existence is an incarnate denial of the aesthetics of God's image.

Since these ideals of humanitarianism and beauty have no place in warfare, they must not be used as standards of war propaganda.

During the war, propaganda was a means to an end. And this end was the struggle for existence of the German nation. Propaganda, therefore, should have been regarded from the standpoint of its usefulness for that purpose. The cruelest weapons were then the most humane, provided they helped towards a speedier victory. And only those methods were good and beautiful that helped secure the dignity and freedom of the nation.

Such was the only possible attitude to adopt towards war propaganda in a life-or-death struggle.

If those so-called responsible authorities had realized this, there would have been no uncertainty about the form and use of war propaganda as a weapon; it is nothing but a weapon, and indeed a

[55] Helmuth von Moltke (1800-1891) was chief of staff for the Prussian military.

[56] Schwabing is a 'bohemian' and artist district in Munich, not far from the university.

most terrifying weapon in the hands of those who know how to use it.

6.2 PROPAGANDA ONLY FOR THE MASSES

The second question of decisive importance is this: To whom should propaganda be addressed? To the educated intellectual classes, or to the less educated masses?

Propaganda must always address itself to the masses!

For the so-called intelligentsia, propaganda is not appropriate, but rather scientific instruction. Propaganda has as little to do with science as an advertisement poster has to do with art. The art of the poster consists in the designer's ability to attract the attention of the crowd through form and colors. A poster announcing an exhibition of art has no other aim than to convince the public of the importance of the exhibition. The better it does that, the better it is. Being meant to impress upon the public the meaning of the exposition, the poster can never take the place of the art on display. They are two entirely different things. Therefore, those who wish to study the artistic display must study something that's quite different from the poster–and it won't be enough to merely wander through the gallery. The student of art must carefully and thoroughly study each exhibit in order to form a judicious opinion about it.

The situation is the same with respect to the word 'propaganda.'

The purpose of propaganda is not the personal instruction of the individual, but rather to attract public attention to certain things–the importance of which can be impressed upon the masses only by this means.

The art of propaganda consists in putting a matter so clearly and forcibly that is creates a general conviction regarding the reality, necessity, and justice of a certain essential thing. But this art is not an end in itself. Its purpose must be exactly that of the advertisement poster: to attract the attention of the masses. It should not dispense individual instructions to those who already have an educated opinion on things, or who wish to form such an opinion on grounds of objective study. This is not the purpose of

propaganda. It must appeal to the feelings of the public rather than to their so-called rationality.

All propaganda must be presented in a popular form; it must adjust its intellectual level to the least intelligent of those to whom it is directed. Thus its purely intellectual level will have to be that of the lowest mental common denominator among the public it is desired to reach. When it's a question of bringing a whole nation within the circle of its influence-as in the case of war propaganda–then great care must be taken to avoid a high level, which presupposes a relatively high degree of intelligence among the public.

The more modest the scientific tenor of this propaganda, and the more it is addressed exclusively to public sentiment, the more decisive will be its success. This is the best test of the value of a propaganda–and not the approval of a small group of intellectuals or artists.

6.3 THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PROPAGANDA

The art of propaganda consists precisely in being able to awaken the imagination of the public through an appeal to their feelings–that is, in finding the appropriate psychological form that will appeal to the hearts of the masses. The fact that our 'bright boys' don't understand this merely shows their conceit and mental laziness.

Once we see the need to concentrate the persuasive forces of propaganda on the masses, the following lesson results:

It's a mistake to make propaganda multi-sided, as if it were a system of scientific instruction.

The receptive powers of the masses are very restricted, and their understanding is feeble. On the other hand, they quickly forget. Such being the case, all effective propaganda must be confined to a few bare essentials, and those must be expressed in stereotyped formulas. These slogans should be persistently repeated until the very last individual has come to grasp the idea that has been put forth. If this principle is forgotten, and if an attempt is made to be abstract and general, the propaganda will turn out ineffective; the

public won't be able to digest or retain what's offered to them in this way.

Therefore, propaganda must follow a simple line; correspondingly, the basic tactics must be psychologically efficient.

It was, for example, a fundamental mistake to ridicule the value of the enemy, as the Austrian and German comic papers did. The very principle here is a mistaken one. When they came face to face with the enemy, our soldiers had quite a different impression. Therefore, the mistake had disastrous results. Once the German soldier realized what a tough enemy he had to fight, he felt that he had been deceived by the makers of his information. Instead of strengthening and stimulating his fighting spirit, this information had quite the opposite effect. Finally he lost heart.

On the other hand, British and American war propaganda was psychologically efficient. By representing the Germans to their own people as barbarians and Huns, they were preparing their soldiers for the horrors of war, and safeguarding them against illusions. The most terrible weapons that those soldiers encountered in the field merely confirmed the information that they had already received, and their belief in the truth of the assertions made by their governments was accordingly reinforced. And their rage and hatred against the vile enemy was increased. The terrible havoc caused by the German weapons of war was only another illustration of the 'Hunnish' brutality of the barbarians; and their soldiers had no time to consider the fact that their own weapons were capable of an equal degree of terror.

Thus the British soldier was never allowed to feel that the information he received at home was false. Unfortunately the opposite was the case with the Germans, who finally wound up rejecting everything from home as pure swindle and humbug. All this was a result of the idea that any old simpleton–or anyone who was intelligent about 'other things'–could be entrusted with propaganda work. And they had no idea that propaganda demands the greatest psychological skill.

Thus the German war propaganda gave us an incomparable example of how the work of 'enlightenment' should *not* be done,

and how such an example was the result of a complete failure to take any psychological considerations into account.

6.4 SUBJECTIVE – ONE-SIDED – NECESSARY!

From the enemy, however, much could be learned by those who kept their eyes open, whose powers of perception had not yet become sclerotic, and who, during four and a half years, had to experience the perpetual flood of enemy propaganda.

The worst of all was that our people didn't understand the very first rule of propaganda: namely, a systematically one-sided attitude towards every problem to be dealt with. In this regard, so many errors were committed, even from the very start of the war, that it was justifiable to doubt whether so much nonsense could really be attributed to the stupidity of those in power.

What, for example, would we say of a poster that advertised some new brand of soap by insisting that the competitive brands were 'good'?

We would only shake our heads.

Exactly the same applies to political advertising.

The aim of propaganda is not to try to pass judgment on conflicting rights, giving each its due, but exclusively to emphasize the right that we are asserting. Propaganda must not investigate the truth objectively and, insofar as it is favorable to the other side, present it according to the academic fairness; it must present only that which is favorable to its own side.

It was a fundamental mistake to discuss the question of who was responsible for the outbreak of the war, and to declare that the sole responsibility could *not* be attributed to Germany. Sole responsibility should have been laid squarely on the shoulders of the enemy, without any discussion as to whether this was true or not.

And what was the consequence of these half-measures?

The broad masses of the people are not made up of diplomats, or professors of political law, nor simply of people who are able to form reasoned judgment about things. Rather, they are a vacillating, child-like crowd who are constantly wavering

between one idea and another. As soon as our own propaganda made the slightest suggestion that the enemy might have some valid concerns, the foundations were laid for questioning the justice of our own cause. The masses are in no position to discern where the enemy's injustice ends and where ours begins. In such a case, they become hesitant and distrustful, especially when the enemy doesn't make the same mistake, but heaps all the blame on the other side.

Could there be any clearer proof than the fact that our own people believed the enemy's propaganda, which was uniform and consistent, rather than its own? And that, of course, was increased by the German mania for objectivity! Everybody become so careful about doing an injustice to the enemy, even at the cost of seriously injuring or ruining his own people and state.

Naturally the masses were never aware of the fact that those in authority had failed to study the subject from this angle.

The great majority of a nation is so feminine in character and outlook that its thought and conduct are ruled by sentiment, rather than by sober reasoning.

This sentiment, however, is not complex, but simple and consistent. It's not highly differentiated, but has only the negative and positive notions of love and hatred, right and wrong, truth and falsehood. Its notions are never partly this and partly that.

English propaganda especially understood this in a marvelous way–and they acted accordingly. They allowed no half-measures that might have given rise to doubt.

Their brilliant understanding of the primitive feeling of the masses was shown in their policy of atrocity propaganda, which was adapted to the conditions of the time. They cleverly and ruthlessly prepared the ground for moral solidarity at the front, even in times of great defeats. Further, the way in which they pilloried the German enemy as solely responsible for the war–a brutal and absolute lie–and the way in which they proclaimed his guilt, was excellently calculated to reach the masses. They realized that the masses are always extreme in their feelings. And so this atrocious lie was believed.

The effectiveness of this kind of propaganda is well illustrated

by the fact that, after four years, not only was the enemy still carrying on his propaganda work, but it was already undermining the stamina of our people at home.

It's no surprise that our propaganda didn't achieve similar results. It had the germ of inefficiency lodged in it by reason of its inner ambiguity. And because of the nature of its content, one couldn't expect it to make the necessary impression on the masses. Only our hare-brained 'statesmen' could have imagined that such pacifistic swill could have inspired the necessary passion that leads men to die for their country.

And so this product of ours was not only worthless, but detrimental.

6.5 RESTRICTION ON PERSERVERANCE

No matter what amount of talent is employed in the organization of propaganda, it will be worthless if one doesn't take account of these fundamental principles. Propaganda must be limited to a few simple themes, and these must be represented again and again. Here, as in many other cases, perseverance is the first and most important condition for success.

Particularly in the field of propaganda, placid aesthetes and blasé intellectuals should never be allowed to take the lead. The former would readily transform the impressive character of real propaganda into something suitable only for literary tea parties. As to the second group, one must always beware of them because, lacking any fresh emotion of their own, they are always seeking new excitements.

Such people quickly tire of everything. They always long for change and will always be incapable of understanding the needs of their fellow men. They are always the first to criticize propaganda, or rather its message, because it appears to them to be outmoded and trivial. They are always looking for something new, always yearning for change; and thus they become the mortal enemies of all efforts to influence the masses in an effective way. The moment the organization and message of a propagandist movement begins to suit their tastes, it becomes incoherent and

scattered.

The purpose of propaganda is not to create an interesting distraction for blasé young men. Its chief function is to convince the masses, whose slowness of understanding needs to be given time to absorb the message. Only after the simplest ideas are repeated a thousand times will they finally remember them.

6.6 ENEMY WAR PROPAGANDA

Every change that's made in the propagandist message must always emphasize the same conclusion. The leading slogan must of course be illustrated in many ways and from several angles, but in the end, one must always return to the assertion of the same formula. This is the only way that propaganda can have consistent and dynamic effects.

Only by following these general lines and steadfastly sticking to them, with uniform and consistent emphasis, can we attain final success. One will then be rewarded by the surprising and almost incredible results that such a persistent policy delivers.

The success of any advertisement, whether of a business or political nature, depends on the consistency and perseverance with which it is applied.

Here too, the enemy propaganda gave us an excellent example. It confined itself to a few themes, which were meant exclusively for mass consumption, and it repeated these themes with untiring persistence. Once these fundamental themes and the manner of placing them before the world were recognized as correct, they adhered to them without the slightest alteration for the whole duration of the war. At first it appeared to be idiotic in its impudent assertiveness. Later it was looked upon as disturbing. But in the end, it was believed. After four and a half years, a revolution broke out in Germany; its slogans came from the enemy's war propaganda.

But in England they came to understand something further: namely, that this intellectual weapon can succeed only if it's applied on a vast scale. But this success more than rewards the cost.

Their propaganda was regarded as a first class weapon, while for us it was the last hope of unemployed politicians, and a cozy job for slackers.

All in all, and as expected, its results were zero.

CHAPTER 7
THE REVOLUTION

In 1915, the enemy started his propaganda among our soldiers. From 1916 onwards, it steadily became more intensive, and at the beginning of 1918, it became a virtual flood. One could now judge the effects of this proselytizing movement at every step. Gradually our soldiers began to think just as the enemy wished them to.

On the German side, it was a complete failure.

At that time, the army authorities, under our able and determined commander, were also willing and ready to take up the propaganda fight, but unfortunately they didn't have the necessary means to make it happen. And in any case, it would have been a psychological error if they had done so. To be effective, propaganda had to come from home. Only then would it have been a success among men who, for nearly four years, were performing immortal deeds of heroism and privation for the homeland.

But what were the people at home doing?

Was their failure to act stupidity, or criminal?

In midsummer 1918, after the evacuation of the southern bank of the Marne, the German press adopted a policy that was so woefully inadequate, and even criminally stupid, that a question arose–one that made me more furious every day: Is there no one who will dare to put an end to this spiritual sabotage of our heroic troops?

What happened in France during 1914, when our armies invaded that country in a storm of victory? What happened in Italy when their armies collapsed on the Isonzo front?[57] What happened in France again during the spring of 1918, when German divisions took the main French positions by storm, and heavy long-distance

[57] The Isonzo River, in present-day Slovenia, was the site of a number of battles between Austria-Hungary and Italy between 1915 and 1917.

artillery bombarded Paris?

How they whipped up the courage of those troops who were retreating, and fanned the fires of national enthusiasm among them! How their propaganda and their ingenious mass-influence reawakened the fighting spirit in that broken front, and hammered into them a firm belief in final victory!

Meanwhile, what were our people doing?

Nothing, or even worse than nothing!

Again and again, I became enraged and indignant as I read the latest papers and realized the nature of the psychological mass-murder they were committing.

More than once, I was tormented by the thought that if Providence had put me in charge of German propaganda, instead of those incompetent and even criminal ignoramuses and scoundrels, the outcome of our battle with fate might have been different.

During those months, I felt for the first time that a malicious Destiny was keeping me on the fighting front and in a position where any random bullet from some nigger might finish me off–while elsewhere I could have done a real service for the Fatherland!

I was then rash enough to believe that I would have been successful.

But I was a nameless soldier, one among 8 million!

And so it was better for me to keep my mouth shut and do my duty as best I could.

7.1 THE FIRST ENEMY LEAFLETS

In the summer of 1915, the first enemy leaflets were dropped on us.

They all told more or less the same story, with some minor variation: Suffering was steadily increasing in Germany. The war would last indefinitely. The prospect of victory for us was becoming fainter by the day. The people at home were longing for peace, but that ‘militarism’ and the ‘Kaiser’ would not permit it. The whole world–which knew this very well–wasn't waging war

against the German people but only against the man who was exclusively responsible, the Kaiser. And finally, that until this enemy of world-peace was removed, there could be no end to the conflict. When the war was over, the liberal and democratic nations would receive the Germans as colleagues in the league for world peace. This would happen the moment that 'Prussian militarism' was destroyed.

To illustrate and substantiate all these statements, the leaflets often contained 'Letters from Home.' The contents appeared to confirm the enemy's assertions.

Generally speaking, we only laughed at all these efforts. The leaflets were read, sent to base headquarters, and then forgotten–until the wind once again blew a fresh batch into the trenches. These were mostly dropped from airplanes that were specially used for that purpose.

One feature of this propaganda was very striking: namely, in sections where Bavarian troops were stationed, every effort was made to stir up feelings against the Prussians. It assured the soldiers that Prussia and Prussia alone was the guilty party who was responsible for the whole war, and that there was no hostility whatsoever towards the Bavarians. But that there would be no possibility of coming to their assistance as long as they continued to serve Prussian interests and helped to pull the Prussian chestnuts out of the fire.

This persistent propaganda began to have a real effect in 1915. The feelings against Prussia grew quite visibly among the Bavarian troops; but those in authority did nothing to counteract it. This was more than a mere sin of omission. Sooner or later, not only were the Prussians bound to suffer for it, but the whole German nation and consequently the Bavarians as well.

In this direction, enemy propaganda began to achieve undoubted success from 1916 onwards.

In a similar way, letters coming directly from home had long since been exercising their effect. There was now no further need for the enemy to broadcast such letters in leaflet form. And also against this influence from home, nothing was done–except a few supremely stupid 'warnings' uttered by the 'government.' The

whole front was drenched in this poison sent by thoughtless women at home. They didn't suspect for a moment that the enemy's chances of final victory were thereby strengthened, or that the sufferings of their own men at the front were thereby being prolonged and rendered more severe. These senseless letters written by German women eventually cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of our men.

7.2 WOUNDED

Thus, by 1916, several distressing phenomena had already appeared. The whole front was complaining and grousing, and discontented over many things–often justifiably so. While they were hungry and suffering, and while their relatives at home were in distress, others were feasting and celebrating. Yes–even on the front itself, everything was not as it should have been.

Even in the early stages of the war, the soldiers were sometimes prone to complain; but such criticism was confined to 'internal affairs.' The man who, at one moment, groused and grumbled, ceased a few minutes later, and went about his duty silently, as if all were in order. The same company that was initially discontented now clung to its piece of trench with tooth and nail, as if Germany's fate depended on these few hundred meters of mud holes. The glorious old army was still at its post!

A sudden change soon gave me first-hand experience of the contrast between this old army and the homeland.

At the end of September 1916, my division was sent into the Battle of the Somme. For us this was the first of a series of heavy engagements, and it created an indescribable impression–more like hell than war.

We stood firm through weeks of incessant artillery bombardment-at times ceding a little ground but then taking it back again, and never giving way.

On 7 October 1916, I was wounded.

I had the good luck of getting back to the rear, and I was then ordered to be sent by transport to Germany.

Two years had passed since I left home–an almost endless

period, in such circumstances. I could hardly imagine what Germans looked like without uniforms. In the field hospital at Hermies, I was startled when I suddenly heard the voice of a German nurse who was talking with one of the wounded men lying near me.

After two years–to first hear such a sound!

The nearer our train approached the German border, the more restless each of us became. En route we recognized all these places through which we passed two years before as young volunteers: Brussels, Louvain, Liege. Finally we recognized the first German homestead, with its familiar high gables and picturesque window-shutters.

The Fatherland!

In October 1914, we burned with stormy enthusiasm as we crossed the border. Now, silence and emotion reigned. Each of us was happy that fate allowed us to again see that which we had defended with our lives. And each was ashamed to let another look into his eye.

It was almost on the anniversary of the day that I left for the front, when I reached the hospital at Beelitz near Berlin.

What a change! From the mud of the Somme battlefields to the spotless white beds in this wonderful building! We hesitated to lie in them. Only gradually did we grow accustomed to this new world again.

But unfortunately this world was also different in another respect.

7.3 BOASTING OF COWARDICE

The spirit of the army at the front was foreign here. For the first time, I encountered something that was unknown at the front: boasting of one's own cowardice. Though we certainly heard complaining and grousing at the front, this was never an incitement to insubordination, and certainly not a glorification of one’s fear. No! There, a coward was a coward, and nothing more. And the contempt for him that was aroused in others was quite general, just as the real hero was widely admired. But here in

hospital, it was nearly the opposite. Loudmouthed agitators were heaping ridicule on the good soldier, and lauding the spineless coward.

A couple of miserable human specimens set the tone. One of them boasted of having intentionally injured his hand in barbed-wire in order to get sent to hospital. Although his wound was slight, it appeared that he had been here for a long time. He got sent here in the transport train through some sort of a swindle. This poisonous specimen actually had the audacity to parade his cowardice as the result of a higher courage, one that was superior to that of the brave soldier who dies a hero's death. Many listened in silence, others left, but some assented.

Personally I was disgusted at the thought that such a seditious agitator was allowed to remain there. What could be done? The authorities must have known who and what he was; and actually they did know. But still they did nothing.

7.4 SLACKERS

As soon as I was able to walk again, I obtained leave to visit Berlin.

Dire misery was everywhere. The metropolis, with its teeming millions, was suffering from hunger. The talk in the soldiers' homes was much like that at the hospital. It seemed that these agitators had deliberately singled out such places, in order to spread their views.

But conditions in Munich were far worse!

After my discharge from hospital, I was sent to a reserve battalion there. I didn't recognize anything. Anger, discontent, complaints–wherever one went! This was partly due to the highly inept manner in which the soldiers who had returned from the front were treated by the non-commissioned officers–they who had never seen a day's active service, and who were thus incapable of creating a decent relationship towards the old soldiers. The old soldiers displayed certain characteristics that had been developed from their time in the trenches. The reserve officers couldn't understand these peculiarities. On the other hand, the officer home

from active service was at least in a position to understand them himself. As a result, he received more respect from the men than the home officers.

But apart from all this, the general spirit was miserable. The art of slacking was looked on as almost proof of higher intelligence, and devotion to duty was considered a sign of weakness or bigotry. Government offices were filled with Jews. Almost every clerk was a Jew, and nearly every Jew was a clerk. I was amazed at this multitude of combatants who belonged to the chosen people; and I couldn't help comparing it with their slim numbers at the front.

In the business world, the situation was even worse. Here the Jewish people had actually become 'indispensable.' Like spiders, they were slowly sucking the blood from the pores of the national body. Through the war corporations, they found an instrument whereby all national free trade could be finished off.

Special emphasis was placed on the necessity of unhampered centralization.

Thus as early as 1916-17, practically all production was under the control of Jewish finance.

But against whom was the anger of the people directed?

It was then that I foresaw a looming disaster, one that would inevitably lead to collapse unless actions were taken in time.

7.5 HATRED OF PRUSSIA

While the Jew was busy robbing the nation and tightening the screws of his despotism, incitement against 'the Prussians' increased. And just as at the front, nothing was done to stop this poisonous propaganda. No one seemed capable of understanding that the collapse of Prussia could never bring about the rise of Bavaria. On the contrary, the collapse of the one would necessarily drag the other down into the abyss.

This kind of behavior affected me very deeply. I could see in it only a clever Jewish trick for diverting public attention from themselves to others. While Prussians and Bavarians were squabbling, the Jews were taking away the sustenance of both

from under their very noses. While Prussians were being abused in Bavaria, the Jew organized the revolution, and with one stroke smashed both Prussia and Bavaria.

I couldn't tolerate this execrable squabbling among German peoples, and I longed to be at the front once again. Therefore, not long after arriving in Munich, I reported again for service.

At the beginning of March 1917, I had rejoined my old regiment.

7.6 THE ARMY'S NEW HOPE

Towards the end of 1917, we seemed to have gotten over the worst phases of moral depression at the front. After the Russian collapse, the whole army recovered its courage and hope.[58] All were gradually becoming more and more convinced that the struggle would end in victory. We could sing once again, and the naysayers faded from view. People once again believed in the future of the Fatherland.

The Italian collapse in the autumn of 1917 had a wonderful effect.[59] This victory proved that it was possible to break through another front, besides the Russian. An inspiring faith became dominant in the minds of millions, and it encouraged them to look forward with confidence to the spring of 1918. The enemy was visibly depressed. During this winter, the front was somewhat quieter than usual. But that was the calm before the storm.

Just when preparations were being made to launch a final offensive and bring this interminable war to an end–while endless columns of transports brought men and munitions to the front, and while the men were being trained for that final onslaught–then it was that the greatest act of treachery in the whole war occurred in Germany.

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[58] The Russian Revolution of 1917 consisted of two phases: A workers' revolt in February that overthrew the Czar, and then the Bolshevik revolution in October that put the Jewish revolutionaries in power. Once in power, the Bolsheviks pulled Russia out of the war. This, as Hitler states, freed up German troops for the western front.

[59] The Battle of Caporetto took place from October 24 to November 19, near the present-day town of Kobarid, Slovenia, just across the Italian border. The Italians were routed by the Germans.

Germany would not win the war: At the last moment, when victory seemed ready to fly with German banners, a means was arranged for the purpose of striking at the heart of the German spring offensive with one blow from the rear, thus making victory impossible.

A munitions strike was organized.[60]

If this had succeeded, the German front would have collapsed, and the wishes of the *Vorwärts* that victory not take the side of the German banners would have been fulfilled.[61] For lack of munitions, the front would be broken through within a few weeks, the German offensive would be effectively stopped, and the Entente saved. International finance would assume control over Germany, and the internal goal of the Marxist national betrayal would be achieved.

Their objective was the destruction of the national economic system and the establishment of international capitalistic domination in its place. And this goal has really been reached, thanks to the stupidity and credulity of the one side and the bottomless cowardice of the other.

The munitions strike, however, didn't bring the final success that was hoped for: namely, to starve the front of ammunition. It lasted too short a time for any lack of ammunition to bring disaster to the army, as was originally planned. But the moral damage was much more terrible!

In the first place: What was the army fighting for, if the people at home didn't wish for victory? For whom were these enormous sacrifices and privations being made? Should the soldiers fight for victory, while the home front goes on strike against it?

And secondly: What effect did this move have on the enemy?

7.7 THE ALLIES ARE BEATEN DOWN

In the winter of 1917-18, dark clouds hovered in the firmament of the Entente. For nearly four years, many onslaughts were made

[60] This occurred on 28 January 1918.

[61] *Vorwärts* was the official paper of the Social Democrats.

against the German giant, but they failed to bring him to the ground. He fought them off with the one arm that held the defensive shield, because his other arm had to wield the sword against his other enemies, in the East and the South. But at last these enemies were overcome. Rivers of blood were shed in accomplishing that task. But now the sword was free to join with the shield on the western front. And since the enemy was thus far unable to break the German defense, he himself was now facing attack.

The enemy feared and trembled in the face of a German victory.

In Paris and London, conferences followed one after another, in unending series. Even the enemy propaganda encountered difficulties. It was no longer so easy to demonstrate the hopelessness of a German victory.

The same applied at the front. The insolence of their masters had suddenly subsided. A disturbing truth began to dawn on them. Their opinion of the German soldier had changed. Previously he was a fool destined for defeat. But now he was the destroyer of their Russian ally. The policy of restricting the offensive to the East, which in fact was a necessity, now appeared as a stroke of genius. For three years, these Germans had been battering away at the Russian front without any apparent success. Those fruitless efforts were almost sneered at; it was thought that, in the long run, the Russian giant would triumph through sheer force of numbers, while Germany would be worn out from shedding so much blood. And reality seemed to confirm this hope.

Since the September days of 1914, when for the first time endless columns of Russian war prisoners poured into Germany after the Battle of Tannen berg, it seemed as if the stream would never end. As soon as one army was defeated and routed, another would take its place. The gigantic empire gave the Czar an inexhaustible supply of new soldiers–and the war its new victims. How long could Germany hold out in this race? Wouldn't the day finally come when the Germans would win their last victory, and still the Russian armies would be marching into battle? And then what? In all likelihood, a Russian victory over Germany might be delayed, but it would inevitably come in the long run.

Now all these hopes were at an end. The ally, Russia, who had sacrificed the most blood on the altar of their mutual interests, came to the end of his resources, and lay prostrate before his unrelenting foe. A feeling of terror and dismay came over the Entente soldiers, who had previously been sustained by blind faith. They feared the coming spring. Seeing that they had previously failed to break the Germans when they could concentrate only part of the fighting strength on the western front, how could they count on victory now that the entire power of that amazing heroic state appeared to be gathering for an attack in the west?

The shadow of the events that took place in South Tyrol, the specter of General Cadorna's defeated armies,[62] were reflected in the gloomy faces of the Entente troops in misty Flanders. Faith in victory gave way to fear of defeat to come.

7.8 "GERMANY FACING REVOLUTION!"

Then–on those cold nights, when one almost heard the tread of the German armies advancing to the great assault, and the decision was being awaited in fear and trembling, suddenly a flaming red light was set aglow in Germany, sending its rays into the last shell-hole on the enemy's front. At the very moment when the German divisions were receiving their final orders for the great offensive, a general strike broke out in Germany.

At first the world was dumbfounded. Then the enemy propaganda became active again and pounced on this theme at the eleventh hour. Suddenly a means appeared that could be used to revive the sinking confidence of the Allied soldiers. The probability of victory was now presented as certain, and the anxious foreboding about coming events was transformed into a determined confidence. The regiments awaiting German attack could now be inspired by the conviction that the decisive event in the war was not the boldness of the German attack, but rather the persistence of the defense. Let the Germans have whatever

[62] Luigi Cadorna (1850-1928) was an Italian general who led his troops into defeat on the Isonzo front.

victories they liked; the revolution, and not the victorious army, was at the door of the homeland.

British, French, and American newspapers began to spread this belief among their readers, while a shrewd propaganda campaign boosted the morale of the troops at the front.

'Germany Facing Revolution! Allied Victory Inevitable!' That was the best medicine to set the staggering poilu and Tommy on their feet once again. Our rifles and machine guns could now open fire once again; but instead of creating a panic-stricken retreat, they were met with a determined resistance.

This was the result of the munitions strike. It strengthened the enemy's belief in victory, and it relieved that paralyzing feeling of despair at the front. Consequently, the strike cost the lives of thousands of German soldiers. And the despicable instigators of that dastardly strike were candidates for the highest public offices in revolutionary Germany.

At first it was apparently possible to overcome the repercussion of these events on the German soldiers. But on the enemy's side, they had a lasting effect. The resistance lost all the character of an army fighting for a lost cause, and in its place was a grim determination to struggle through to victory.

Now, according to best judgment, victory would be assured if the western front could hold out against the German attack for only a few months. The Allied parliaments recognized the possibilities of a better future, and voted huge sums of money for on-going propaganda to disrupt Germany.

7.9 LAST WREATHS OF IMMORTAL LAUREL

It was my good luck to fight in the first two offensives, and in the last.

These became the most stupendous impressions of my life– stupendous, because now for the last time, the struggle lost its defensive character and became that of an offense, just as it was in 1914. A sigh of relief went up from the German trenches and dug-outs when finally, after three years of endurance in that inferno, the day of retribution arrived. Once again the lusty

cheering of victorious battalions was heard, as they hung the last crowns of the immortal laurel on the banners they consecrated to victory. Once again the strains of patriotic songs soared upwards to the heavens above the endless columns of marching troops, and for the last time the Lord smiled on his ungrateful children.

In midsummer of 1918, a feeling of sultry oppression hung over the front. At home they were quarrelling. About what? We heard a great deal among various units at the front: that the war was now a hopeless affair; that only fools could think of victory; that it wasn't the people but the capitalists and the monarchy who were interested in carrying on. Such were the ideas that came from home and were discussed at the front.

At first there was only very slight reaction. What did universal suffrage matter to us? Is this why we fought for four years? It was a dastardly piece of robbery thus to steal from the graves of our heroes the ideals for which they had fallen. It wasn't for the slogan, 'Long Live Universal Suffrage' that our troops in Flanders faced certain death, but for the cry '*Deutschland über alles, über alles in der Welt*'–a small but not unimportant difference. And most of those who were shouting for this suffrage were absent when it came to fighting for it. The front was unknown to this political rabble. During those days, only a small fraction of these parliamentarian gentlemen were to be seen where honest Germans gathered.

The old soldiers who had fought at the front had little liking for those new war aims of Messrs. Ebert, Scheidemann, Barth, Liebknecht, and others.[63] We couldn't understand why, all of a sudden, the slackers should grant all executive powers to themselves, without having any regard to the army.

From the very beginning, I had my own definite personal views. I hated the whole gang of miserable party politicians who had

[63] Friedrich Ebert (1871-1925) was a leader of the German Social Democrats, and the first President of Germany, post-WWI. Philipp Scheidemann (1865-1939) was a post-war Chancellor of Germany in 1919, succeeding Ebert. Emil Barth (1879-1941) was a key figure in the November Revolution of 1918. Karl Liebknecht (1871-1919) was also central to the Revolution; he was killed, along with Jewish socialist Rosa Luxemburg, shortly thereafter. Liebknecht was half-Jewish, the others German.

betrayed the people. I long ago realized that national interests played only a very small part with this disreputable crew, and that what counted with them was the possibility of filling their own empty pockets. My opinion was that those people thoroughly deserved to be hanged, because they were ready to sacrifice the peace, and allow Germany to be defeated, just to serve their own ends. To consider their wishes would mean to sacrifice the interests of the working classes for the benefit of a gang of thieves. These wishes could only be fulfilled by sacrificing Germany.

Such, too, was the opinion still held by the majority of the army. But the reinforcements that came from home were fast becoming worse and worse–so much so that their arrival was a source of weakness rather than of strength. The young recruits in particular were mostly useless. Sometimes it was hard to believe that they were sons of the same nation that sent its youth into the battles for Ypres.

7.10 GROWING MORAL DECAY

In August and September, the symptoms of moral disintegration increased rapidly, although the enemy's offensive was not at all comparable to the terror of our former defensive battles. In contrast, the battles of the Somme and Flanders were much more terrible.

At the end of September, my division occupied, for the third time, those positions that we had once taken by storm as young volunteers.

What a memory!

Here we had received our baptism by fire, in October and November 1914. With a burning love of the homeland in our hearts and a song on our lips, our young regiment went into action as if going to a dance. The dearest blood was given freely here in the belief that it was shed to protect the freedom and independence of the Fatherland.

In July 1917 we set foot for the second time on what we regarded as sacred soil. Our best comrades lay here, some of them little more than boys–the soldiers who had rushed into death, with

gleaming eyes, for the one true Fatherland.

The older ones among us, who had been with the regiment from the beginning, were deeply moved as we stood on this sacred spot where we had sworn 'Loyalty and Duty unto Death.'

Three years ago the regiment had taken this position by storm; now it was called upon to defend it in a grueling struggle.

With an artillery bombardment that lasted three weeks, the English prepared for their great offensive in Flanders. There the spirits of the dead seemed to live again. The regiment dug itself into the mud, clung to its shell-holes and craters, neither flinching nor wavering. Our numbers grew steadily smaller, until finally the British launched their attack on 31 July 1917.

We were relieved in the beginning of August.

The regiment had dwindled down to a few companies, who staggered back, mud-crusted, more like ghosts than human beings. Besides a few hundred meters of shell-holes, death was the only reward that the English gained.

Now, in the autumn of 1918, we stood for the third time on the ground we had stormed in 1914. The village of Comines, which formerly had served us as a base, was now within the fighting zone. Although little had changed in the surrounding battlefield, the men became different. They now talked 'politics.' Like everywhere else, the poison from home was having its effect here also. The young recruits succumbed to it completely–they came directly from home.

7.11 POISONED BY MUSTARD GAS

During the night of October 13-14, the British opened an attack with gas on the front, south of Ypres. They used mustard gas, whose effect was unknown to us, at least from personal experience. I would experience it that very night. On a hill south of Wervick, in the evening of October 13, we were subjected for several hours to a heavy bombardment with gas bombs, which continued throughout the night with more or less intensity. About midnight, a number of us were put out of action–some forever. Towards morning, I also began to feel pain. It increased with every

quarter of an hour; and at about 7:00 my eyes were scorching as I staggered back and delivered the last dispatch that I would carry in this war.

A few hours later, my eyes were like glowing coals, and all was darkness around me.

I was sent to a hospital at Pasewalk in Pomerania, and it was there that I had to experience–the Revolution!

For a long time, there was something in the air that was indefinable and repulsive. People were saying that something was bound to happen within the next few weeks, although I couldn't imagine what this meant. First I thought of a strike, similar to the one that took place in spring. Unfavorable rumors were constantly coming from the Navy, which was said to be in a state of ferment. But this seemed to be the fanciful creation of a few isolated malcontents. At the hospital, they were all talking about the end of the war and hoping that this was not far off, but no one counted on anything immediately. I wasn't able to read the newspapers.

In November, the general tension increased.

Then one day, disaster broke upon us suddenly and without warning. Sailors came in trucks and proclaimed the revolution. A few Jewish youth were the 'leaders' in that combat for the 'Liberty, Beauty, and Dignity' of our national being. Not one of them saw active service at the front. By way of a so-called 'hospital for venereal disease,' these three Orientals had been sent back home. Now their red rags were being raised here.[64]

After a few days, I began to feel somewhat better. The burning pain in my eye sockets diminished. Gradually I was able to distinguish the rough outlines of my immediate surroundings. And I allowed myself to hope that I would at least recover my sight sufficiently to be able to take up some profession later on. But it

[64] It's unclear to which "few" or "three" Jews Hitler is referring. Many Jews were active in the German revolt, as with other revolutions throughout Europe at that time. Prominent among the Jewish leaders of the Social Democrats were Otto Landesberg, Eduard Bernstein, and Rudolf Hilferding. The primary agitator, though, was the Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD), which was dominated by Jews: Kurt Eisner, Rosa Luxemburg, Hugo Haase, Karl Liebknecht (half-Jewish), Leo Jogiches, Karl Radek, Alexander Parvus, Ernst Toller, Gustav Landauer, and Erich Muehsam. For a detailed account of the Jewish role in the revolution, see Dalton (2013, 2014).

was out of the question that I might ever draw again. In any case, I was on the way to recovery when the monstrous hour arrived.

My first thought was that this outbreak of high treason was only a local affair. I tried to encourage this belief among my comrades. My Bavarian hospital friends were particularly responsive to this. Their mood was anything but 'revolutionary.' I couldn't imagine this madness breaking out in Munich; loyalty to the House of Wittelsbach was, after all, stronger than the will of a few Jews. And so I couldn't help but believe that this was merely a local revolt by the Navy, and that it would be suppressed within the next few days.

7.12 'REPUBLIC'

With the next few days came the most terrible information of my life. The rumors grew more and more persistent. What I had taken as a local affair was in reality a general revolution. In addition to this, shameful news came from the front. They wanted to capitulate. Was such a thing possible?

On November 10 the local pastor gave a short address at the hospital; now we learned the whole story.

I was in a state of extreme agitation as I listened to the address. The reverend old gentleman seemed to be trembling as he informed us that the House of Hohenzollern would no longer wear the imperial crown. The Fatherland had become a 'Republic,' and we should pray to the Almighty to grant us his blessing in the new order of things and to not abandon our people in the days to come. In delivering his speech, he couldn't do more than briefly express appreciation to the royal house, its services to Pomerania, to Prussia, indeed, to the whole of the German Fatherland, and–here he began to weep. A feeling of profound dismay fell upon the people in that little hall, and I don't think there was a single dry eye in the crowd.

As for myself, I broke down completely when the old gentleman tried to resume his story by informing us that we must now end this long war. The war was lost, he said, and we were at the mercy of the victor. The Fatherland would have to bear heavy

burdens in the future. We were to accept the terms of the armistice, and trust in the magnanimity of our former enemies. It was impossible for me to stay and listen any longer.

Darkness surrounded me as I staggered and stumbled back to my ward and buried my aching head into the blankets and pillow.

I hadn't cried since the day I stood beside my mother's grave. Whenever fate dealt cruelly with me in my youth, my spirit of determination grew stronger. During all those long years of war, when death claimed many friends and comrades, it would have been almost sinful to have uttered a word of complaint–they died for Germany! And finally, in the last few days of that titanic struggle, when the waves of poison gas enveloped me and began to penetrate my eyes, and the thought of becoming permanently blind unnerved me, my voice of conscience cried out: 'Miserable fellow, will you start howling when there are thousands of others whose lot is a hundred times worse than yours?' And so I accepted my misfortune in silence, realizing that nothing else could be done, and that my personal suffering was nothing compared with the misfortune of the Fatherland.

7.13 ALL SACRIFICE IN VAIN

So all had been in vain. In vain all the sacrifices and privations; in vain the hunger and thirst for endless months; in vain those hours that we stuck to our posts even though mortal fear gripped our souls; and in vain the deaths of two million. Of those hundreds of thousands who set out with hearts full of faith in their Fatherland, and never returned–shouldn't their graves now open, so that the spirits of those heroes splattered with mud and blood may come home and take vengeance on those who had so despicably betrayed the greatest sacrifice that a human being can make for his country? Was it for this that the soldiers died in August and September 1914? For this, that the volunteer regiments followed the old comrades in the autumn of the same year? For this, that those boys of 17 sank into the earth of Flanders? Was this the meaning of the sacrifice that German mothers made for their Fatherland when, with heavy hearts, they

said goodbye to their sons who never returned? Has all this been done so that a gang of despicable criminals could lay their hands on the Fatherland?

Was this why the German soldier struggled through sweltering heat and blinding snowstorm, enduring hunger and thirst and cold, fatigued from sleepless nights and endless marches? Was it for this that he lived through an inferno of artillery bombardments, gasping and choking during gas attacks, neither flinching nor faltering, but always thinking of his duty to defend the Fatherland against the enemy?

Certainly these heroes deserved a headstone: "Wanderer, when you come to Germany, tell those at home that we lie here, true to the Fatherland and faithful to our duty."[65]

And at home?

But–was this the only sacrifice that we had to consider? Was the Germany of the past less valuable? Did she not owe a certain duty to her own history? Were we still worthy to partake in the glory of the past? How could we justify this act to future generations?

Despicable and degenerate criminals!

The more I tried to gain some clarity on this monstrous event, the more my head burned with rage and shame. What was the pain in my eyes compared with this tragedy?

The following days were terrible to bear, and the nights worse still. I knew that all was lost. Only fools, liars, or criminals could depend on the mercy of the enemy. During those nights, my hatred grew–hatred for the originators of this crime.

7.14 DECISION TO ENTER POLITICS

In the days that followed, my own fate became clear to me. I had to laugh at the thought of my personal future, which only recently was the cause of so much concern. Was it not ridiculous to build something on such a foundation? Finally, it became clear that the inevitable had happened, something that I had long feared,

[65] A variation on a saying by Herodotus, recalling a message inscribed in stone by the Greek defenders of Thermopylae. See *Histories* (7.228).

though I didn't have the heart to believe it.

Kaiser Wilhelm II was the first German Emperor to offer the hand of friendship to the Marxist leaders, not suspecting that they were scoundrels without honor. While they held the imperial hand in theirs, the other hand was already reaching for the dagger.

There is no coming to agreement with the Jews, but rather only the hard ‘either-or.’

It was then that I decided to take up politics.

CHAPTER 8
THE BEGINNING OF MY POLITICAL ACTIVITY

At the end of November 1918, I returned to Munich. I went to the replacement battalion of my regiment, which was now in the hands of the 'soldiers' council.' Their whole administration was quite repulsive to me, and so I decided to leave it as soon as possible. With my faithful war-comrade Ernst Schmiedt, I went to Traunstein and remained there until the camp was broken up.

In March 1919 we were back again in Munich.

The situation there was unsustainable; a further extension of the revolution was inevitable. Eisner's death served only to hasten this development, and it finally led to a dictatorship of the councils– or, to put it more correctly, to a Jewish hegemony.[66] This turned out to be transitory, but it was the original aim of those who had instigated the revolution.

At that time, countless plans took shape in my mind. I spent days pondering about what could be done. Unfortunately, every project gave way before the hard fact that I was quite unknown and therefore didn't have even the minimum requirements for effective action. Later on I will explain the reasons why I didn't join any of the existing parties.

As the new revolution of the Councils ran its course in Munich, my activities began to draw the ire of the Central Council. In the early morning of 27 April 1919, I was supposed to have been arrested. But the three fellows who came for me didn't have the courage to face my rifle, and withdrew just as they had arrived.

A few days after the liberation of Munich, I was ordered to

[66] Kurt Eisner (1867-1919) was a leading Jewish revolutionary of Bavaria. He temporarily took power in late 1918, but was killed in February 1919 by German soldiers who had reasserted control over the region.

appear before the inquiry commission that was set up in the 2nd Infantry Regiment for the purpose of watching revolutionary activities.

That was my first more-or-less purely political activity.

A few weeks later I received orders to attend a 'course' that was being given to members of the army. This course was meant to teach certain fundamental civic principles. For me, the advantage of this organization was that it gave me a chance to meet fellow soldiers who were of the same mind, and with whom I could discuss the actual situation. We were all more or less firmly convinced that Germany could not be saved from imminent disaster by those who had participated in the November treachery– which is to say, the Center and the Social Democrats. Also, the so-called Bourgeois National group couldn't repair the damage that had been done, even if they had the best intentions. They lacked a number of prerequisites, without which such a task could never be successful. The years that followed justified the opinions that we held at that time.

8.1 DISCUSSION ON THE FORMATION OF A NEW PARTY

In our small circle, we discussed the project of forming a new party. The leading ideas that we then proposed were the same as those that were carried into effect later on, when the German Labor Party was founded. The name of the new movement that was to be founded should be such that, of itself, it would appeal to the masses. All our efforts would be vain and useless if this condition were lacking. And that was one reason why we chose the name 'Social Revolutionary Party'; the social principles of our new organization were indeed revolutionary.

But a more fundamental reason was the following:

The attention that I gave to economic problems during my earlier years was more or less confined to considerations arising directly from social problems. Later this outlook broadened as I came to study the German alliance policy. This policy was largely the result of an erroneous valuation of the economic situation,

together with a confused notion of the basis by which the future subsistence of the German people could be guaranteed. All these ideas were based on the principle that capital is exclusively the product of labor, and that therefore, just like labor, it was subject to all the factors that can restrict or promote human activity. Hence, from a national standpoint, the significance of capital depended on the greatness, freedom, and power of the state, and hence of the nation. Furthermore, it's this dependence alone that leads capital to promote the interests of the state and the nation, from an instinct of self-preservation and for the sake of its own development. This dependence of capital on the independent state would therefore compel capital to promote the freedom, power, strength, etc of the nation.

On such principles, the attitude of the state towards capital would be relatively simple and clear. Its only object would be to make sure that capital remained subservient to the state and didn't allocate to itself the right to dominate national interests. Thus its activities would be bound by the following two limits: on the one side, to assure a vital and independent national economy and, on the other, to safeguard the social rights of the workers.

8.2 TWO TYPES OF CAPITAL

Previously I didn't clearly recognize the difference between capital that is purely the product of creative labor, and capital that is exclusively the result of financial speculation. Here I needed an inspiration to set my mind thinking in this direction; but that impulse had not appeared.

The necessary inspiration now came from one of the men who lectured in the course I mentioned earlier. This was Gottfried Feder.[67]

For the first time in my life, I heard a discussion of the principles of international stock exchange capital and loan capital.

[67] Feder (1883- 1941) was an economist by training, and one of the central founders of the National Socialist party. When Hitler came to power in 1933, Feder joined the government, quickly rising to the level of Reich commissioner. But by 1935 he had withdrawn from politics, preferring a university professorship in Berlin. He stayed there until his death in 1941, at age 58.

After hearing Feder's first lecture, the idea immediately came into my head that I had now found one of the most essential prerequisites for the founding of a new party.

To my mind, Feder's merit lay in the ruthlessly brutal way in which he described the double character of capital engaged in stock-exchange and loan transaction, exposing the fact that this capital is always dependent on the payment of interest. In fundamental questions, his statements were so full of common sense that his critics didn't deny their theoretical soundness, but only whether it would be possible to put these ideas into practice. To me this seemed the strongest point in Feder's teaching, though others considered it a weakness.

8.3 THEORETICIAN AND POLITICIAN

It isn't the task of the theoretician to explain the various ways in which something can be put into practice. His task is to deal with the problem as such; he has to look to the end rather than the means. The important question is whether an idea is fundamentally correct, not whether it can be carried out. When a man whose task is to lay down the principles of a program or policy begins to busy himself with so-called 'usefulness' or 'reality' instead of the absolute truth, his work will cease to be a guiding star to those who are looking for enlightenment. It will become a mere recipe for everyday life. The theoretician must consider only the goal; the politician must then strive for its fulfillment. The thought of the former will, therefore, be determined by eternal truths, whereas the activity of the latter must always be guided by the practical reality of the moment.

The greatness of the one will depend on the absolute truth of his idea; whereas that of the other will depend on whether or not he correctly judges the given realities and their advantageous application. In this sense, the theoretical goal is his guiding star. The test of a politician's greatness is the success of his plans and enterprises–in other words, his ability to reach his goal. Conversely, the theoretician's final goal can never be reached; human thought may grasp truths and envision ends that it sees with

crystal clarity, even though such ends can never be completely fulfilled because human nature is weak and imperfect. The more correct an idea is in the abstract, and therefore, the more powerful, the smaller the chance of putting it into practice–at least as far as this depends on human beings. The significance of a theoretician doesn't depend on the practical success of his plans, but rather on their absolute truth and the influence they exert on the progress of humanity.

If it were otherwise, the founders of religions could never be considered the greatest men who have ever lived, because their moral aims would never be completely or even partially carried out in practice. Even the Religion of Love[68] is really no more than a faint reflection of the will of its sublime founder. But its significance lies in the orientation that it attempted to give to human civilization, ethics, and morality.

This vast difference between the functions of a theoretician and a politician is the reason why the necessary qualifications for both functions are rarely ever found in the same person. This applies especially to the so-called 'successful' politician of the smaller kind, whose activity is indeed hardly more than practicing 'the art of the possible,' as Bismarck modestly defined politics in general. If such a politician resolutely avoids great ideas, his success will be all the easier to attain; and it will be quicker and more tangible. By reason of this very fact, however, such success is doomed to futility, and sometimes doesn't even survive the death of its author. Generally speaking, the work of politicians is insignificant for following generation, because their temporary success is based on the expediency of avoiding all truly great and profound problems and ideas–the very things that would have been valuable to future generations.

To pursue ideals that will still be of value and significance for the future is generally not a very profitable undertaking. He who follows such a course is only very rarely understood by the masses, who find beer and milk a more persuasive index of political values than far-sighted plans for the future–which are

[68] That is, Christianity.

realized only much later, and whose benefits are reaped only by posterity.

Because of a certain vanity–which is always a cousin of stupidity–the general run of politicians will always avoid those schemes for the future that are very difficult to put into practice. And they will practice this avoidance so as to not lose the immediate favor of the mob. The success and importance of such politicians belong exclusively to the present; they will be of no consequence for the future. But that doesn't worry smallminded people, who are quite content with momentary results.

The position of the theoretician is quite different. The importance of his work must always be judged from the standpoint of the future. He is frequently described by the word *weltfremd*, or unworldly. While the art of the politician is the art of the possible, the theoretician belongs to those who are said to please the gods, only because they demand the impossible. Such men will always have to renounce present-day fame; but if their ideas are immortal, posterity will grant them its reward.

Over long spans of human progress, it may occasionally happen that the politician and theoretician are one. The more intimate this union, the greater the obstacles that the activity of the politician will have to face. Such a man doesn't labor for the purpose of satisfying demands that are obvious to every shopkeeper, but he reaches out towards ends that can be understood only by the few. His life is thus tom apart by hatred and love. The protest of his contemporaries, who don't understand him, is in conflict with the recognition of posterity, for whom he also works.

8.4 MARATHON RUNNERS OF HISTORY

The greater the work that a man does for the future, the less he will be appreciated by his contemporaries. His struggle will be all harder, and his success rarer. If, in the course of centuries, such a man appears who is blessed with success, then, towards the end of his days, he may have a faint vision of his future fame. But such great men are only the marathon runners of history. The laurels of contemporary fame are only for the brow of the dying hero.

The great warriors are those who fight for their ideas and ideals, despite the fact that they receive no recognition from their contemporaries. They are the men whose memories will be enshrined in the hearts of future generations. It almost seems as if each person felt a duty to atone for the wrongs committed against such great men. Their lives and their work are then studied with admiring gratitude and emotion. Especially in dark days of distress, such men have the power to heal broken hearts and elevate despairing souls.

To this group belong not only the genuinely great statesmen but all the great reformers as well. Beside Frederick the Great we have such men as Martin Luther and Richard Wagner.

8.5 FIGHT AGAINST INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CAPITAL

When I heard Gottfried Feder's first lecture on 'breaking interest-slavery,' I understood immediately that here was a truth of transcendental importance for the future of the German people. The absolute separation of stock exchange capital from the national economy would make it possible to oppose the internationalization of the German economy without at the same time attacking capital per se. Doing so would jeopardize the foundations of our national independence. I clearly saw what was developing in Germany, and I realized then that the hardest battle we would have to fight would not be against the enemy nations, but against international capital. In Feder's speech I found an effective rallying-cry for our corning struggle.

The struggle against international finance capital and loan-capital has become one of the most important points in the program of the German nation's fight for economic independence and freedom.

Regarding the objections raised by so-called practical people, the following answer must suffice: All fears concerning the terrible economic consequences that would follow the abolition of interest-capital slavery are superfluous. In the first place, the economic principles followed thus far have proven nearly fatal to

the interests of the German people. This situation recalls similar advice once given by experts in earlier times–such as the Bavarian Medical College, on the question of introducing railroads. None of the fears expressed by that august body of experts were realized. Those who travelled in the coaches of the new ‘steam horse’ didn’t get dizzy. Those who looked on didn’t become ill. And the board fences that were erected to conceal the new invention were eventually taken down. Only those board fences that obscured the vision of the so-called 'experts' were preserved for posterity.

In the second place, the following must be noted: Any idea may be a source of danger if it is seen as an end in itself, when really it's only the means to an end. For me and all true National Socialists, there is only one doctrine: People and Fatherland.

We have to fight to safeguard the existence and reproduction of our race and people, the sustenance of our children, the purity of our blood, and the freedom and independence of the Fatherland. Only then may our people fulfill the mission assigned to them by the creator of the universe.

All ideas and ideals, all teaching and all knowledge, must serve these ends. Everything must be examined from this viewpoint and turned to practical uses, or else discarded. Thus a theory can never become a mere dead doctrine, since everything must serve life.

Thus it was that Gottfried Feder's conclusions caused me to make a fundamental study of a question with which I had previously not been very familiar.

I began to study again, and thus it was that I came to truly understand the substance and purpose of the life–work of the Jew Karl Marx. His *Capital* became intelligible to me now for the first time.[69] I now exactly understood the Social Democrats’ fight against national economics-a fight that was to prepare the ground for the hegemony of a true international and stock exchange capital.

[69] Marx's book *Das Kapital* (‘Capital’) was initially published in 1867.

8.6 THE 'EDUCATIONAL OFFICER'

In another direction too, this course of lectures had important consequences for me.

One day I asked to speak. Another participant felt obligated to break a lance for the Jews, and entered into a lengthy defense of them. This aroused my opposition. An overwhelming majority supported my views. The consequence of it all was that, a few days later, I was assigned to a regiment then stationed at Munich, and given a position there as a so-called 'educational officer.'

At that time, the discipline of the troops was rather weak. It was still suffering from the after-effects of the period when the soldiers' councils were in control. Only gradually and carefully was it possible to replace 'voluntary obedience'–a cute name given by Kurt Eisner's pig-sty of a regime–with a spirit of military discipline and subordination. The soldiers had to be taught to think and feel in a national and patriotic way. In these two directions lay my future line of action.

I began my work with the greatest enthusiasm and love. Here I was presented with an opportunity to speak before quite a large audience. I was now able to confirm what I had previously merely felt: I could 'speak.' My voice had become so much better that I could be clearly understood in all parts of the small squadron hall.

No task could have been more pleasing to me than this. Now, before being discharged, I was in a position to render useful service to an institution that was infinitely dear to my heart: the army.

I can now say that my talks were successful. During the course of my lectures, I led hundreds and even thousands of my fellow countrymen back to their people and Fatherland. I 'nationalized' these troops, and in doing so I helped to restore general discipline.

Here again I made the acquaintance of several like-minded comrades, who later came to form the core of the new movement.

CHAPTER 9
THE "GERMAN WORKERS' PARTY"

One day I received an order from my superiors to investigate the nature of an apparently political association. It called itself "The German Workers' Party," and was soon to hold a meeting at which Gottfried Feder would speak.[70] I was ordered to attend this meeting and report on the situation.

The curiosity of the army authorities toward political parties can be very well understood. The revolution gave the soldiers the right to take an active part in politics, and it was particularly those with the least experience who made the most of this right. But when the Center and the Social Democratic parties were forced to recognize that the soldiers' sympathies had turned away from the revolutionary parties and towards the national movement and reawakening, they felt obligated to withdraw the right to vote from the army and to forbid it all political activity.

The fact that the Center and Marxism adopted this policy was instructive, because if they hadn't thus curtailed 'civil rights'–as they called the political rights of the soldiers after the revolution-the 'November State' would have been overthrown within a few years, and thus the dishonor and disgrace of the nation wouldn't have been prolonged. At that time, the soldiers were on the verge of ridding the nation of the bloodsuckers and henchmen who served the cause of the Entente within our country. But the fact that the so-called 'national' parties voted enthusiastically for the doctrinaire policy of the November criminals also helped to render the army ineffective as an instrument of national restoration; it thus showed once again where men might be led by the purely

[70] *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*, or DAP. This would be the forerunner of the National Socialist DAP, or NSDAP. To its detractors, it was the "Nazi" party.

doctrinaire ideas accepted by these most gullible people.

The bourgeois middle classes became so senile that they sincerely believed the army could once again become what it had previously been, namely, a stronghold of German power. The Center and Marxism intended only to extract the poisonous fang of nationalism, without which an army must always remain just a police force, and can never be a military organization capable of fighting against the enemy. This truth was amply proved by subsequent events.

Or did our 'national politicians' believe that the development of our army could be other than national? This might have been possible, and could be explained by the fact that, during the war, they weren't soldiers but talkers; in other words, parliamentarians. As such, they didn't have the slightest idea of what was in the hearts of those men who remembered the greatness of their own past, and that they were once the best soldiers in the world.

9.1 THE "GERMAN WORKERS' PARTY"

I decided to attend the meeting of this party, which had previously been entirely unknown to me.

When I arrived that evening in the 'guest room' of the former Stemecker Brewery in Munich, I found approximately 20 to 25 people present, most of them belonging to the lower classes.

The theme of Feder's lecture was already familiar to me, so I could therefore focus my attention on the organization itself.

The impression was neither good nor bad–a new organization, just like any other. In those days, everyone felt called upon to form a new party whenever he was unhappy with the course of events and lost confidence in the existing parties. Thus it was that new associations sprang up all around, only to disappear just as quickly. Generally speaking, the founders of such associations didn't have the slightest idea of what it means to bring together a number of people for the formation of a party or a movement. Therefore, these associations disappeared because of their utter lack of anything like an adequate grasp of the necessities of the situation.

My opinion of the "German Workers' Party" was no different. I was glad when Feder finally came to a close. I had observed enough and was just about to leave when an open discussion period was announced; I decided to stay. At first this was just more of the same, when suddenly a 'professor' began to speak. He opened by throwing doubt on the accuracy of what Feder had said, and then–after Feder's able reply–the professor suddenly began arguing on what he called 'the basis of facts.' He recommended that the young party take up 'secession' from 'Prussia.' In a most self-assured way, this man kept insisting that German-Austria should join Bavaria, and that the peace would then function much better…and other nonsense. At this point, I felt bound to ask for permission to speak and to tell the learned gentleman what I thought. As a result, and even before I finished, he slipped out of the hall like a wet poodle. While I spoke, the audience listened with an astonished expression on their faces. When I was just about to say good night to the assembly and leave, a man came after me quickly and introduced himself (I didn't quite catch his name). He placed a little booklet in my hand, which was obviously a political pamphlet, and asked me very urgently to read it.

I was quite pleased; in this way, I could come to know about this association without having to attend its tiresome meetings. Moreover, this apparent workman made a good impression on me.[71] I then left the hall.

At that time, I was living in one of the barracks of the 2nd Infantry Regiment. I had a little room that still bore the unmistakable traces of the revolution. During the day I was mostly out, with the 41st Rifle Regiment, or otherwise attending meetings or lectures held elsewhere. I spent only the night in my room. Since I usually woke up about 5 :00 every morning, I got into the habit of amusing myself by watching little mice playing around in my small room. I placed a few pieces of hard bread or crust on the floor and watched the funny little creatures playing around and enjoying themselves with these delicacies. I had suffered so much poverty in my own life that I well knew what hunger was, and I

[71] The worker turned out to be Anton Drexler, one of the original founders of the DAP.

could thus imagine the pleasure of these little creatures.

The next morning, around 5:00 AM, I was fully awake in bed, watching the mice playing and vying with each other. Since I couldn't sleep, I suddenly remembered the booklet that the worker had given me. I began to read. It was a small pamphlet, of which this worker was the author. He described how his mind had thrown off the shackles of Marxist and trade-union phraseology, and that he came back to nationalist ideals. That was the reason why he had entitled his little book: *My Political Awakening*.[72] The pamphlet grabbed my attention the moment I began to read, and I read it with interest to the end. The process described was similar to that which I had experienced in my own case, 12 years earlier. Unconsciously, my own development came again to mind. During that day, my thoughts returned several times to what I had read; but eventually I forgot about it. A week or so later, however, I received a postcard that informed me, to my astonishment, that I had been admitted to the DAP. I was asked to reply to this communication and to attend a meeting of the Party Committee the next Wednesday.

This method of 'winning' members amazed me, and I didn't know whether to be angry or laugh. I had no intention of joining any existing party, but wanted to found one of my own. It was presumptuous of them to ask and, for me, completely out of the question.

I was about to send a written reply when curiosity got the better of me, and I decided to attend the gathering on the assigned date, so that I might explain my principles to these gentlemen in person.

9.2 THE 'COMMITTEE MEETING'

Wednesday came. The tavern in which the meeting was to take place was the Alte Rosenbad in the Herrnstrasse–a run-down place with very few guests. This wasn't very surprising in 1919, when the menus of even the larger restaurants were only very modest and scanty. But I had never before heard of this business.

[72] *Mein Politisches Erwachen*, by Anton Drexler (1920; E. Boepple, Munich).

I went through the badly-lighted guest room, where not a single guest was to be seen, and opened the door to the back room; there I found the 'session.' In the dim light of a grimy gas lamp, I could see four young people sitting around a table, one of them the author of the pamphlet. He greeted me cordially and welcomed me as a new member of the DAP.

I was somewhat taken aback. I was then informed that the 'national chairman' had not yet arrived; I decided that I would withhold my own ideas for the time being. Finally the chairman appeared. He was the same chairman as in the Stemecker Brewery, when Feder spoke

My curiosity was growing, and I sat waiting for what was to come. Now at least I learned the names of the gentlemen. The chairman of the 'national organization' was a certain Herr Harrer;[73] and the leader of the Munich district was Anton Drexler.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read out, and a vote of confidence in the secretary was passed. Then came the treasurer's report. The association possessed a total of seven marks and 50 pfennigs, whereupon the treasurer was assured that he had the confidence of the members. This was now inserted in the minutes. Then the chairman's replies to a number of letters were read: first, to a letter received from Kiel, then to one from Düsseldorf, and finally to one from Berlin. Everyone expressed approval. Then the incoming letters were read: one from Berlin, one from Düsseldorf, and one from Kiel–all resulting in great satisfaction. This was taken as the best and most obvious sign of the growing importance of the DAP. And then–there followed a long discussion of the replies to be given.

Terrible, terrible! This was tedious bureaucracy of the worst sort. And was I to join such a club?

Next came the question of new members–that is to say, the question of my capture.

I now began to ask questions. But I found that, apart from a few general principles, there was nothing: no program, no pamphlet,

[73] Karl Harrer (1890-1926) was a journalist and early founder of the DAP. He parted ways with Hitler not long after their initial meeting, and died soon thereafter at age 36.

nothing at all in print, no membership cards, not even a party stamp; only clear good faith and good intentions.

I no longer felt like laughing–for what else was all this but a typical sign of the most complete helplessness and total despair of all political parties, their programs, and their activities?

The feeling that induced those few young men to join in what seemed such a ridiculous enterprise was nothing but the call of an inner voice. It told them, more intuitively than consciously, that the whole party system as it existed was incapable of raising up the German nation or repairing the inner wounds. I quickly read through the list of principles that formed the party platform. These were stated on typewritten sheets. Here again I found evidence of a spirit of longing and searching, but no sign whatsoever of a knowledge of the conflict that had to be fought.

I myself had experienced the feelings that inspired those people: it was the longing for a movement that would be more than a party, in the usual sense of that word.

When I returned to the barracks that evening, I had formed a definite opinion of that association.

I was facing the hardest question of my life: Should I join this party, or should I decline?

9.3 A FINAL DECISION

Rationally, every consideration urged me to decline; but my feelings troubled me. The more I tried to prove to myself how senseless this club was, on the whole, the more my feelings inclined me to favor it.

In the days to follow, I was restless.

I began to consider all the pros and cons. I had long ago decided to take an active part in politics. It was clear that I could do so only through a new movement; but I had previously lacked the impulse to take concrete action. I'm not one of those people who will begin something one day and give it up the next, just for the sake of something new. That was the main reason why it was so difficult for me to decide to join such an organization. This would have to be the fulfillment of my goals, or else I shouldn't do it at all. I

knew that such a decision would bind me forever, and that there could be no turning back. This was no idle game, but rather a serious and ardent cause. Even then I had an instinctive revulsion against people who took up everything, but never carried anything through to the end. I loathed these jacks-of-all-trades, and considered the activities of such people to be worse than doing nothing at all.

Fate itself now seemed to point the way. I would never have entered one of the big existing parties; I'll explain my reasons for this later on. This absurd little group, with its handful of members, seemed to have the unique advantage of not yet being frozen into an 'organization.' It still offered a chance for real personal activity on the part of the individual. Here it might still be possible to do some effective work; and, as the movement was still small, one could all the easier give it the proper shape. Here it was still possible to determine the character of the movement, the aims to be achieved, and the road to be taken; all of this would have been impossible in the big parties.

The longer I reflected on the situation, the more my opinion developed that just such a small movement could best serve to prepare the way for a national resurgence. This could never be done by the political parliamentary parties, which were too firmly attached to obsolete ideas or had an interest in supporting the new regime. What had to be proclaimed here was a new worldview, and not a new election slogan.

It was, however, infinitely more difficult to turn this intention into reality.

What qualifications did I bring to this task?

The fact that I was poor and without resources could, in my opinion, be the easiest to bear. But the fact that I was utterly unknown raised a more difficult problem. I was only one of the millions that Chance allowed to exist, whom even their next-door neighbors will not consent to know. And another difficulty arose from my lack of schooling.

The so-called 'intellectuals' still look down with limitless disdain on anyone who hasn't been through the prescribed schools, and had the necessary knowledge pumped into them. The question

has never been, What can a man do?, but rather, What has he learned? 'Educated' people look upon any idiot who is plastered with diplomas as superior to the ablest young man who lacks these precious documents. I could therefore easily imagine how this 'educated' world would receive me, and I was wrong only insofar as I then believed men to be better than they proved to be, in the harsh light of reality. Because they are this way, the few exceptions stand out all the more brightly. I learned more and more to distinguish between the eternal students and those who are the true men of ability.

After two days of careful brooding and reflection, I became convinced that I must take the step.

It was the most fateful decision of my life.

There was and could be no turning back.

Thus I registered as a member of the German Worker's Party, and received a provisional membership card, with the number: seven.

CHAPTER 10
CAUSES OF THE COLLAPSE

The depth of a fall is always measured by the difference between the level of a body's original position and that in which it now exists. The same holds good for nations and states. The matter of greatest importance here is the height of the original level, or rather the greatest height that was attained before the descent began. Only that which is capable of extraordinary heights can experience a profound decline or collapse. The collapse of the Reich[74] was so difficult and terrible because it had fallen from a height that can hardly be imagined in these days of misery and humiliation.

The Reich was founded in circumstances of such dazzling splendor that the whole nation had become entranced. Following an unparalleled series of victories, an empire was born for the children and grandchildren of the heroes. Whether they were conscious of it or not doesn't matter. What matters is that the Germans all felt that this empire had not been brought into existence by a series of parliamentary maneuvers, but by reason of the noblest circumstances. Its foundations were laid not amidst parliamentary debates but with the thunder and boom of war along the front that encircled Paris. It was thus that an act of statesmanship was accomplished whereby the German princes and people established the future Reich, and restored the symbol of the imperial crown. Bismarck's state was not founded on treason and assassination by deserters and slackers but by the regiments that had fought at the front.

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[74] Throughout *Mein Kampf*, Hitler uses the word Reich to refer to what he would later call the 'Second Reich,' or the reign of Hohenzollerns (1871-1918), initiated by Otto von Bismarck. The First Reich was the Holy Roman Empire, which lasted from 962 to 1806. The phrase 'Third Reich' was coined in 1923, and only later, after 1933, was appropriated by the National Socialists.

This unique birth and baptism of fire surrounded the Reich with a halo of historical splendor such as only the oldest states-seldom-could do.

And what an ascent now began!

Autonomy guaranteed the daily bread. The nation became rich in people and in worldly goods. The honor of the state–and thereby of the people as a whole–were secured and protected by an army that was the most striking witness of the difference between this new Reich and the old German Confederation.

10.1 THE SIGN OF COLLAPSE

The downfall of the Reich and the German people has been so profound that they all seem to have been dumb-struck and rendered incapable of feeling its significance. People can scarcely remember the former heights, whose greatness and majesty are in such contrast to our present misery.

It is therefore understandable that people are so dazed by the sublime that they forget to look for the signs of the great collapse, which must certainly have been present in some form or other.

Naturally this applies only to those for whom Germany was more than merely a source of income. These are the only people able to feel the present conditions as really catastrophic, whereas the others have considered these conditions as the fulfillment of something they had long sought and wished for.

The signs of future collapse were certainly there in those earlier days, although very few made any attempt to draw a practical lesson from them.

But today this is more necessary than ever.

Just as bodily diseases can be cured only when their origin has been diagnosed, so too with political disease. It's obvious that the external symptoms of any disease can be more readily detected than its internal causes; these strike the eye more easily. This is also the reason why so many people recognize only external effects and mistake them for causes. Indeed they will sometimes try to deny the existence of such causes. And that's why the majority of people among us recognize the German collapse only

in terms of the prevailing economic distress and its consequences. Almost everyone has to carry his share of this burden, and that's why each one looks on the economic catastrophe as the cause of the present deplorable state of affairs. The broad masses of people see little of the cultural, political, and moral background of this collapse. Many of them completely lack both the necessary feeling and intellect to understand it.

That the masses should hold such a view is quite understandable. But the fact that intelligentsia regard the German collapse primarily as an 'economic catastrophe,' and consequently that a cure requires an economic solution, seems to me the reason why any recovery has been thus far impossible. No improvement can be brought about until it is understood that economics play only a second–or third-rate role, while the primary factors are politics, morality, and blood. Only when this is understood will it be possible to understand the causes of the present evil, and thus to find the ways and means of curing them.

Therefore the question of why Germany really collapsed is one of decisive importance, especially for a political movement that aims at overcoming this defeat.

In scrutinizing the past, we must be careful not to be overly impressed by external results that readily strike the eye, while ignoring the less visible causes of these results.

10.2 THE CAUSES OF COLLAPSE

The most facile, and therefore the most widely-accepted way of accounting for the present misfortune is to say that it's the result of a lost war, and that the World War was therefore the real cause.

Probably there are many who honestly believe this nonsense, but there are many more in whose mouths this is a lie and a conscious falsehood. This applies to all those who are now feeding at the government troughs. For didn't the prophets of the revolution repeatedly declare to the people that the outcome of the war would be immaterial to the great masses? On the contrary, didn't they solemnly assure the public that it was 'big capital' that was principally interested in a victorious outcome of this gigantic

struggle–but never the German people or the German workers? Indeed didn't these apostles of world conciliation habitually assert that, far from any German downfall, the opposite was bound to take place: namely, that the German nation would be resurrected, once 'militarism' had been destroyed? Didn't these circles sing the praises of the Entente, and did they not also lay the whole blame for the bloody struggle on Germany? Without this explanation, would they have been able to put forth the theory that a military defeat would have no political consequences for the German people? Wasn't the whole revolution dressed up in gala colors as preventing a victory of the German flag, and thus that the German people would be assured of freedom, both at home and abroad?

Isn't that so, you miserable, lying scoundrels?

It takes a typically Jewish impudence to proclaim the defeat of the army as the cause of the collapse. Indeed, the Berlin *Vorwärts*, that organ and mouthpiece of sedition, wrote that the German nation should not be permitted to bring home its banner triumphantly!

And yet they attribute our collapse to this?

Of course it would be pointless to argue with these forgetful liars. I would waste no further words on them, were it not for the fact that there are many thoughtless people who parrot this nonsense without being necessarily inspired by any evil motives. But this discussion is also meant for our fighting followers, given that nowadays one's spoken words are often twisted in their meaning.

The assertion that the loss of the war was the cause of the German collapse can best be answered as follows:

It is admittedly a fact that the loss of the war was of tragic importance for the future of our Fatherland. But that loss was not in itself a cause. It was rather the consequence of other causes. It was clear to every straight thinker that a disastrous ending to this life-or-death conflict would involve catastrophic consquences. But unfortunately there were also people whose reasoning seemed to fail them at that critical moment. And there were others who had first questioned that truth and then denied it altogether. And

there were people who, after their secret desire was fulfilled, were suddenly faced with the catastrophe that they themselves helped to bring about. They are guilty of the collapse–and not the lost war, though they now want to attribute everything to this.

As a matter of fact, the loss of the war was a result of their activities and not of 'bad' leadership, as they now would like to maintain. Our enemies were not cowards. They also knew how to die. From the very first day of the war, they outnumbered the German army, and the arsenals and armament factories of the whole world were at their disposal for the replenishment of military equipment. Indeed, it is universally admitted that the German victories that were steadily won during four years of warfare against the whole world were due to superior leadership, apart of course from the heroism of the troops. This cannot be denied. The organization and leadership of the German army was the mightiest thing that the world had ever seen. Any evident shortcomings were humanly unavoidable.

The collapse of that army was not the cause of our present distress. It was itself the consequence of other crimes. But this consequence in turn ushered in a further collapse, which was more visible.

That this was true can be shown as follows:

Must a military defeat necessarily lead to such a complete overthrow of the state and the nation? Since when has this been the result of an unlucky war? As a matter of fact, are nations ever ruined by a lost war, and by that alone?

The answer to this question can be briefly stated: military defeats are the result of internal decay, cowardice, lack of character, and in short, unworthiness. If these were not the causes, then a military defeat would lead to a national resurgence, and bring the nation to a higher pitch of effort. A military defeat is not the tombstone of national life.

History offers many examples to confirm the truth of that statement.

Unfortunately, Germany's military defeat wasn't an undeserved catastrophe, but a well-merited punishment that was in the nature of an eternal retribution. We more than deserved this defeat. It

represented the greatest external sign of decay among a series of internal symptoms, which, although they were visible, weren't recognized by the majority of the people, who are like ostriches and see only what they want to see.

10.3 EVERY THIRD GERMAN IS A TRAITOR

Let’s examine the symptoms that were evident at the time that the German people accepted this defeat. Isn't it true that, in several circles, the Fatherland's misfortunes were even welcomed with a shameless joy? Who could act in such a way without thereby earning the right to be punished? Weren't there people who even went further and boasted that they had caused the front to waver? And these things weren't done by the enemy–no, no–but rather our own countrymen!

Did they suffer misfortune unjustly? Was there ever a case in history where a people declared itself guilty of a war? And that, even against better judgment and better knowledge!

No, and again no. From the way that the German nation reacted to its defeat, we can see that the real cause of our collapse must be sought elsewhere, and not in the purely military loss of a few positions or the failure of an offensive. For if the front had given way and thus brought about a national disaster, then the German nation would have accepted the defeat in quite another spirit. They would have borne the subsequent misfortune with clenched teeth, or they would have been overwhelmed by grief. Regret and fury would have filled their hearts against an enemy who was given victory by a chance event or by the will of fate. And in that case, the nation, following the example of the Roman Senate, would have greeted the defeated divisions on their return and expressed their thanks for the sacrifices that were made, and would have requested them not to lose faith in the Reich.[75] Even the capitulation would have been signed under the sway of calm

[75] Hitler seems to conflate two separate events in Roman history. In 390 BC, in the face of the invading Gauls, the Senators placed themselves on the main road into the city, hoping to sacrifice themselves and thus to assuage the enemy. Later, after the Roman loss to Hannibal at Cannae in 216 BC, the Roman citizens turned out to greet and thank the commander Varro because he fought nobly for the Republic.

reason, while the heart would have beaten in the hope of a coming resurrection.

This is the reception that would have been given to a military defeat due only to the adverse decree of fate. There would have been neither laughing nor dancing. There would have been no boasting of cowardice, nor any honoring of defeat. The returning troops wouldn't have been mocked, and the banner wouldn't have been dragged in the mud. But above all, we would never have had that disgraceful state of affairs in which a British officer, Colonel Repington, declared with scorn: "Every third German is a traitor!" No, this plague would never have become a veritable flood that, for the past five years, has drowned every bit of respect for the German nation in the world.

This shows only too clearly what a lie it is to say that the loss of the war was the cause of the German collapse. No–the military defeat was itself but the consequence of a whole series of morbid symptoms and their causes that were present in the German nation before the war broke out. The war was the catastrophic consequence, visible to all, of an ethical and moral poisoning, and of a degeneration of the instinct for self-preservation. These were the preliminary causes that, for many years, had been undermining the foundations of the nation and the Reich.

10.4 MORAL DISARMAMENT OF A DANGEROUS ACCUSER

It required the entire bottomless falsehood of the Jews, and their fighting comrades the Marxists, to lay blame for the collapse precisely on the man who alone had shown a superhuman will and energy in his effort to prevent the catastrophe that he had foreseen, and to save the nation from that time of humiliation and disgrace. By placing sole blame for the loss of the World War on Ludendorff, they took away the weapon of moral right from the only adversary dangerous enough to be likely to succeed against the betrayers of the Fatherland.

All this was inspired by the unquestionably true principle that in the Big Lie there is always a certain degree of credibility,

because the broad masses of a nation are always more easily corrupted in the very bottom of their hearts than consciously or voluntarily. And in the primitive simplicity of their minds, they more readily fall victims to the Big Lie than the small lie, since they themselves often tell small lies in little matters, but would be ashamed to resort to large-scale falsehoods. It would never occur to them to fabricate colossal untruths, and they would not believe that others could have the impudence to distort the truth so infamously.

Even though the facts that prove this are clear, they will still doubt and waver, and will continue to think that there must be some other explanation. The grossly impudent lie always leaves traces behind it, even after it has stuck–a fact that is known to all artful liars in this world, and to all who conspire together in the art of lying. These people know only too well how to use falsehood for the basest of purposes.

From time immemorial, however, the Jews have known better than any others how to exploit falsehood and calumny. Their very existence is based on one great lie, namely, that they are a religious community and not a race. And what a race. One of the greatest thinkers of mankind has branded them for all time with a statement that is profoundly and precisely true: he called them "The great master of the lie."[76] Those who don't realize the truth of that statement, or don't wish to believe it, will never be able to lend a hand in this world to help truth prevail.

It was a great stroke of fortune for the German nation that its period of lingering sickness was so suddenly ended by a terrible catastrophe. If things had gone on as they were, the nation would have slowly but surely come to ruin. The disease would have become chronic; whereas, in the acute form, it at least showed itself clearly to a considerable number of observers. It was no

[76] Hitler quotes the philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer. In his book *Parerga and Paralipomena* (1851), Schopenhauer remarks on the historically low opinion of the Jews: "We see also from the two Roman authors [Tacitus and Justinus] how much the Jews were at all times, and by all nations, loathed and despised. This may be due partly to the fact that they were the only people on earth who did not credit man with any existence beyond this life, and were therefore regarded as cattle, as the dregs of humanity, but as past masters at telling lies" (1851/2010, vol. 2, p. 357). For further discussion see Dalton (2011b).

accident that man conquered the black plague more easily than tuberculosis. The first appeared in terrifying waves of death that shook the whole of mankind; the other advances insidiously. The first induces terror; the other, gradual indifference. The result is, however, that men opposed the first with all their energy, while they try to control tuberculosis by feeble means. Thus man has mastered the plague, while tuberculosis masters him.

The same applies to diseases in national bodies. As long as these diseases aren't of a catastrophic nature, people will slowly accustom themselves to them, and eventually succumb. It is then a stroke of luck–though a bitter one–when fate decides to intervene in this slow process of decay and suddenly brings the victim face to face with the final stage of the disease. More often than not, the result of a catastrophe is that a cure is undertaken immediately, and carried through with a firm determination.

But even in such a case, the prerequisite is always the recognition of the internal causes that created the disease in question.

10.5 TOXINS AND SYMPTOMS

The important question here is the differentiation of the root causes from the circumstances growing from them. This becomes all the more difficult the longer the toxins remain in the national body, and the longer they are allowed to become an integral part of that body. It may easily happen that, as time goes on, unquestionably harmful poisons will be accepted as belonging to the national being, or that they are tolerated as a necessary evil. In this case, it won't even be seen as necessary to locate the alien virus.

During the long period of peace prior to the last war, certain evils were evident here and there–although, with one or two exceptions, very little effort was made against the virus. Here again, these exceptions were first and foremost those economic phenomena of the nation that were more apparent to the individual consciousness than the harmful conditions existing in many other spheres.

There were many signs of decay that should have been given serious thought.

As far as economics were concerned, the following may be said:

The amazing increase of the German population before the war brought the question of providing daily bread into a more prominent position in all spheres of political and economic thought and action. Unfortunately, those responsible couldn't decide to arrive at the only correct solution, but preferred to reach their goal by cheaper methods. Renouncing the idea of acquiring fresh territory, and substituting for it a mad desire for global economic conquest, was bound to eventually lead to unlimited and harmful industrialization.

The first and most fatal consequence was a weakening of the agricultural class, whose decline was proportionate to the increase in the proletariat of the urban areas. In the end, the equilibrium was completely upset.

The big barrier dividing rich and poor now became apparent. Luxury and poverty lived so close together that the consequences were bound to be deplorable. Poverty and frequent unemployment began to wreak havoc with the people, leaving discontent and embitterment behind them. The result of this was to divide the population into political classes. Discontent increased despite commercial prosperity. Matters finally reached the point at which everyone felt that 'things can't go on as they are,' although no one seemed able to visualize what was really going to happen.

These were typical signs of the depths to which the prevailing discontent had reached.

10.6 THE RULE OF MONEY

Far worse than these, however, were other consequences that became apparent as a result of the economization of the nation.

In proportion to the degree that commerce assumed definite control of the state, money became more of a god, to whom all had to serve and bow down. Heavenly gods became more and more old-fashioned, and were stuffed away in the comers to make room for the worship of Mammon. And thus began a period of

utter degeneration. This was especially pernicious because it came at a time when the nation was at its critical hour, and more than ever needed an exalted ideal. Germany should have been prepared to protect with the sword her efforts to win her own daily bread through ‘peaceful economic labor.’

Unfortunately, the domination of money was sanctioned in the very quarter that should have opposed it. His Majesty the Kaiser made a mistake when he raised representatives of the new finance capital to the ranks of nobility. Admittedly, it may be an excuse that even Bismarck failed to realize the looming danger in this respect. In practice, however, all ideal virtues became secondary considerations to those of money; it was clear that having once taken this road, the nobility of the sword would soon rank second to the nobility of finance.

Financial operations succeed easier than military ones. Hence it was no longer inviting for a true hero or even a statesman to be brought into touch with the nearest Jewish banker. Men of real merit weren't interested in cheap decorations, and declined them with thanks. But from the standpoint of blood-purity, such a development was deeply regrettable. The nobility began to lose more and more of the racial qualities that were a condition of its very existence. In many cases, the term 'ignobility' would have been more appropriate.

10.7 INTERNATIONALIZATION THROUGH FINANCE

A serious state of economic decay occurred through the slow elimination of the right of private property, and the gradual transference of the whole economic structure into the hands of joint stock corporations.

Labor became, for the first time, degraded into an object of speculation at the hands of unscrupulous exploiters. The alienation of property ownership increased on a vast scale. The stock exchange began to triumph, making slow but sure progress in assuming control of the whole national life.

Before the war, the internationalization of the German economy

had already begun, by way of stock issues. It's true that a section of the German industrialists made a determined effort to avert the danger. But in the end, they gave way before the united attacks of greedy finance-capital, which was assisted in this fight by its faithful henchmen in the Marxist movement.

The persistent war against German 'heavy industry' was the visible start of the internationalization of German economic life, as envisioned by the Marxists. This, however, couldn't be brought to a successful conclusion until Marxism's victory in the revolution. As I write these words, the general attack on the German state railways has succeeded, which are now being handed over to international finance-capital.[77] Thus 'international' Social Democracy has once again achieved one of its main objectives.

The best evidence of how far this 'economization' of the German nation was able to go can be plainly seen in the fact that when the war was over, one of the leading captains of German industry and commerce stated that commerce as such was the only force that could put Germany on its feet again.[78] This sort of nonsense was uttered just at the time when France was restoring public education on a humanitarian basis, thus doing away with the idea that national life is dependent on commerce rather than ideal values. The statement broadcast by Stinnes to the world at that time caused incredible confusion. It was immediately adopted as a leading slogan by all the quacks and big-mouths–the 'statesmen' that destiny unleashed on Germany after the revolution.

[77] Hitler refers to the Dawes Plan, named after Charles Dawes, vice president under Calvin Coolidge. Approved in early 1924, the plan was essentially a repayment schedule for the $33 billion debt that was forced on Germany after WWI. Germany's Weimar government accepted the plan in April, which involved initial annual payments of 1 billion Marks, rising to 2.5 billion within five years. The German railway system was allocated one-third of the total debt, which it could not pay, and thus the railway was sold to a private corporation. As Hitler says, the railway was literally "handed over" to international finance capital.

[78] The industrialist was Hugo Stinnes (1870- 1924). Stinnes profited greatly during WWI, and also during Germany's hyperinflation, which had ended just prior to the time that Hitler wrote these words.

10.8 GRAVEDIGGERS OF THE MONARCHY

One of the worst symptoms of decadence in Germany before the war was the ever-increasing habit of doing things halfway. This was one of the consequences of the general insecurity of the time, and can be attributed to a certain cowardice resulting from this and other causes. This disease was aggravated by the educational system.

German education in pre-war times had an extraordinary number of weaknesses. It was simply and exclusively limited to the production of pure 'knowledge,' and paid little attention to 'ability.' Still less attention was given to the development of individual character, insofar as this is ever possible. And hardly any attention at all was paid to the development of a sense of responsibility, and to strengthening the will and the powers of decision. The result was to produce, not strong individuals, but mere 'know-it-alls'–as we Germans had come to be known before the war. The German was liked because he was useful; but he was little respected, due to a weakness of will. It is instructive to note that, among all nationalities, the Germans were the first to forgo their citizenship when they moved to a foreign country. The lovely saying, 'With hat in hand, one travels throughout the whole land,' says it all.

This kind of compliance turned out disastrous when it prescribed the exclusive way in which one could approach the monarch. One must never contradict him, and everything that he supports must be praised.

It was here that the frank expression of manly dignity, and not subservience, was most needed. Otherwise the monarchy would some day perish from all this groveling–and groveling it was, and nothing else! Only sycophants and grovelers–in short, all those decadents who are happy moving in the higher circles of royalty, rather than honest citizens–consider this the proper form of interaction! These exceedingly 'humble' creatures however, though they grovel before their master and bread-giver, invariably show the greatest arrogance towards other mortals. This was particularly impudent when they posed as the only people who had

the right to be called ‘monarchists.’ Only these newly-ennobled or yet-to-be-ennobled tapeworms could be capable of such gross impertinence!

And it has always been just such people who were the gravediggers of the monarchy and the monarchical ideal. Nothing else is conceivable. When a man is prepared to stand up for a cause, come what may, he never grovels before its representative. A man who is serious about the preservation of an institution won’t allow himself to be discouraged when the representatives of that institution show certain failings. And he certainly won't shout this to the world, as certain false democratic ‘friends’ of the monarchy have done. Rather, he will approach His Majesty, the bearer of the crown himself, to warn him of the seriousness of a situation, and persuade the monarch to act. But the man I am thinking of will deem it his duty to protect the monarchy against the monarch himself, no matter what personal risk he may run in doing so.

If the worth of the monarchical institution is dependent on the monarch himself, then it would be the worst institution imaginable. Only in rare cases are kings found to be models of wisdom and understanding, and integrity of character, as some like to claim. But this fact is unacceptable to the professional sycophants and grovelers. Yet all upright men–and they are the most valuable of the nation–reject such nonsense. For such men, history is history and truth is truth, even where monarchs are concerned. No, the good luck to possess a great king who is also a great man is so rare that the people may be thankful if an adverse fate has not allotted the worst to them.

It’s clear that the worth and significance of the monarchic ideal cannot rest in the person of the monarch alone, unless heaven decrees that the crown should rest on the head of a brilliant hero like Frederick the Great, or a wise one like Wilhelm I. This happens once in several centuries, but hardly more. The ideal of the monarchy takes precedence over the person of the monarch, inasmuch as the meaning of the institution must lie in the institution itself. Thus the monarch himself is but one whose duty it is to serve. He, too, is but a wheel in this machine, and thus is

obliged to do his duty towards it. He has to adapt himself to the fulfilment of higher goals. The 'monarchist,' then, is one who does not let the ruler debase the institution; rather, he defends it. Otherwise it would be impossible to depose an insane ruler, if everything merely centered around the 'sacred' person.

10.9 'FIGHTERS FOR THE MONARCHY'

It's vital to insist upon this truth at the present time, because recently certain individuals have appeared again, who were largely responsible responsible for the collapse of the monarchy. With a certain amount of native impudence, these persons once again talk about 'their king'–which is to say, the man whom they shamefully deserted a few years ago, at a most critical hour. Those who fail to support this chorus of lies are summarily classified as bad Germans. They who make the charge are the same class of quitters who ran away in 1918 and began wearing red badges. They thought that discretion was the better part of valor. They were indifferent about what happened to the Kaiser. They hid themselves as peaceful 'citizens,' but more often than not they vanished altogether! All of a sudden, these champions of royalty were nowhere to be found.

Cautiously, one by one, these 'servants and counsellors' of the crown reappeared, to resume their lip-service to royalty-but only after others had borne the brunt of the anti-royalist attack and rode out the revolutionary storm. And now they are all back again, wistfully remembering the fleshpots of Egypt and almost bursting with devotion for the royal cause. This will continue until the day when red badges are again in the ascendant. Then this whole ramshackle assembly of royal worshippers will scatter again, like mice from cats!

If monarchs weren't themselves responsible for such things, one could almost sympathize with them. But they must realize that, with such champions, thrones can be lost but certainly never gained.

All this servility was a mistake, and was the result of our whole educational system, which in this case brought about a particularly

severe retribution. As a result, these pathetic creatures maintained themselves at all the courts and gradually undermined the basis of the monarchy. When it finally began to totter, everyone vanished. Naturally; grovellers and lick-spittles are never willing to die for their masters. That monarchs never realize this, and almost on principle never really learn it, has always been their undoing.

10.10 COWARDICE IN THE FACE OF RESPONSIBILITY

One of the worst symptoms of decay was a growing cowardice in the face of responsibility, and the resulting weakness in dealing with problems of vital importance.

The starting point of this epidemic, however, was in our parliamentary institution, where irresponsibility is particularly cultivated. Unfortunately the disease slowly spread to all branches of everyday life, especially the sphere of public affairs. Responsibility was being shirked everywhere, and this led to insufficient or half-hearted measures being taken. Personal responsibility for each act was reduced to a minimum.

If we consider the attitude of various governments towards a whole series of really pernicious phenomena in public life, we will immediately recognize the fearful significance of this policy of half-measures and cowardice in the face of responsibility.

10.11 THREE GROUPS OF NEWSPAPER READERS

I will take only a few examples from the large number of existing cases:

In journalistic circles, they like to speak of the press as a ‘great power’ within the state. As a matter of fact, its importance is immense. One cannot easily overestimate it, for the press continues the work of adult education.

Generally, readers can be divided into three groups:

First, those who believe everything they read;

Second, those who no longer believe anything;

Third, those who critically examine what they read and form their judgments accordingly.

Numerically, the first group is by far the largest. It consists of the broad masses of the people, and therefore, intellectually, it forms the simplest part of the nation.

It cannot be classified according to occupation but only by grades of intelligence. Under this category fall all those who haven't been born to think for themselves or who haven't learned to do so, and who–partly through incompetence and partly through ignorance–believe everything they read. This group includes that type of lazy individual who, although capable of thinking for himself, absorbs what others have thought, assuming that they must have put some effort into it.

The influence of the press on all these people is therefore enormous; they are, after all, the broad masses of a nation. They aren't willing or able to personally sift through what is being served up to them, and so their whole attitude towards daily problems is almost solely the result of outside influence. All this can be advantageous where public enlightenment is provided by serious lovers of the truth, but is catastrophic when done at the hand of scoundrels and liars.

The second group is numerically smaller, being partly composed of those who were formerly in the first group, but after a series of bitter disappointments are now prepared to believe nothing of what they read. They hate all newspapers. Either they don't read them at all or they become very annoyed at their contents, which they hold to be nothing but lies and falsehoods. These people are difficult to handle; they will always be skeptical of the truth. Consequently, they are useless for any form of positive work.

The third group is easily the smallest. It's composed of real intellectuals, who have the natural aptitude and education to think for themselves. In all things, they try to form their own judgments, while at the same time carefully sifting through what they read. They won't read any newspaper without using their own intelligence to challenge the writer, and naturally this makes things difficult. Journalists 'appreciate' this type of reader only

with a large degree of caution.

For members of this third group, the nonsense served up by the newspapers isn't very dangerous or even very important. In the majority of cases, these readers have learned to regard every journalist as fundamentally a rogue who only rarely speaks the truth. Unfortunately, the value of these readers lies in their intelligence and not in their numbers–a misfortune, in a period where wisdom counts for nothing and majorities for everything! Nowadays, when the ballots of the masses are the deciding factor, the decision lies in the hands of the numerically strongest group–which is to say, the first group: the crowd of simpletons and the credulous.

10.12 STATE AND PRESS

It is an overriding interest of the state and nation to prevent these people from falling into the hands of bad, ignorant, or even vicious-minded teachers. Therefore it is the duty of the state to supervise their education and prevent every form of mischief. Particular attention should be paid to the press. Its influence on these people is by far the strongest and most penetrating of all, because its effect is not transitory but continual. Its immense significance lies in the uniform and persistent repetition of its teaching. Here, if anywhere, the state should never forget that all means should serve the same end. It must not be led astray by the drivel of so-called 'freedom of the press,' or be talked into neglecting its duty, and withholding from the nation that which is good and which does good. With ruthless determination, the state must keep control of this instrument of popular education and place it at the service of the state and the nation.

But what dish did that German press serve up to its readers, in pre-war days? Was it not the worst poison imaginable? Wasn't the worst form of pacifism injected into our people at a time when others were preparing, slowly but surely, to pounce upon Germany? Even in peacetime, didn't this self-same press of ours already instill into the public mind a doubt as to the sovereign rights of the state itself, thereby limiting its means of defense?

Wasn't it the German press that understood how to make all this nonsense about ‘western democracy’ palatable to our people, until an enthusiastic public was eventually prepared to entrust its future to the League of Nations? Wasn’t this press responsible for promoting moral decay? Weren't morals and public decency made to look ridiculous and old-fashioned, until our people finally became ‘modem’? By means of persistent attacks, didn't the press continue to undermine the authority of the state, until a single blow sufficed to bring this institution down? Didn't the press oppose with all its might every movement to give the state that which belongs to the state? Didn’t it continually criticize the military, thus injuring its reputation, sabotage the draft, demand refusal of military credits, etc., until the result was inevitable?

10.13 JEWISH PRESS TACTICS

The function of the so-called liberal press was to dig a grave for the German people and the German Reich. We need not mention the lying papers of the Marxist press; for them, lying is as much a vital necessity as the mouse is to a cat. Their sole task is to break the national backbone of the people, thus preparing the nation to become the slaves of international capital and its masters, the Jews.

And what did the state do to counteract this mass poisoning of the nation? Nothing, absolutely nothing at all! A few silly decrees, a few fines for criminality, and that was it. By this policy, they hoped to win the favor of this plague by means of flattery, with a recognition of the ‘value’ of the press, its ‘importance,’ its ‘educational mission,’ and similar nonsense. The Jews acknowledged all this with a knowing smile and a sly thanks.

The reason for this disgraceful failure on the part of the state lay not so much in its refusal to realize the danger, as in the cowardly way of meeting the situation through half-hearted decisions and measures. No one had the courage to employ any thoroughly radical methods. Everyone piddled around with halfway prescriptions. Thus, instead of striking at its heart, they only irritated the viper. The result was that not only did everything

remain the same, but the power of the institutions that should have been combated grew stronger year by year.

The government's defense in those days, against a mainly Jewish-controlled press that was slowly corrupting the nation, followed no definite line of action; it was lacking in resolve and, above all, had no fixed goal in view. This is where official understanding of the situation completely failed: in estimating the importance of the struggle, in choosing the means, and in deciding on a definite plan. They merely tinkered with the problem. Occasionally, when bitten, they imprisoned a journalistic viper for a few weeks or months, but the whole snakes' nest was allowed to carry on unmolested.

10.14 THE 'RESPECTABLE' PRESS

It must be admitted that all this was the result of, on the one hand, extraordinarily crafty tactics on the part of Jewry, and on the other, an obviously official stupidity or naivete. The Jew was too clever to allow a simultaneous attack on the whole of his press. No: one section served as cover for the other.

In the most despicable manner possible, the Marxist newspapers reviled everything that was sacred, furiously attacking the state and government and inciting certain classes of the community against each other. At the same time, the Jewish bourgeois-democratic papers knew how to camouflage themselves as models of objectivity. They studiously avoided harsh language, knowing well that blockheads can only judge external appearances and never penetrate to the real depth and meaning of anything. They measure the worth of something by its exterior and not its content. The press owes its esteem to this human frailty.

For these people, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* was the essence of respectability. It always carefully avoided coarse language. It rejected the use of every form of physical force, and persistently appealed to the nobility of fighting with 'intellectual' weapons–an idea that was, curiously enough, most popular with the least intellectual classes. This is one of the results of our half-education,

which turns people away from the instinct of nature, and pumps them with a certain amount of knowledge without being able to create a complete understanding. To this end, diligence and good will are useless; it requires a necessary, inborn intelligence.

Man must never fall into the insanity of thinking that he was meant to become lord and master of nature, which a half-education has helped to encourage. Man must realize the fundamental necessity of nature's rule, and realize that his existence is subject to the law of eternal strift and upward struggle. He will then feel that there cannot be a separate law for mankind in a universe in which planets orbit suns, moons orbit planets, and where the strong are always the masters of the weak–subjecting them to such laws, or crushing them. Man must submit to the eternal principles of this supreme wisdom. He may try to understand them, but he can never free himself from their sway.

It's for just such intellectual hedonists that the Jew writes his so-called intellectual press. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* and *Berliner Tageblatt* are written for them; the tone is adapted to them, and it is on them that such papers have an influence. While studiously avoiding all crude forms of expression, poison is injected from other vials into the hearts of the readers. The effervescent tone and the fine phraseology lull the readers into believing that a love for knowledge and moral principle is the sole driving force of such papers-whereas in reality these features represent a cunning way of disarming any opposition that might be directed against the press.

They make such a parade of respectability that the soft-headed readers are all the more ready to believe that the papers' excesses are only of a mild nature, and insufficient to warrant legal action being taken against them. Such action, they say, would lead to a violation of press freedom-a euphemism for lying to and poisoning the people. Hence the authorities are very slow to take any steps against these bandits for fear of immediately alienating the 'respectable' press–a fear that's all too well grounded. The moment any attempt is made to proceed against a member of the gutter press, all the others rush to its assistance–not to support its policy, God forbid, but simply and solely to defend the principle

of freedom of the press and of public opinion. This outcry will succeed in cowering even the staunchest critic, because it comes from the mouths of the 'respectable' papers.

And so this poison was allowed to enter the national bloodstream and infect public life without the government taking any action to control the disease. The ridiculous half-measures that were taken were, in themselves, are proof of a decay that was already threatening to break-up the Reich. An institution practically surrenders its existence when it no longer has the resolve to defend itself with all available weapons. Every half-measure is the outward expression of an inner process of decay, one that must eventually lead to an external collapse.

I believe that our present generation could easily master this danger, if they were rightly led. It has gone through certain experiences that surely strengthened the nerves of all those who didn't lose them completely. In days to come, the Jew will surely raise a tremendous cry in his newspapers, if a hand is laid on his favorite nest, if a move is made to end this press mischief, and if this tool of education is brought under state control and no longer left in the hands of aliens and enemies of the people. I believe that this will be easier for us than it was for our fathers. A 30-cm shell hisses louder than a thousand Jewish newspaper vipers–so let them hiss!

10.15 SYPHILIS

A further example of the weak and half-hearted way in which vital national problems were dealt with in pre-war Germany is the following: Parallel to the political, ethical, and moral infection of the nation has been, for many years, an equally virulent process of poisoning the public health. Particularly in large cities, syphilis has steadily increased, and tuberculosis has steadily reaped its harvest of death in almost every part of the country.

Although in both cases the effect on the nation was alarming, it seemed as if no one was able to undertake any decisive measures against these scourges.

In the case of syphilis especially, the attitude of state and

governmental leaders was one of absolute capitulation. To combat it, something far more sweeping was required. The discovery of a questionable remedy, and its commercial exploitation, were only of little assistance in fighting this plague. Here again, the only correct course is to attack the disease in its causes rather than its symptoms. The cause lies mainly in the prostitution of love. Even if it didn't directly bring about this frightful plague, it would still be deeply harmful to the people; the moral havoc resulting from this degeneracy would be sufficient to bring about the destruction of the nation, slowly but surely.

This Judaizing of our spiritual life and mammonizing of our mating instinct will sooner or later ruin our future offspring. The vigorous children of a natural, emotional bond will be replaced by miserable specimens of financial expediency. Economic considerations are more and more becoming the basis and sole prerequisite for marriage. And love must then find its outlet somewhere else.

Here, as elsewhere, one may defy Nature for a certain period of time; but sooner or later she will take her revenge. And when we realize this truth, it's often too late.

Our own nobility offers an example of the devastating consequences that follow from a persistent refusal to recognize the natural requirements for marriage. Here we have before us the results of those reproductive habits that, on the one hand, are determined by social pressure and, on the other, by financial considerations. The one leads to inherited weaknesses, and the other to poisoning of the blood. Just consider how every department store Jewess is viewed as an eligible mate for our royalty–and indeed, it shows. All this leads to absolute degeneration.

Today our bourgeoisie strive to follow the same path; they will come to the same end.

These unpleasant truths are hastily and nonchalantly brushed aside, as if by so doing the truth could be abolished. No: it can't be denied that our urban populations are tending more and more toward a prostituted love-life, and are thus becoming more and more contaminated by the scourge of syphilis. It simply is true.

The most visible effects of this mass contamination can be seen, on the one hand, in our insane asylums and, on the other, unfortunately, in our children. They are the sad product of this steadily growing contamination of our sexual life; in their sicknesses, the children reveal the vices of their parents.

There are many ways of reconciling oneself to this unpleasant and terrible fact. Many people go about seeing nothing at all or, more precisely, not wanting to see anything. This is by far the simplest and easiest 'opinion.' Others cover themselves in the sacred mantle of prudery, as absurd as it is hypocritical. They describe the whole situation as sinful, and are profoundly indignant when brought face to face with a victim. They close their eyes in pious horror to this godless scourge, and pray to God that he might rain down fire and brimstone on this whole Sodom and Gomorrah–if possible, after their deaths. In doing so, God should once again make an instructive example of this shameless humanity. A third group, finally, are well aware of the terrible results that this scourge inevitably brings about, but they merely shrug their shoulders, fully convinced that nothing can be done against this danger. Hence the only thing to do is let matters take their own course.

10.16 THE SIN AGAINST BLOOD AND RACE

Undoubtedly all this is very convenient and simple, but it must not be forgotten that a nation can fall victim to such convenience. The excuse that other nations are also faring poorly doesn't change the fact of our own deterioration, except that feelings of sympathy for others makes our own suffering easier to bear.

But the important question, then, is this: Which nation will be the first to take the initiative in mastering this plague, and which nations will succumb to it? This is the crux of the whole situation. Here again we see the touchstone of racial value: the race that cannot withstand the test will simply die out, making room for healthier, tougher, or more resistant races. Because this question primarily concerns future generations, it is one of those cases where, with terrible justification, the sins of the fathers are visited

upon their children, unto the tenth generation–a truism, but one that applies only to a desecration of blood and race.

The sin against blood and race is the original sin in this world. It brings an end to every nation that commits it.

The attitude towards this one vital problem in pre-war Germany was most regrettable. What measures were taken to halt the infection of our youth in the large cities? What was done to put an end to the contamination and mammonization of our love lives? What was done to fight the resultant syphilization of our national body?

The answer to this question can best be illustrated by showing what should have been done.

Instead of taking this problem lightly, the authorities should have realized that the fortunes or misfortunes of future generations depended on its solution. Yes–it would be decisive for the entire future of our people. But to admit this would have required ruthless measures and surgical operations. What was needed, first of all, was that the attention of entire country be concentrated on this terrible danger, so that everyone would realize the importance of fighting against it. It would be futile to impose definitive and often unbearable obligations, and to expect them to be effective, unless the public were thoroughly instructed on the need for such obligations. But this demands a widespread and systematic method of enlightenment, one that excludes any other daily problems that might distract the public's attention.

In every case where apparently impossible demands are involved, the entire public attention must be focused on this one question, as though its solution were a matter of life or death. Only in this way can the public be compelled to join in a great voluntary effort, and to achieve important results.

This principle applies also to the individual man, provided he wants to achieve some great end. He must always concentrate his efforts on one definitely limited stage of his progress, which has to be completed before the next step is attempted. Those who don't attempt to realize their aims step by step, and who don't concentrate their energy in reaching the individual stages, will never attain the final objective. At some point along the road, they

will falter and fail. This systematic way of approaching an objective is an art in itself, and always calls for expending every ounce of energy in order to conquer the road, step by step.

Therefore the most essential prerequisite for an attack on such a difficult stage of the pathway of humanity is that the authorities must succeed in convincing the masses that the immediate objective that is now being sought is the only one that deserves to be considered, and the only one on which everything depends. The broad masses are never able to clearly see the whole stretch of road ahead without becoming tired and thus losing faith in their ability to complete the task. A certain number will keep the objective in mind, but they are only able to survey the road in small stages, as in the case of the traveller who knows where his journey will end but who tackles the endless stretch far better by attacking it in degrees. This is the only way can he advance without losing enthusiasm.

10.17 THE TASK OF COMBATING SYPHILIS

In this way, with the assistance of every form of propaganda, the problem of fighting syphilis should have been placed before the public–not as *a* task, but as the *main* task. Every possible means should have been employed to bring this truth to the minds of the people, until the whole nation has been convinced that everything depends on the solution to this problem; which is to say, a healthy future or national decay.

Only after such preparatory measures–spread over a period of many years, if necessary–will the public be fully aroused, and only then can serious and definite measures be taken. We could then do so without the risk of being misunderstood, or of being suddenly faced with a slackening of the public will.

It must be made clear to all that a serious fight against this plague calls for tremendous sacrifices and an enormous amount of work.

A war against syphilis means fighting against prostitution, against prejudice, against old-established customs, against current fashion, public opinion, and last but not least, against a false

prudery in certain circles.

The first prerequisite to be fulfilled before the state can claim a moral right to fight against all these things is the facilitation of earlier marriages for the coming generations. Whatever way we view it, late marriages have the sanction of a custom that is, and will remain, a disgrace to humanity. It's a cursed institution, ill-suited to a being who likes to regard himself as in the 'image' of God.

Prostitution is a disgrace to humanity, and cannot be removed simply by moralistic lectures, good intentions, etc. Its restriction and final elimination presupposes the removal of a whole series of contributory circumstances. The first remedy must always be to establish such conditions as will make early marriages possible, especially for young men–women are, after all, only passive subjects in this matter.

An illustration of the extent to which people have so often been led astray nowadays is shown by the fact that one often hears mothers in so-called 'good' society openly expressing their satisfaction at having found their daughter a man who has 'sown his wild oats,' etc. As there is no shortage of such men, the poor girl will be happy with one of these de-horned Siegfrieds, and the children will be a visible result of such supposedly sensible unions.

When one realizes that, apart from this, every possible effort is being made to hinder the process of procreation and that Nature is being wilfully cheated of her rights, there remains really only one question: Why does such an institution still exist, and what purpose does it serve? Isn't it little better than prostitution? Doesn't our duty to posterity play a part any more? Or don't people realize the curse they are inflicting on themselves and their offspring by such criminally foolish neglect of one of the primary laws of nature?

This is how civilized nations degenerate and gradually perish.

Marriage is not an end in itself, but must serve a higher goal, which is to increase and maintain the species and race. This is its only meaning and purpose.

This being the case, it's clear that the institution of marriage

must be judged by the manner in which it fulfills its function. Therefore early marriages should be the rule, because only the young couple will still have the strength necessary for raising healthy offspring. Of course, early marriages cannot be made the rule without a whole series of social changes; otherwise a policy of early marriages cannot even be contemplated. In other words, a solution of this seemingly small question cannot occur without decisive social measures. Their importance should be clear, especially when the so-called 'social' Republic has shown itself unable to solve the housing problem, and thus has made it impossible for innumerable couples to get married. That only furthers the advance of prostitution.

Another reason why early marriages are impossible is our absurd method of regulating the scale of salaries, which pays far too little attention to the problem of family support.

Prostitution, therefore, can only be seriously tackled if, by means of a radical social reform, early marriage is made easier than at present. This is the first preliminary requirement for the solution of this problem.

10.18 SOUND MIND ONLY IN SOUND BODY

Secondly, a whole series of evils must be eradicated through education and training–things that no one has yet worried about. First of all, our present educational system must establish a balance between mental instruction and physical training. The institution known today as *Gymnasium* is a positive insult to the Greek model. Our system of education entirely loses sight of the fact that, in the long run, a healthy mind can exist only in a healthy body. This statement, with few exceptions, applies particularly to the broad masses of the nation.

In pre-war Germany, there was a time when no one took the trouble to think over this truth. Training of the body was criminally neglected, and the one-sided training of 'the mind' was regarded as a sufficient guarantee for the nation's greatness. This mistake showed its effects sooner than anticipated. It's no accident that Bolshevik teaching flourishes in those regions whose

population has been degenerated by hunger: in central Germany, Saxony, and the Ruhr Valley. In all these districts there is a marked absence of any serious resistance, even by the so-called intellectual classes, against this Jewish disease. And the simple reason is that the intellectual classes are themselves physically degenerate-not through privation, but through education. The exclusive intellectualism of education among our upper classes makes them incapable of defending themselves, let alone making their way in life. In nearly every case, physical weakness is the forerunner of personal cowardice.

The extreme emphasis on purely intellectual education, and the consequent neglect of physical training, necessarily leads to sexual thoughts in early youth. Those youth whose constitutions have been trained and hardened by sports and gymnastics are less prone to sexual indulgence than those stay-at-homes who have been fed exclusively with intellectual fare. A sensible system of education must bear this in mind. We must not forget that a healthy young man will have different expectations from a woman than those of a weakling who has been prematurely corrupted.

Thus, in every branch of our education, the daily curriculum must occupy a boy's free time in useful development of his physical powers. He has no right in those years to loaf about, becoming a nuisance in public streets and cinemas. But when his day's work is done, he should harden his young body so that he will not become soft later in life. To prepare for this, and to carry it out, should be the function of our educational system, and not exclusively to pump in so-called wisdom. Our school system must also rid itself of the notion that bodily training is best left to the individual himself. There is no such thing as freedom to sin against posterity, and thus against the race.

10.19 THE FIGHT AGAINST SPIRITUAL POISONING

The fight against the poisoning of the mind must be waged simultaneously with the training of the body. Our whole public life today may be compared to a hothouse for sexual ideas and

incitements. A glance at the bill-of-fare provided by our cinemas, playhouses, and theaters suffices to prove that this is not the right food, especially for our youth. In shop windows and advertisements, the most vulgar means are used to attract public attention. Anyone who hasn't completely lost contact with adolescent yearnings will realize that all this must cause great damage. This seductive and sensual atmosphere puts ideas into the heads of our youth that, at their age, should still be unknown to them.

Unfortunately, the results of this kind of education can best be seen in our contemporary youth. They mature too early and are therefore old before their time. The law courts occasionally throw a distressing light on the spiritual life of our 14- and 15-year-olds. Who, then, will be surprised to learn that syphilis claims its victims already at this age? And isn't it deplorable to see the number of physically weak and intellectually spoiled young men, who have been introduced to the rites of marriage by the big-city whores?

No; those who wish to seriously combat prostitution must first assist in removing its spiritual basis. They will have to ruthlessly clean up the moral plague of our city 'culture,' and do so without regard for the outcry that will follow. If we don' lift our youth out of the morass of their present environment, they will drown in it. Those who refuse to see these things are deliberately encouraging them, and thus are guilty of spreading the effects of prostitution to the future–since the future belongs to the coming generation. This process of cleansing our culture must be applied in practically all spheres. Theater, art, literature, the cinema, the press, and advertisements, all must remove the stains of our rotting world and be placed in the service of a moral, political, and cultural idea. Public life must be freed from the asphyxiating perfume of our modem eroticism, as well as from all unmanly and prudish hypocrisy. In all these things, the aim and the method must be determined by thoughtful consideration for the preservation of our national well-being in body and soul. The right to personal freedom falls behind the duty of maintaining the race.

Only after such measures have been put into practice can a

medical campaign against this plague begin with some hope of success. But here again, half-measures are worthless. Far-reaching and important decisions must be made. It's a half-measure if incurables are given the opportunity of infecting one healthy person after another. This would be that kind of humanitarianism that allows a hundred to perish in order to avoid hurting one individual.

The demand that defective people be prevented from producing defective offspring is one that's based on the most reasonable grounds, and its proper fulfillment is the most humane act of mankind. Unhappy and undeserved suffering of millions will be spared, with the result that there will be a gradual improvement in national health. A determination to act in this way will at the same time provide an obstacle against the further spread of venereal disease. It would then be a case, where necessary, of mercilessly isolating all incurables–a barbaric measure for those unfortunates, but a blessing for the present generation and for posterity. The temporary pain experienced in this century can and will spare millennia from suffering.

The fight against syphilis, and the prostitution that paves its way, is one of the gigantic tasks of humanity. It's not merely a case of solving a single problem but the removal of a whole series of evils that are the contributory causes of this plague. Disease of the body in this case is merely the result of a sickening of the moral, social, and racial instincts.

But if, for reasons of laziness or cowardice, this battle isn't fought to the finish, we can imagine what conditions will be like in 500 years. Little of God's image will be left in human nature, except to mock the Creator.

10.20 THE 'PROTECTION CLAUSE'

But what was done in old Germany to counteract this plague? If we think calmly about it, the answer is distressing. It's true that in governmental circles, the terrible and injurious effects of this disease were well known, even though they didn't consider the consequences. But the counter-measures that were officially

adopted were ineffective and a hopeless failure. They tinkered with cures for the symptoms, and completely neglected the cause of the disease. Prostitutes were medically examined and controlled as far as possible, and when signs of infection were apparent, they were sent to a hospital. But when outwardly cured, they were once more let loose on humanity.

It's true that a 'protective clause' was introduced that made sexual intercourse a punishable offence for all those not completely cured, or those suffering from a disease. This legislation was correct in theory, but in practice it failed completely. In the first place, in the majority of cases, women will decline to appear in court as witnesses against men who have robbed them of their health. She, especially, has little to gain from it. In most cases, she will be the one to suffer the most; women would be far more exposed than men to uncharitable remarks. And one can only imagine what the situation would be if a woman was infected by her own husband! Should she lay charges against him? Or what should she do?

In the case of the man, there is the additional fact that he frequently is unfortunate enough to run up against this plague when he is under the influence of alcohol. His condition makes it impossible for him to assess the qualities of his 'beauty'–a fact that's well known to every diseased prostitute, and makes them single out men in this ideal condition for preference. The result is that the unfortunate man isn't able to later recall who his compassionate benefactress was, which isn't surprising in cities like Berlin and Munich. Many such cases are visitors from the provinces, who are held speechless and enthralled by the magic charm of city life.

In the final analysis, who is able to say whether he has been infected or not? Are there not innumerable cases on record where an apparently cured person has a relapse and does untold harm without knowing it?

Therefore, in practice, the results of these legislative measures are almost nothing. The same applies to the control of prostitution; and finally, even the medical treatment and cure are nowadays unsafe and doubtful. Only one thing is certain. The plague has

spread further and further despite all measures, and this alone suffices to prove their ineffectiveness.

Everything else that was done was as inefficient as it was absurd. The spiritual prostitution of the people wasn't prevented; or rather, virtually nothing was done at all.

Those who don't regard this subject as a serious one would do well to examine the statistical data of the spread of this disease, study its growth in the last century, and then contemplate its further development. The ordinary observer, unless he were particularly stupid, would experience a cold shudder running down his back!

The half-hearted and wavering attitude adopted in old Germany towards this terrible phenomenon can assuredly be taken as a visible sign of national decay. When the courage to fight for one's own health is no longer in evidence, then the right to live in this world of struggle also ceases. This world belongs only to the forceful 'wholes,' and not to the weak 'halves.'

10.21 THE BOLSHEVIZATION OF ART

One of the most visible signs of decay in the old Reich was the slow decline of the cultural level. But by 'culture' I don't mean that which is nowadays designated as 'civilization,' which, on the contrary, may rather be regarded as inimical to a truly elevated standard of thinking and living.

At the turn of the last century, a new artistic element began to make its appearance in our world. It was something that had been previously unknown and foreign to us. In former times, there were certainly offences against good taste; but these were mostly departures from the orthodox canons of art, and posterity could recognize a certain historical value in them. But the new products showed signs, not only of artistic aberration but of a destructive spiritual degeneration. Here, in the cultural sphere, the signs of the coming political collapse first became apparent.

The Bolshevization of art is the only cultural life-form, and the only spiritual manifestation, that Bolshevism is capable of.

Anyone to whom this statement may appear strange need only

take a glance at those lucky Bolshevized states and, to his horror, he will there recognize those morbid monstrosities that have been produced by insane and degenerate men. All those artistic aberrations that are classified under the names of cubism and Dadaism,[79] since the turn of the century, are manifestations of art that have come to be officially recognized by the state itself. This phenomenon made its appearance even during the short-lived period of the Soviet Republic in Bavaria. Even here it was clear that all the official posters, propagandist drawings in newspapers, etc., showed signs not only of political but also of cultural decay.

About 60 years ago, a political collapse such as we are experiencing today would have been just as inconceivable as the cultural decline that was manifested in futurist and cubist works since 1900. Sixty years ago, an exhibition of so-called Dadaistic 'experiences' would have been an absolutely preposterous idea. The organizers of such an exhibition would then have been tossed into a madhouse, whereas today they are appointed presidents of art societies. At that time, such a plague would never have been allowed to spread. Public opinion wouldn't have tolerated it, and the government wouldn't have remained silent; for it is the duty of a government to save its people from being stampeded into such intellectual madness. But this would have been the inevitable result of this kind of art. It would have marked one of the worst changes in human history; for it would have meant that a retrogressive process had begun to take place in the human brain– of which the final stages would be unthinkable.

If we study the course of our cultural life during the last 25 years, we will be astonished to note how far we have already gone in this process of regression. Everywhere we find the presence of those germs that give rise to tumorous growths that must sooner or later bring about the ruin of our culture. Here we find undoubted symptoms of a slowly decaying world. And woe to the nations that are no longer able to master this disease!

[79] Dada and cubism were iconoclastic and anti-classical schools of art that appeared in the early 20th century. Dadaism in particularly was heavily influenced by Jewish artists; see Sanderson (2011) . Among the more prominent of these was Marc Chagall.

Such diseases could be seen in almost every field of German art and culture. Here everything seems to have passed the peak of its excellence and now is rushing toward the abyss. At the beginning of the century, the theater seemed already degenerating and ceasing to be a cultural factor-except the Court theaters, which opposed this prostitution of the national art. Apart from these exceptions, and also a few other decent institutions, the plays produced on the stage were of such a nature that the people would have benefited by not visiting them at all. It was a sad symptom of decline that the youth could no longer visit most of these so-called 'art centers'–a fact that was shamelessly admitted by the frequently-seen warning: "Youth Not Admitted!"

10.22 VILIFICATION OF A GREAT PAST

Bear in mind that these precautions had to be taken in regard to institutions whose main purpose should have been to promote the education of the youth, and not merely to provide entertainment for sophisticated adults. What would the great dramatists of other times have said of such measures, and above all, of the conditions that made these measures necessary? How Schiller would have been enflamed, and how Goethe would have turned away in disgust!

But what are Schiller, Goethe, or Shakespeare when compared with the heroes of our modem German literature! Old, worn-out, and outmoded–nay, obsolete. For it was typical of this epoch that not only were its own products bad, but in the process it reviled everything that was truly great in the past. This phenomenon is very characteristic of such epochs. The more vile and miserable are the men and products, the more they will hate and denigrate the ideal achievements of former generations. What these people would like best is to completely destroy every vestige of the past, so that, by excluding the standard of comparison, their own kitsch could be looked upon as 'art.'

Hence every new institution, however wretched and miserable it is, will try all the harder to erase the traces of the past. But any real innovation that's for the benefit of humanity can always face

comparison with the best of the past; and frequently it happens that those accomplishments of past generations guarantee the acceptance of modem productions. There is no fear that modem works of real value will look pale and worthless beside the monuments of the past. That which is contributed to the general store of human culture often fulfills a necessary role, in order to keep the memory of old achievements alive, because this memory alone is the standard whereby our own works are properly appreciated. Only those who have nothing of value to give to the world, but would rather give it God-knows-what, will hate everything that already exists, and would like to negate or destroy it completely.

And this truth holds good not only for new cultural phenomena but also in politics. The more inferior new revolutionary movements are, the more they will try to denigrate the old forms. Here again the desire to pawn off their kitsch as great and original achievements leads them into a blind hatred of the superior work of the past. As long as the historical memory of Frederick the Great, for instance, still lives, Frederick Ebert can arouse nothing but limited amazement. The relation of the hero of Sans Souci to the former bartender of Bremen may be compared to that of the sun to the moon; for the moon can shine only after the sun has cast off its rays. Thus we can readily understand why all the new moons in human history have hated the permanent stars.

In politics, if fate should happen to temporarily place the power to rule in the hands of those non-entities, they are eager not only to defile and besmirch the past, but at the same time will use all means to evade criticism of their own acts. The law for the protection of the Republic, which the new German state enacted, may be taken as one example of this.

One has good grounds to be suspicious of any new idea, any doctrine, any new worldview, or any political or economical movement, that tries to deny everything that the past has produced, or to present it as inferior and worthless. In general, the reason for such hatred is either its own inferiority or an evil intention. Any renovation that’s truly beneficial to human progress will always have to begin its constructive work where the

last stones have been laid. It need not be ashamed of using those pre-existing truths. All of human culture, as well as man himself, is only the result of one long line of development, where each generation has contributed but one stone to the building of the whole structure. The meaning and purpose of revolutions cannot be to tear down the whole building, but to take away that which is bad or unsuitable, and to continue building on the space that has been laid bare.

Thus alone is it possible to talk of human progress. Otherwise the world would never be free of chaos, since each generation would feel entitled to reject the past and to destroy all its works, as the necessary prerequisite to any new work of its own.

10.23 SPIRITUAL PREPARATION FOR BOLSHEVISM

The saddest feature of our whole pre-war culture was not only that it was barren of any cultural or artistic creative force, but the hatred with which the memory of the greater past was besmirched and effaced. Around the end of the last century, people were less interested in producing new significant works of their own–particularly in the fields of dramatic art and literature–than in defaming the best works of the past, and in presenting them as inferior and outdated: as if this period of disgraceful decadence had the capacity to produce anything of superior quality.

Efforts to conceal the past from the eyes of the present afforded clear evidence of the fact that these apostles of the future acted from an evil intent. These signs should have made it clear to all that it wasn't a question of new, though wrong, cultural ideas, but of a process of destroying all culture. It threw the healthy artistic feeling into utter confusion, thus spiritually preparing the way for political Bolshevism. If the creative spirit of the Periclean age is manifested in the Parthenon, then the Bolshevist era is manifested through a cubist monstrosity.

In this connection, attention must be drawn once again to the lack of courage displayed by one section of our people, namely, by those who, in virtue of their education and position, should

have been obligated to resist this cultural disgrace. But they failed to offer serious resistance, and surrendered to what they considered the inevitable. This abdication was due to a fear of the ruckus that would be raised by the apostles of Bolshevist art, who viciously attacked anyone not ready to acknowledge them as the crown of creation, and who strangled all opposition by calling it philistine and backward. People trembled in fear, lest these half-wits and swindlers accuse them of lacking in artistic appreciation-as if it were some disgrace not to understand the effusions of those spiritual degenerates and slimy swindlers.

These cultural disciples, however, had a very simple way of presenting their own nonsense as works of the highest quality. They offered incomprehensible and manifestly crazy stuff to their amazed contemporaries as a so-called inner experience. Thus they forestalled all negative criticism at very little cost. Of course nobody ever doubted that there could have been inner experiences like that; the doubt was regarding the justification for exposing these hallucinations of lunatics and criminals to healthy human society. The works produced by a Moritz von Schwind or a Bocklin were also an inner experience, but these were the experiences of divinely gifted artists and not of buffoons.[80]

This situation offered a good opportunity to study the miserable cowardliness of our so-called intellectuals, who shirked the duty of resisting the poisoning of the healthy instincts of our people. They left it to the people themselves to deal with this impudent nonsense. Lest they be considered as understanding nothing of art, the people accepted every mockery of art, until they finally lost the power to judge what is truly good or bad. All in all, there were plenty of signs that times were getting very bad.

10.24 MODERN MASSES OF HUMANITY

Still another critical symptom has to be considered.

In the course of the 19th century, our towns and cities began to lose their character as centers of civilization, and became more

[80] Von Schwind (1804-1871) was an Austrian painter who spent much of his career in Munich. Arnold Bocklin (1827-1901) was a Swiss painter in the classic style.

and more centers of habitation. In our great modem cities, the proletarian man doesn't show much attachment to the place where he lives. This feeling results from the fact that his town is nothing but an accidental abode. The feeling is also partly due to the frequent change of residence that's forced upon him by social conditions; there's no time to form a bond to the place in which he lives. And yet another reason lies in the cultural barrenness and superficiality of our present-day cities.

At the time of the Wars of Liberation,[81] our German towns and cities were not only small in number but also very modest in size. The few that could be called great cities were mostly the residential cities of princes; as such, they almost always had a definite cultural value and cultural aspect. Those few towns of more than 50,000 inhabitants were, in comparison with modem cities of the same size, rich in scientific and artistic treasures. At the time when Munich had not more than 60,000 souls, it was already well on the way to become one of the first German centers of art. Nowadays almost every industrial town has a population at least as large as that, without having anything of real value to call its own. They are masses of tenement houses and apartments, and nothing more. It’s a mystery how anyone could grow sentimentally attached to such a meaningless place. No one can bond to a place that offers no more than any other place would offer, that has no character of its own, and where pains have obviously been taken to avoid everything that might have any resemblance to an artistic appearance.

But that's not all. Even great cities become more barren of real works of art the more they increase in population. They assume more and more a neutral atmosphere, and present the same aspect, though on a larger scale, as the poor little factory towns. Everything that our modem age has contributed to the civilization of our great cities is absolutely deficient. All our cities are living on the glory and the treasures of the past. If we take away from the Munich of today everything that was created under Ludwig I, we would be horror-stricken to see how meager has been the

[81] Circa 1813.

output of important artistic creations since that time.[82] One could say the same of Berlin and most of our other great cities.

But the following is the essential point: Our great modem cities have no outstanding monuments that dominate the city, ones that could be pointed to as symbols of a whole epoch. Yet almost every ancient town had a monument erected to its glory. It wasn't in private dwellings that the characteristic art of ancient cities was displayed, but in the public monuments, which were not meant to have a transitory interest but an enduring one. And this was because they didn't represent the wealth of some individual citizen, but rather the greatness and wealth of the community. Thus it was that those monuments arose that bound the individual inhabitants to their own town in a way that's almost incomprehensible to us today. What struck the eye of the ancient citizen wasn't a number of mediocre private buildings, but imposing structures that belonged to the whole community. Compared to them, private dwellings were of only very secondary importance.

When we compare the size of those ancient public buildings with that of the private dwellings, then we can understand the great importance that was given to the principle that communal works should take precedence over all others. What we today admire in the ruins of the ancient world aren't the former commercial palaces but rather temples and public structures. The community itself was the owner of those great works. Even in the pomp of late Rome, it wasn't the villas and palaces of some citizens that filled the most prominent place but rather the temples and the baths, the stadiums, the circuses, the aqueducts, the basilicas, etc., which belonged to the state, and therefore to the whole people.

In medieval Germany the same principle held sway, although the artistic outlook was quite different. In ancient times, that which found its expression in the Acropolis or the Pantheon was now cloaked in the forms of the Gothic cathedral. These

[82] Ludwig I, King of Bavaria (1786- 1868), made Munich a major art center during the time of his rule, from 1825 to 1848.

monumental structures towered gigantically above the swarm of smaller buildings, with their framework walls of wood and brick. And they remain the dominant feature of these cities even today, although they are becoming more and more obscured by apartment buildings. They determine the character and appearance of the town. Cathedrals, city halls, com exchanges, and defense towers are the outward expression of an idea that's based in the ancient world.

And how deplorable has the relationship become today between our state and private buildings! If a similar fate should befall Berlin as did Rome, future generations might gaze upon the ruins of some Jewish department stores or corporate hotels and think that these were the characteristic expressions of the culture of our time. In Berlin itself, just compare the shameful disproportion between the buildings of the Reich and those of trade and finance.

Funding for public buildings are, in most cases, inadequate and ridiculous. They aren't built for eternity, but mostly for responding to the need of the moment. No higher idea influenced such buildings. When the Berlin Palace was built, it had a quite different significance from what the new library has for our time. One battleship alone represents an expenditure of about 60 million marks, whereas less than half that sum was allotted for the building of the Reichstag–which is the most imposing structure erected for the Reich, and which should have been built to last for ages. Yet, when the question of internal decoration arose, the Upper House voted against the use of stone and ordered that the walls should be covered with stucco. For once, however, the parliamentarians made an appropriate decision; plaster heads would be out of place within stone walls.

The community per se is not the dominant characteristic of our contemporary cities, and therefore it's no surprise that the community finds itself architecturally underrepresented. Thus we must eventually arrive at a state of desolation–with the practical effect that the individual citizen is totally indifferent to the fate of his city.

This too is a sign of our cultural decay and general collapse. Our era is entirely preoccupied with pointless little things, or

rather, with the service of money. Therefore it's little wonder that, with the worship of such an idol, a sense of heroism entirely disappears. But the present is only reaping what the past has sown.

10.25 RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

All these symptoms of decay must be attributed to the lack of a definite and uniformly accepted worldview, and the subsequent general uncertainty of attitude toward the great questions of the time. This accounts for the habit of doing everything half-way, beginning with the educational system, the reluctance to undertake responsibilities, and finally, the cowardly tolerance of recognized abuses. Humanitarian garbage became the fashion. And in weakly submitting to these aberrations and sparing individual feelings, the future of millions was sacrificed.

An examination of the religious situation before the war shows that the general process of disintegration was growing. A large part of the nation itself had, for a long time already, ceased to have any convictions of a uniform and effective worldview. In this matter, the main point was by no means the number of people who renounced their church membership, but rather the widespread indifference. While both Christian denominations maintain missions in Asia and Africa in order to win new followers–with only modest success compared to the growth of Islam–these same denominations were losing millions and millions of adherents at home in Europe. These former adherents either gave up all religion or adopted their own interpretation. The consequences, particularly in morality, are not good.

It must be noted too that the attack on the dogmatic foundations of the various churches became increasingly violent. And yet our world would be inconceivable without the practical existence of a religious faith. The great masses of a nation are not philosophers. For the masses of people, faith is the only basis of morality. The various substitutes that have been offered haven't shown any results that would justify replacing existing faiths.

But if religious teaching and faith are accepted by the masses, then the absolute authority of religious doctrines would be the

foundation of all practical effort. There may be a few hundred thousand superior men who can live wisely and intelligently without depending on social norms, but millions of others cannot. For them, the role of social norms corresponds to everyday life in the same way that laws relate to the state, and dogma to religion.

The purely intellectual idea is, of itself, a variable thing that is subject to endless interpretations. It's only through dogma that it has a precise and concrete form, without which religious couldn't become a living faith. Otherwise the intellectual idea would never become anything more than a mere metaphysical concept, or rather, a philosophical opinion. The attack against dogma is comparable to an attack against the general laws on which the state is founded. Such a political attack would lead, in the end, to complete political anarchy if it were successful; in the same way, an attack on dogma would lead to a worthless religious nihilism.

A political leader shouldn't estimate the value of a religion by taking its shortcomings into account, but rather by virtue of a demonstrably better substitute. Until such a substitute is available, only fools or criminals would think of abolishing that which exists.

Undoubtedly no small amount of blame for the present unsatisfactory religious situation must be attributed to those who have encumbered the religious ideal with purely material accessories; this gave rise to an utterly futile conflict between religion and so-called exact science.. In this conflict, victory will nearly always be on the side of science, though perhaps after a hard struggle. And religion will thus suffer heavily in the eyes of those who can't penetrate beyond mere superficial knowledge.

10.26 POLITICAL MISUE OF RELIGION

But the greatest damage of all has come from the misuse of religion as a means to serve political interests. In truth, we can't attack hard enough those wretched criminals who would prefer to make religion provide political, or rather business, services for them. The impudent liars who do this profess their faith before the whole world in stentorian tones, so that all sinners may hear–not

that they are ready to die for it, but rather that they may live all the better. They are ready to sell their faith for a single political swindle. For ten parliamentary mandates, they would ally themselves with the Marxists, who are the mortal foes of all religion. And for a seat in the cabinet, they would enter into marriage with the devil–if the latter hadn't still retained some traces of decency.

If religious life in pre-war Germany left a bad taste in many mouths, it was because Christianity was abused by a so-called 'Christian' party. They shamelessly attempted to identify the Catholic faith with a political part.

This false association was a disaster. It procured some worthless parliamentary mandates for a bunch of good-for-nothings, but the Church suffered damage.

The consequences of that situation had to be borne by the whole nation. The slackening of religious life occurred at a point when everything was beginning to waver and vacillate, and the traditional foundations of ethics and of morality were threatening to collapse.

Even then, all those cracks and rifts in the national body might not have been dangerous if no grave burdens arose. But they became disastrous when the internal solidarity of the nation was the most decisive factor in withstanding the storm of events.

10.27 AIMLESSNESS OF GERMAN POLICY

In the political field also, observant eyes might have noticed certain evils of the Reich that foretold disaster, unless some change and correction took place in time. The lack of orientation in German policy, both domestic and foreign, was obvious to everyone who was not purposely blind. The best thing that can be said about the business of compromise is that it seems to be in harmony with Bismarck's axiom that 'politics is the art of the possible.' But there was a small but crucial difference between Bismarck and the later German chancellors. This difference allowed the former to apply that formula to the very essence of his policy, while in the mouths of the others, it took on an utterly

different meaning. When he uttered that phrase, Bismarck meant to say that, in order to attain a definite political end, all possible means should be employed–or at least, taken into account. But his successors saw in that phrase only a solemn declaration that one need not be bound to any political goals or ideas at all. And the political leaders of the Reich at that time had no far-seeing policy. Here again, the necessary foundation was lacking, namely, a definite worldview. And they also lacked the clear insight into the laws of political development that is a necessary quality in political leadership.

Many who took a gloomy view of things at that time condemned the lack of ideas and orientation that were evident in the policy of the Reich. They recognized the inner weakness and futility of this policy. But such people played only a secondary role in politics. The official government authorities were quite indifferent to such principles of civil wisdom as those of Houston Stewart Chamberlain;[83] our current leaders still do the same. These people are too stupid to think for themselves. They are too conceited to learn from others–a fact that confirms Oxenstierna's saying, "The world is governed by a mere fraction of wisdom."[84] And indeed, nearly every civil servant embodies only an atom of this fraction.

But since Germany became a Republic, even this modicum is lacking. That's why they had to pass the Law for the Defense of the Republic, which prohibits expressing such views, or even thinking them. Oxenstierna was lucky to live when he did, and not in our wise Republic.

10.28 PARLIAMENTARY HALF-MEASURES

Even before the war, the institution that should have represented the strength of the Reich was recognized by many as

[83] Chamberlain (1855-1927) was born in England but spent the majority of his adult life in Germany. He was a prominent intellectual of the day; his best-known work, *Foundations of the 19th Century,* was highly influential to Hitler.

[84] Axel Oxenstiema (1583-1654) was prime minister of Sweden. But the saying seems to be apocryphal.

its greatest weakness: the parliament, the Reichstag. Here, cowardice and irresponsibility were completely unified.

One of the most foolish ideas that one hears today is that, in Germany, the parliamentary institution has gone wrong ‘since the revolution.’ This too easily implies that the case was different before the revolution. But in reality, its effect was highly destructive–and this was true even in those days when people saw nothing, or didn’t wish to see anything. The German downfall can be attributed, in no small degree, to this institution. But that the catastrophe didn’t take place sooner is not to be credited to the parliament, but rather to those who opposed the influence of this institution which, during peace times, was digging the grave of the German nation and the German Reich.

From the immense number of devastating evils that were due either directly or indirectly to the parliament, I'll pick one of the most typical of this institution that was the most irresponsible of all time: the terrible half-heartedness and weakness of the political leaders in conducting the internal and external affairs of the Reich. This was primarily attributable to the action of the Reichstag, and was one of the principal causes of the political collapse.

Everything subject to the influence of parliament was done in half-measures, no matter how you look at it.

The foreign policy of the Reich in the matter of alliances was an example of such half-heartedness. They wanted to maintain peace, but in doing so they steered straight into war.

Their Polish policy was also carried out by half-measures. One merely irritated without ever finishing anything. It resulted neither in a German triumph nor Polish conciliation, and it made enemies of the Russians.

They tried to solve the Alsace-Lorraine question through half-measures. Instead of crushing the French hydra's head once and for all with a brutal fist, and then granting Alsace-Lorraine equal rights, they did neither. Nor could they have done otherwise, for

the biggest parties had among their ranks the biggest traitors–in the Center, for example, Mr. Wetterlé.[85]

10.29 PARLIAMENTARY CRIMES AGAINST THE ARMY

But all this would have been bearable, if the half-heartedness hadn't extended to that one power that was ultimately responsible for the survival of the Reich: the army.

The sins committed by the so-called German Reichstag were sufficient to draw down upon it the curses of the German nation for all time. On the most miserable of pretexts, these parliamentary henchmen filched from the hands of the nation its weapon of self-defense–the only thing protecting the liberty and independence of our people. If the graves of Flanders were to open today, bloodstained accusers would arise: hundreds of thousands of our best German youth, who, poorly–or half-trained, were driven into the arms of death by those conscienceless parliamentary criminals. Those youths, and other millions of the dead and mutilated, were lost to the Fatherland simply and solely in order that a few hundred deceivers of the people might carry out their political swindles and blackmail, or merely rattle off their doctrinaire theories.

While the Jews, in their Marxist and democratic press, spread the colossal falsehood about 'German militarism' throughout the world and tried to incriminate Germany by every possible means, at the same time the Marxist and democratic parties obstructed measures that were necessary for the adequate training of our national defenses. The appalling crime thus committed by these people ought to have been obvious to everyone who could see that, in case of war, the whole nation would be called to arms. Furthermore, because of the huckstering of these so-called 'representatives of the people,' millions of Germans would have to face the enemy ill-equipped and insufficiently trained. But even

[85] Emile Wetterlé (1861-1931) was a French Catholic politician who founded the Alsatian Nationalist Party in 1910.

apart from the consequences of the brutal unscrupulousness of these parliamentarian scoundrels, it was quite clear that the lack of properly trained soldiers at the beginning of a war would likely lead to defeat; and this probability was confirmed, in a most terrible way, during the course of the World War.

The German people lost the struggle for the freedom and independence of their country because of the half-hearted and defective policy employed during peacetime, in the organization and training of the defensive strength of the Fatherland.

10.30 FAILED NAVAL POLICY

The number of recruits trained for the land forces was too small. But the same half-heartedness was shown in regard to the navy, and it made this weapon of national self-preservation more or less worthless. Unfortunately, even the naval authorities themselves were infected with this spirit of half-heartedness. The tendency to build all ships somewhat smaller than the British didn't show much foresight, and less genius. A fleet that can't achieve the same numerical strength as the enemy should compensate by the superior fighting power of the individual ship. It's superior fighting power that counts, and not any sort of traditional 'quality.' As a matter of fact, modem technical development is so advanced and so well proportioned among the various civilized states, that it must be looked on as practically impossible for one power to gain any appreciable fighting advantage over enemy ships of a similar size. And it's even less feasible to build ships of smaller size that will be superior in action to those of larger ones.

As a matter of fact, the smaller proportions of the German ships could be maintained only at the expense of speed and armament. The phrase used to justify this policy was in itself evidence of the lack of logical thinking on the part of the naval authorities who were in charge of these matters in peacetime. They declared, for example, that the 28 cm German guns were definitely superior to the British 30.5 cm, in terms of performance!!

But that was just why they should have adopted a policy of building 30.5 cm guns as well; they should have aimed not for

equality but superiority in fighting strength. Otherwise it would have been superfluous to equip the land forces with 42 cm mortars. The German 21 cm mortar was far superior to any high-angle French guns, and the fortresses could probably have been taken by means of 30.5 cm mortars. Army leadership calculated correctly; that of the navy, unfortunately, did not.

If they neglected superior artillery power and speed, it was because of their fundamentally false so-called 'principle of risk.' The naval authorities, from the very beginning, renounced the principle of attack, and thus had to follow a defensive policy. But by this attitude they also renounced any chance of final success, which can only be achieved by attack.

A ship with slower speed and weaker armament will be crippled and battered by an adversary that is faster, stronger, and can shoot from a favorable distance. A large number of our cruisers have been through this bitter experience. The erroneous nature of prevailing ideas among naval authorities was proven during the war. They were compelled to modify the armaments of the old ships, and to equip the new ones with better armaments. If the German vessels in the Battle of the Skagerrak had been of equal size, equal armament, and equal speed as the English, the British Fleet would have gone down under the tempest of the more accurate and more effective 38 cm German shells.[86]

Japan followed a different kind of naval policy. There, care was taken to create every single new vessel as a superior fighting force to that of the presumed adversaries. As a result of this policy, it was thereafter possible to use the fleet for offensives.

While the army authorities refused to adopt such fundamentally erroneous principles, the navy–which unfortunately had better 'parliamentary' representation–succumbed to the spirit that ruled there. The navy was organized on the basis of half-baked ideas, and was later used in the same way. The immortal glory that the navy won, in spite of these drawbacks, must be entirely credited to the good work, efficiency, and incomparable heroism of

[86] The Battle of Skagerrak, also known as the Battle of Jutland, occurred over two days in early June 1916. The German and British fleets fought to a draw.

officers and crews. If the former commanders-in-chief had been inspired with the same level of genius, all sacrifices would not have been in vain.

It was probably the very parliamentarian skill displayed by the naval chief during the years of peace that later caused the fatal collapse. Parliamentarian considerations had begun to play a more important role in the construction of the navy than military ones. The half-heartedness, weakness, and failure to adopt a logically consistent policy-which is typical of the parliamentary system–began to color the naval authorities.

As already emphasized, army leadership didn't allow themselves to be led astray by such fundamentally erroneous ideas. Ludendorff, who was then a colonel in the General Staff, led a desperate struggle against the criminal half-heartedness with which the Reichstag treated the most vital problems of the nation. In most cases, it voted against them. If the fight that this officer then waged remained unsuccessful, blame must be given in part to the parliament, and part to the weak and miserable attitude of the Reich Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg.[87] Yet those who are responsible for Germany's collapse don't hesitate now to lay all the blame on the shoulders of the one man who alone battled this neglect of national interests; one swindle, more or less, is nothing to these congenital tricksters.

Anyone who thinks of all the sacrifices that this nation had to bear as a result of the criminal neglect of those irresponsible individuals; anyone who thinks of the number of those who died or were maimed unnecessarily; anyone who thinks of the boundless shame and dishonor that was heaped upon us and of the immeasurable distress into which our people are now plunged; anyone who realizes that this was done simply to secure a few seats in parliament for some unscrupulous job-hunters and careerists–they will understand that such creatures can only be described by words such as 'scoundrel' 'villain,' 'scum,' and 'criminal'; otherwise these words have no meaning. In

[87] Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg (1856-1921) served as German Chancellor from 909 to 1917.

comparison with these traitors to the nation, every pimp is an honorable man.

Oddly enough, all the real faults of the old Germany were exposed to the public gaze only when it served to damage the inner solidarity of the nation. Yes, indeed, unpleasant truths were openly proclaimed in the ears of the broad masses, while many other things were, at other times, shamefully hushed up or their existence simply denied–especially at times when an open discussion of such problems might have led to an improvement. At the same time, higher government authorities knew little or nothing of the value and nature of propaganda. Only the Jew knew that, by an able and persistent use of propaganda, heaven itself can be presented as hell, and vice versa, the most miserable kind of life as paradise. Only he knew this, and acted accordingly. But the German, or rather his government, hadn't the slightest idea of this.

During the war, we paid the heaviest of penalties for this ignorance.

10.31 GERMAN ADVANTAGES

Along side the innumerable evils that are mentioned here, and which affected German life before the war, there were many advantages. If we take an impartial survey, we must admit that most of our weaknesses were shared with other countries and peoples, and very often in a worse form than with us. And they didn't possess many of our actual advantages.

The foremost advantage was the fact that, alone among the European nations, the German nation made the strongest effort to preserve the national character of its economic structure; for this reason, it was less subject than others to control by international finance. And yet this was a dangerous advantage, one that later turned out to be the chief cause of the World War.

Aside from this and many other positive features, we must single out three institutions that were constant sources of regeneration. In their respective spheres, they were models of perfection and were partly unrivalled.

First, the state form as such, and the manner in which it was

developed in modem Germany.

Of course, we must except those monarchs who, as human beings, were subject to the failings that afflict this earthly life and its children. If we weren't so tolerant in these matters, then the case of the present generation would be hopeless. If we take into consideration the personal capabilities and character of the representative figures in our present regime, it would be difficult to imagine a more modest level of intelligence and moral character. If we measure the 'value' of the German revolution by the personal worth and stature of the individuals whom this revolution has given to the German people since November 1918, then we may feel truly ashamed at how posterity will pass judgement, given that protective laws can no longer silence public opinion. Posterity will surely say that the intelligence and integrity of our new German leaders were in adverse ratio to their boasting and their vices.

It must be admitted that the monarchy had become alien in spirit to many citizens, and especially the broad masses. This resulted from the fact that the monarchs were not always surrounded by the brightest minds, so to say, and certainly not always by the sincerest minds. Unfortunately many of them preferred flatterers to plain-spoken men, and hence received their 'instruction' from the former. This was a grave danger at a time when many of the world's old opinions were changing, and when this affected even the traditions of the court.

The average man could not have felt any special enthusiasm when, for example, at the turn of the century, a princess in uniform rode at the front of a parade. Those in high circles apparently had no idea of the impression that this made on the minds of ordinary people, or it wouldn't have happened. Moreover, the sentimental humanitarianism-not always very sincere-that was professed in those high circles was often more repulsive than attractive. When, for instance, Princess X decided to taste the products of a soup kitchen and found them excellent, as usual, such a gesture might have made a good impression in times past; but now it had the opposite effect. Even if we take it for granted that Her Highness didn't have the slightest idea that, on the day she sampled it, the

food was not quite the same as on other days, it sufficed that the people knew it.

Even the best of intentions thus became an object of ridicule or a cause of exasperation.

Stories of the monarch's proverbial frugality, his early rise in the morning, the drudgery he had to go through all day long until late at night, and especially the constant fear that he might become undernourished, all aroused dubious comments. No one was eager to know what and how much the monarch ate or drank. No one begrudged him a full meal, or the necessary amount of sleep. Everyone was pleased when the monarch, as a man and a personality, brought honor on his family and his country, and fulfilled his duties as a ruler. All the legends that were circulated about him helped little, and in fact did much damage.

These and such things, however, are only mere trifles. What was much worse was the feeling, spread throughout large sections of the nation, that the affairs of the individual were being taken care of from above, and that he needn't bother himself with them. As long as the government was really good, or at least moved by goodwill, no serious objections could be raised. But woe to all if the old government of good intentions were replaced by a new one that was not so decent. Then the public's docile obedience and childlike faith were the most fatal of evils imaginable.

But against these and other defects, there were many unquestionable assets.

For one thing, the monarchical form guarantees stability in the entire state leadership, and safeguards public offices from the speculative turmoil of ambitious politicians. Furthermore, the dignified tradition that this institution possesses gives weight to monarchical authority. Beyond this, there is the fact that the whole corps of officials, and the army in particular, are raised above the level of party obligations. And still another advantage was that the supreme rulership of the state was embodied in the monarch as an individual person, and whose example of personal responsibility was stronger than that of any anonymous parliamentary majority. Indeed, the proverbial integrity of the German administration must be attributed chiefly to this fact. Finally, the high cultural

function of the monarch compensated for many of its defects. The German court cities have remained, even to our time, centers of an artistic spirit that now threatens to disappear in our materialistic age. The German princes did a great deal for art and science, especially during the 19th century. Our present age certainly has nothing to compare with it.

10.32 THE ARMY–AN IRREPLACEABLE SCHOOL

During that process of disintegration that was slowly extending throughout the social order, the most positive force of resistance was the army. This was the strongest school of the German nation, and for that reason, the hatred of our enemies was directed against this buttress of national freedom and independence. The strongest testimony in favor of this unique institution is the fact that it was derided, hated, combated, and also feared, by all inferior peoples. The fact that the international exploiters of our people, who gathered at Versailles, directed their enmity especially against the old German army proved once again that it deserved to be regarded as the defender of our national freedom against the power of the stock exchange.[88] Without this warning power, the intentions of Versailles would have long since been carried out. There is only one word to express what the German people owe to this army: everything.

It was the army that still promoted a sense of responsibility among the people when this quality was becoming very rare, and when the habit of evading it was steadily spreading. This habit had grown up under the influences of parliament, which was itself the very model of irresponsibility. The army trained the people to personal courage at a time when cowardice threatened to become an epidemic, when the spirit of sacrificing for the good of the community was considered as little more than stupidity, and when only those considered intelligent were the ones who promoted their own ego. The army was the school by which individual

[88] The Treaty of Versailles was signed in June 1919, after the end of World War I. It imposed onerous and impossible conditions upon Germany, and falsely attributed full blame for the war to them.

Germans were taught not to seek the salvation of their nation in the false ideology of international brotherhood between negroes, Germans, Chinese, French, English, etc., but in the strength and unity of their own people.

The army developed the individual's powers of resolve, and this at a time when a spirit of indecision and skepticism governed human affairs. In an age when the know-it-alls were everywhere setting the fashion, it needed courage to uphold the principle that any command is better than none. This one principle represents a robust and sound style of thought, one that would have vanished had the army not furnished a constant renewal of this fundamental force. A sufficient proof of this may be found in the appalling lack of decision that our present Reich authorities display. They can't shake off their mental and moral lethargy, and take definitive action, except when it comes to enforced decrees for exploiting the people. In that case they decline all responsibility, while at the same time they sign everything that the other side places before them, with the agility of a court stenographer. In this case, the decision is easy to make; it's dictated to them.

The army trained its men with a spirit of idealism and devotion to the Fatherland, while greed and materialism dominated everywhere else. The army united a people who were divided into classes; and in this respect had only one defect, which was the voluntary one-year military service. It was a mistake because the principle of absolute equality was thereby violated. Those who had a better education were thus placed outside the setting of their general environment.

The opposite would have been better. Since our upper classes were really ignorant of the corporate body of the nation, and were becoming increasingly estranged from it, the army could have had a very positive effect if it had refused to segregate the so-called intellectuals, especially within its own ranks. It was a mistake that this wasn't done. But what institution in this world makes no mistakes? And in the army, the good features were so absolutely predominant that the few defects it had were far below the average that generally arise from human weakness.

But the greatest credit earned by the army was that, at a time

when the individual person counted for nothing and the majority was everything, it placed individual personal values above majority values. Confronted with the Jewish-democratic idea of a blind faith in numbers, the army defended its belief in personality. Thus it trained that which was most needed at the time: real men. In a period when men were falling into a morass of effeminacy and softness, 350,000 vigorous young men were trained each year. In the course of their two years' training, they lost the softness of their young days and developed bodies as tough as steel. The young man who had been taught obedience during this time was now ready to command. One could recognize the trained soldier by his very walk.

This was the great school of the German nation. It was not without reason that it drew all the bitter hatred of those who wanted the Reich to be weak and defenseless. The rest of the world recognized a fact that many Germans didn't wish to see, either due to blindness or ill will: the German army was the most powerful weapon for the freedom of the German nation, and the best guarantee for the sustenance of its children.

10.33 THE INCOMPARABLE CIVIL SERVICE

There was a third institution of value that has to be placed beside the monarchy and the army; this was the civil service of the old Reich.

Germany was the best organized and best administered country in the world. There may have been objections to the bureaucratic red tape, but from this point of view, the other countries were no better; and often worse. But the other states didn't have the wonderful German solidarity, nor were their civil servants of the same incorruptible honesty. It's certainly better to be a little old-fashioned but honest and loyal, than to be over-sophisticated and modem, with inferior character, and thus typically ignorant and inefficient.

If it be said today that the pre-war German administration was bureaucratically excellent but incompetent from a business point of view, I can only give the following reply: What other country

in the world possessed a better-organized and administered business enterprise than the German State Railways? It was left to the revolution to destroy this exemplary organization, until a time came when it was taken out of the hands of the nation and socialized, in the sense of this Republic's founders. This made it subservient to the international stock exchange, who were the power behind the German revolution.

The most outstanding trait of the civil service and entire administrative apparatus was their independence from the government, whose passing views had no effect on the role of German state officials. Since the revolution, this situation has been completely changed. Efficiency and capability have been replaced by party ties, and independence of character and initiative are more of a hindrance than a help.

10.34 STATE AUTHORITY

The wonderful might and power of the old Reich was based on the monarchical state-form, the army, and the civil service. On these three foundations rested that great strength that's now entirely lacking: State authority! For this cannot be based on the babbling that goes on in parliament or in the provincial diets, or upon laws made to protect the state, or upon sentences passed by the law courts to frighten those insolently deny it, but only on the general confidence placed in the leadership and administration of the community. This confidence is in its turn nothing else than an unshakable inner conviction that the government and administration of a country is inspired by selflessness and honesty, and on agreement between the spirit of the law and the general moral maintained convictions of the people. In the long run, systems of government are not by threats of violence but on the belief of the people in the merits and sincerity of those who administer and promote the public interests.

Though in the pre-war period, certain grave evils tended to infect and corrode the inner strength of the nation, it must be remembered that the other states suffered even more than Germany from these drawbacks. And yet they didn’t fail and

breakdown when the time of crisis came. If we remember further that those defects in pre-war Germany were outweighed by great positive qualities, we'll have to look elsewhere for the effective cause of the collapse. And this is actually the case.

The ultimate and most profound reason for the German decline is the fact that the racial problem was ignored, and that its importance in the historical development of nations wasn't grasped. Events that take place in the life of nations are not due to chance, but are the natural results of the effort to conserve and multiply the species and the race–even if people aren’t conscious of the inner motives of their conduct.

CHAPTER 11
NATION AND RACE

Certain truths are so obvious that, for this very reason, they are neither seen nor recognized by ordinary people. People are so blind to some of the simplest facts in everyday life that they are very surprised when someone calls attention to what everyone should know. Examples of the Columbus Egg surround us by the hundreds of thousands; but Columbuses are rare.[89]

Walking around in the garden of Nature, most men have the conceit to think that they know everything. Yet almost all are blind to one of the outstanding principles that Nature employs in her work: the inner separation of the species of all living beings on Earth.

Even a superficial glance shows that nature follows a rigid basic law in which all life-forms are restricted to definite limits when propagating and multiplying their own kind. Each animal mates only with one of its own species. The titmouse seeks the titmouse, the finch with the finch, the stork with the stork, the field mouse with the field mouse, the house mouse with the house mouse, the wolf with the she-wolf, etc.

Deviations from this law take place only in exceptional circumstances, such as the compulsion of captivity, or when some other obstacle makes intercourse impossible between members of the same species. But then Nature resists such intercourse with all her might. Her protest is most clearly demonstrated by the fact that the hybrid is either sterile or its descendants have limited fertility. In most cases, they are denied the ordinary powers of resistance to

[89] The Columbus Egg refers to an apocryphal tale in which Christopher Columbus allegedly challenged a group of Spanish noblemen to balance an egg on one end. After they fail, he takes the egg, taps it on the table to slightly crush one end, and then it stands. The moral is that a seemingly impossible task, once done in a certain way, becomes obvious. Many inventions and discoveries are precisely of this nature.

disease or to hostile attacks.

This is only too natural.

Every crossing between two breeds that aren't quite equal yields a product that holds an intermediate place between the levels of the two parents. This means that the offspring will indeed be superior to the racially inferior parent, but not as high as the higher parent. For this reason, it must eventually succumb in any struggle against the higher species. Such mating contradicts the will of nature towards the selective improvements of life in general. The precondition to this improvement is not to mate superior and inferior, but rather to allow the complete triumph of the higher order. The stronger must dominate and not mate with the weaker, thus sacrificing its own greatness. Only the born weakling can look upon this principle as cruel, but he is only a feeble and limited man; for if such a law did not prevail, then the higher development of organic life would be inconceivable.

The consequence of this urge for racial purity, universally valid in nature, is not only the sharply-defined outward distinction between the races but also their uniform character in themselves. The fox is always a fox, the goose is a goose, the tiger is a tiger, etc. The only difference that can exist within the species must be in the various degrees of force, strength, intelligence, efficiency, endurance, etc., of the individual specimens. It would be impossible to find a fox that is kindly and protective towards geese, just as no cat has a friendly disposition towards mice.

That’s why the struggle between the various species doesn’t arise from mutual antipathy but rather from hunger, and from love. In both cases, Nature looks on calmly, and even with satisfaction. The struggle for daily bread leaves behind all those who are weak or sickly or wavering, while the male struggle for the female gives to the healthiest the right to propagate. And this struggle is a means of furthering the species’ health and powers of resistance, and therefore its higher development.

If the case were different, progress would cease, and even regression would occur. Since the inferior always outnumber the superior, the former would always increase more rapidly if they possessed the same capacities for survival and reproduction. The

end result would be that the best would be driven into the background. Therefore a corrective measure in favor of the better must intervene. Nature supplies this by establishing rigorous living conditions, to which the weaker will have to submit and will thereby be numerically restricted. But even the portion that survives cannot reproduce indiscriminately, for here a new and rigorous selection takes place, according to strength and health.

11.1 THE RESULT OF RACIAL MIXING

If Nature doesn't wish that weaker individuals should mate with the stronger, even less does she wish that a superior race should mix with an inferior one. In such a case, all her efforts, throughout hundreds of thousands of years, to establish an evolutionary higher type of being, might be rendered futile.

History provides countless proofs of this law. It shows, with a startling clarity, that whenever Aryans have mingled their blood with that of an inferior race, the result has been the downfall of the cultured people. In North America, where the population is predominantly Germanic, and where those elements intermingled with the colored peoples only to a very small degree, there is a different humanity and culture than those of Central and South America. In these latter countries, the Latin immigrants mated with the aborigines, sometimes on a large scale. In this case we have a clear and decisive example of the effect of racial mixing. But in North America, the Germanic element, which has remained racially pure and unmixed, has come to dominate the American continent. And it will remain master, as long as that element doesn't fall victim to a defiling of the blood.

In short, the results of racial mixing are always the following:

(a) The level of the superior race becomes lowered; and

(b) Physical and mental degeneration sets in, thus leading slowly but surely towards a progressive sickness.

Such a development is nothing other than a sin against the will of the eternal Creator. And as a sin, this act will be avenged.

Man's effort to contradict the iron logic of nature brings him into conflict with those principles to which he himself owes his

own existence.

By acting against nature, he prepares the way for his own ruin.

11.2 MAN AND IDEA

Here we meet an insolent pacifist objection, one that is Jewish in its inspiration: “Man can control even nature!”

There are millions who mindlessly repeat this Jewish nonsense, and end up imagining that somehow they themselves are the conquerors of nature. Yet their only weapon is just a mere idea, and a very preposterous one at that. If one accepted it, then it would be impossible even to imagine the existence of the world.

The real truth is that, not only has man failed to overcome nature in any sphere whatsoever, but that at best he has merely succeeded in getting hold of and lifting a tiny corner of the enormous veil she has spread over her eternal mysteries and secrets. He never creates anything. All he can do is to discover something. He doesn't master nature, but has only come to be the master of those living beings who lack the knowledge he has arrived at, by penetrating into some of nature's laws and mysteries. Apart from all this, an idea can never overcome the preconditions for the existence and development of mankind; the idea itself has come only from man. Without humanity, there would be no human idea in this world. The idea as such is therefore always dependent on the existence of man, and thus is dependent on those laws that created the conditions of his existence.

And not only that! Certain ideas are even confined to certain people. This holds particularly true with regard to those ideas that have roots not in objective scientific truth but in the world of feeling. In other words– to use a current phrase that expresses this truth-they reflect an ‘inner experience.’ All such ideas, which have nothing to do with cold logic per se but represent mere feelings, such as ethical and moral conceptions, etc., are inextricably bound up with man's existence. Such ideas owe their existence to the creative powers of man's imagination.

Now then, a necessary condition for the maintenance of such ideas is the existence of certain races and certain types of men. For example, anyone who sincerely wishes that the pacifist idea should prevail in this world should do everything possible to help the Germans conquer the world. If the opposite should happen, it may easily be the case that the last pacifist would disappear with the last German. I say this because, unfortunately, no one else in the world has fallen prey to this nonsense

like our own people. Whether we liked it or not, we would have to wage war in order to achieve pacifism. This, and nothing less, was the plan of the American world-savior, Wilson.[90] Or at least, that was what our visionaries believed–and thus his goal was achieved.

The pacifist-humanitarian ideal may indeed be an excellent one, but only when the most superior type of man has succeeded in subjugating the world to such an extent that he is the sole ruler of the Earth. This ideal would have evil effects only to the extent in which its application became difficult and finally impossible. So, first of all, the fight; and then perhaps pacifism.

If the case were different, it would mean that mankind has already passed the peak of its development, and thus the end wouldn't be the supremacy of some moral ideal, but degeneration into barbarism and chaos. People may laugh at this statement. But our planet once moved through the ether for millions of years without men, and it may do so once again–if we forget that, wherever humans have reached a superior level of existence, it wasn't due to the ideas of a few crazy visionaries, but by knowing and rigorously applying the iron laws of nature.

11.3 RACE AND CULTURE

All that we admire in the world today–science, art, technology, and inventions–are the products of the creative activities of a few peoples; and perhaps even originally of one race. The maintenance of civilization is wholly dependent on them. Should they perish, all that makes this Earth beautiful will descend with them into the grave.

However much the soil, for example, can influence men, this influence will vary according the particular race in question. Poor soil may stimulate one race to the highest achievements; in another race, it may be the cause of poverty and finally of malnourishment, with all its consequences. Though subject to external circumstances, it is the internal characteristics of a people that always determine the outcome. That which reduces one race to starvation drives another to hard work.

All the great civilizations of the past decayed because the

[90] Woodrow Wilson, American president during World War I. It was his administration, heavily populated with Jewish advisers, that dictated the harsh terms of the Versailles Treaty. Hitler never forgave him for that.

originally creative race died out, as a result of poisoning of the blood.

The ultimate cause of such a decline is the fact that the people forgot that all culture depends on men, and not the reverse. In other words, to preserve a certain culture, the man that creates it must be preserved.

But this preservation is bound up with the inexorable law of necessity, and with the right of victory of the best and strongest.

He who would live must fight. And he who doesn't wish to fight in this world of permanent struggle has no right to live.

Such a saying may sound harsh–and so it is! Yet far harsher is the fate of he who believes that he can overcome nature, and thus in reality insults her. Distress, misery, and disease are her replies!

Whoever ignores or misjudges the laws of race deprives himself of the happiness that belongs to him. He places an obstacle in the victorious path of the superior race and, by doing so, interferes with a precondition of all human progress. Burdened with humanitarian sentiment, he falls back to the realm of the helpless beast.

11.4 THE ARYAN AS FOUNDER OF CULTURE

It would be futile to attempt to determine which race or races were the original standard-bearers of human culture, and were thereby the real founders of all that we understand by the word 'humanity.' It's much simpler to deal with this question insofar as it relates to the present time. Here the answer is simple and clear. Every manifestation of human culture, every product of art, science, and technical skill that we see today, are almost exclusively the creative product of the Aryan. This very fact fully justifies the conclusion that it was the Aryan alone who founded a superior type of humanity; therefore he represents the archetype of what we understand by the term 'man.' He is the Prometheus of mankind, from whose shining brow the divine spark of genius has at all times flashed forth, always kindling anew the fire that, in the form of knowledge, illuminated the dark night by drawing aside the veil of mystery, showing man how to rise up and become

master over all the other earthly beings. Exclude him-and a profound darkness will descend upon the Earth. Within a few thousand years, human culture will vanish and the world will become a desert.

If we divide mankind into three groups–founders of culture, bearers of culture, and destroyers of culture–the Aryan alone can be considered as representing the first group. It was he who erected the foundation and walls of every great structure in human culture. Only the shape and color of such structures can be attributed to the characteristics of the various peoples. The Aryan furnished the great building stones and plans for the edifices of all human progress; only the execution of these plans can be attributed to the qualities of each individual race.

Within a few decades, the whole of eastern Asia, for instance, will possess a culture was founded by the Greek mind and Germanic technology. Only the external form–at least partly–shows the traits of Asiatic inspiration. It isn't true, as some believe, that Japan adds European technology to its own culture. The truth rather is that European science and technology are just overlaid with the peculiar characteristics of Japanese civilization. The foundations of actual life in Japan today aren't those of native Japanese culture, although this colors daily life and thus appears striking to the European eye. Rather, the real foundations are the enormous scientific and technical achievements of Europe and America; that is, of Aryan peoples. Only on basis of these achievements can the Orient follow contemporary world progress. They provide the basis of the struggle for daily bread, and create weapons and implements for this; only the outward form is gradually adapted to Japanese ways of life.

If, from today onwards, the Aryan influence on Japan ceased–if Europe and America collapsed–then Japan's present progress in science and technology might still last for a short while. But within a few decades, the inspiration would dry up, native Japanese character would flourish, and present civilization would become fossilized and fall back into the sleep from which it was aroused seven decades ago by Aryan culture. Therefore, just as present Japanese development is due to Aryan influence, so in the

distant past, foreign influence and spirit awakened Japanese culture of that day.

The best proof of this is the fact that ancient Japanese civilization actually became fossilized and petrified. This can happen only if a people loses the racial nucleus that was originally creative, or if an outside influence is withdrawn after having awakened and maintained the initial cultural developments. If it be shown that a people owes the fundamental elements of its culture to foreign races, assimilating and elaborating such elements, and if subsequently that culture becomes fossilized whenever the external influence ceases, then such a race may be called ‘culture-bearing’ but never ‘culture-creating.’

Examining various peoples from this standpoint shows that practically none of them were originally culture-founding, but almost always culture-bearing.

This development nearly always happens in the following way:

Aryan tribes, often ridiculously small in number, subjugate foreign peoples and, stimulated by the conditions of life in the new territory (fertility, climatic abundance, etc.), and profiting also by the abundance of manual labor, they develop the intellectual and organizational faculties dormant in them. Within a few thousand years, or even centuries, they create cultures that reflect the inner characteristics of the founders–though modified by the special qualities of the soil and the subjugated people.

In the end, though, the conquering race offends against the principle of blood purity to which they initially adhered. They begin to mix with the subjugated people, thus ending their own existence. Mankind's Fall in Paradise has always been followed by expulsion.

After a thousand years or more, the last visible traces of the former master people may then be found in a lighter tint of the skin that the blood had bequeathed to the subjugated race, and in a petrified culture that it had originally created. Once the blood of the bodily and spiritual conqueror got lost in the blood of the subjected people, the fuel for the torch of human progress was lost! Just as the blood of the former ruling race left a light nuance of color in the blood of its descendants as a token memory, so too

the night of cultural life is gently illuminated by the products of those who were the original bearers of light. Their radiance shines through the barbarism to which the subjected race has reverted. This often leads the superficial observer to believe that he sees before him an image of the present race, when in fact he is only gazing into a mirror of the past.

It may happen that, in the course of its history, such a people will come into contact a second time, or perhaps more, with the race of original founders of their culture. They may not even remember that distant association. Instinctively, though, the remnants of the master blood will be drawn towards this new phenomenon, and what had formerly been possible only under compulsion can now succeed through the people's own will. A new cultural wave flows in, and lasts until the blood of its standard-bearers once again submerges in the blood of the conquered peoples.

It will be the task of those who study the universal history of civilization to conduct research from this viewpoint, instead of allowing themselves to be smothered by a mass of external data–as is only too often the case with our present historical science.

This short sketch of the development of the culture-bearing nations gives a picture of the development and activity–and the decline–of those who are the true culture-founders on this Earth, the Aryans themselves.

Just as in our daily life the so-called man of genius needs a particular occasion, and sometimes indeed a special stimulus, to make him shine, so too with racial genius in the life of peoples. In the monotony of everyday life, even men of significance seem just like the others, and don't rise above the average of their fellow men. But as soon as such men find themselves in a situation in which others stray or become hopeless, the humble and ordinary man reveals traits of genius–often to the amazement of those who had, until then, only known him in the pettiness of everyday life. That's why a prophet only seldom counts for anything in his own country.

War offers an excellent occasion for observing this. In times of distress, when the others despair, apparently harmless boys

suddenly spring up and become heroes, with death-defying determination and an icy-cool mindset. If such an hour of trial hadn't come, no one would have guessed that a hero lurked in the body of that beardless youth.

A special impulse is almost always necessary to bring genius into view. The sledge-hammer of fate, which strikes down the one so easily, suddenly strikes steel in another. And when the shell of everyday life is broken, the hidden core lay visible to an astonished world. The world resists. It refuses to believe that something seemingly so normal is suddenly so different. This process is repeated every time a man of outstanding quality appears.

Though an inventor, for example, doesn't establish his fame until the day of his invention, it would be a mistake to believe that the creative genius didn't become alive until that moment. The spark of genius lives within the man who has it from the moment of birth. True genius is an innate quality; it can never be cultivated or learned.

As stated already, this applies not merely to the individual but also the race. Peoples with creative abilities have always been fundamentally creative. It belongs to their very nature, even though this fact may escape the eyes of the superficial observer. Here, too, recognition from outside is only the consequence of practical achievement. The rest of the world is incapable of recognizing genius as such, and can only see the visible manifestations of genius in the form of inventions, discoveries, buildings, paintings, etc. But even here, a long time passes before recognition is given. Just as the individual person who has been endowed with the gift of genius, or at least talent of a very high order, cannot realize that endowment until prompted by special circumstances, so too in the life of nations; creative capacities and powers frequently have to wait until certain conditions stimulate them to action.

The most obvious example of this truth is furnished by that race that has been, and still is, the standard-bearer of human progress: the Aryans. As soon as fate confronts them with special circumstances, their powers begin to develop progressively and to

be manifested in tangible forms. The cultures that they create are almost always conditioned by the soil, the climate, and the people they subjugate.

The last factor is the most decisive. The more primitive the technical conditions for cultural activity, the more necessary is the existence of manual labor that can be organized and employed to take the place of mechanical power. Had it not been possible to employ members of the inferior race, the Aryans would never have been in a position to take the first steps toward a future culture. Similarly, without the help of certain suitable animals that they were able to tame, they would never have come to a technology that has subsequently enabled them to do without these beasts. The phrase, 'The Moor has done his work, the Moor can go' has, unfortunately, a deep meaning.[91] For thousands of years, the horse has been the faithful servant of man, helping to lay the foundations of human progress; but now the motor car has made the horse superfluous. In a few years to come, the horse's function will cease entirely. And yet without its collaboration, man could scarcely have come to the stage of development where he is today.

For the establishment of superior types of cultures, the inferior races were one of the most essential prerequisites. They alone could compensate for the lack of mechanical means, without which no progress is possible. The first stages of human culture were certainly not based so much on tame animals as on the use of inferior human beings.

Only after subjugated races were used as slaves did a similar fate strike the animals, and not vice versa, as some people would like to believe. At first it was the conquered enemy who had to draw the plow–and only afterwards the horse. Only foolish pacifists can see this as a sign of human degradation. Such people fail to recognize that this development had to take place in order to reach that place where these apostles could force their drivel upon the world.

Human progress is like ascending an infinite ladder. One can't

[91] Quoting from Schiller's 1783 play *Die Verschwörung des Fiesko zu Genua* (Fiesco's Conspiracy at Genoa), Act III, Scene 4.

reach the higher levels without first having climbed the lower rungs. The Aryan therefore had to take the path to which reality directed him, and not that dreamt of by the modern pacifist. The path of reality, however, is difficult and hard; yet it's the only one that finally leads to the goal that others envisage in their dreams. In reality, the dreamers only lead man away from his goal, rather than towards it.

It was no accident that the first forms of culture arose where the Aryan came into contact with inferior races, subjugated them, and forced them to obey his command. The members of the inferior race became the first technical instrument in the service of a developing culture.[92]

11.5 EFFECTS OF BLOOD-MIXING

Thus the road that the Aryan had to follow was clearly marked. As a conqueror, he subjugated inferior races and turned their physical powers into organized channels under his own leadership, forcing them to follow his will and aims. By imposing on them a useful, though hard, activity, he not only spared their lives but probably made their lives easier than they had been with their former so-called 'freedom.' While he ruthlessly maintained his position as their master, he not only remained master but he also maintained and advanced human culture. This depended exclusively on his inborn abilities and, therefore, on his preservation as such.

As soon, however, as his subject began to rise up and approach the level of their conqueror–probably at the point when they began to use his language–the dividing wall between master and servant broke down. The Aryan neglected his own racial purity and thereby lost the right to live in the paradise that he himself had created. He became submerged in the racial mixture and gradually lost his cultural creativeness, until he finally became, both mentally and physically, more like the subjugated aborigines rather than his own ancestors. For awhile he could continue to live

[92] This idea anticipates the later idea of the 'megamachine' as a systematic use of human labor to achieve social and cultural ends. See Mumford (1966).

on the cultural capital that still remained; but a condition of fossilization soon set in, and he sank into oblivion.

Thus cultures and empires declined, yielding their places to new formations.

Blood mixture and the subsequent racial deterioration are the only causes of the decline of ancient civilizations. It's never by war that nations are ruined, but by the loss of their powers of resistance, which are contained only in pure racial blood.

Everything in this world that is not racially good is like chaff.

Every historical event in the world is nothing but a manifestation of the instinct of racial self-preservation, whether for better or worse.

11.6 SERVICE TO THE COMMUNITY

The question of the inner causes for the dominating importance of Aryanism can be answered by saying it isn't so much that they have a stronger survival instinct, but rather that this manifests itself in a special way. Considered subjectively, the will-to-live is equally strong everywhere; only the forms in which it is expressed are different.

Among the most primitive organisms, the survival instinct doesn't extend beyond concern for the individual ego. Egoism, as we call this passion, goes so far that it even includes *time*; the present moment is deemed the most important, and nothing is left to the future. The animal lives only for itself, seeking food when hungry and fighting only for its own self-preservation. As long as the instinct for self-preservation manifests itself in this way, there is no basis for the formation of a community–not even the most primitive form of family. Even a community of two, male and female, demands an extension of the instinct for self-preservation, since the readiness to fight for one's own ego must be extended to the mate. The male sometimes provides food for the female, but in most cases both parents provide food for the offspring. Almost always, they are ready to protect and defend each other; so that here we find the first, though infinitely simple, form of the spirit of sacrifice. As soon as this spirit extends beyond the narrow

limits of the family, we have the conditions under which larger associations, and finally even states, can be formed.

The lowest peoples of this Earth display this quality only to a very small degree, so that often they don't go beyond the formation of the family. With an increasing readiness to subordinate their immediate personal interests, the capacity develops for organizing more extensive communities.

The readiness to sacrifice one's personal labor and, if necessary, even one's life, for others is most highly developed in the Aryan. The greatness of the Aryan is not his intellect, but rather his willingness to devote all his faculties to the service of the community. Here the instinct for self-preservation has reached its noblest form. The Aryan willingly subordinates his own ego to the common interest and, when necessary, even sacrifices it.

The Aryan's peculiar ability for the building up of a culture is not grounded in his intellectual gifts alone. If that were so, they could only be destructive and could never be able to organize; the innermost essence of organization demands that the individual renounce his own personal opinions and interests, and lay both at the service of the larger group. By serving the common interest, he receives his reward in return. For example, he doesn't work directly for himself but makes his productive work a part of the activity of the group to which he belongs–not only for his own benefit, but for all. The spirit underlying this attitude is expressed by the word 'work,' which to him doesn't mean earning one's daily livelihood but rather a productive activity that doesn't clash with the interests of the community. Whenever human activity is directed exclusively to the service of the instinct for self-preservation, it's called theft, usury, robbery, burglary, etc.

This state of mind, which forces self-interest into the background in favor of the community, is the first prerequisite for any true human culture. From this alone rises all the great works of humanity, that bring little reward to the creator but is a source of great blessings for posterity. It's this spirit alone that explains why a people can endure a harsh but honest existence, but at the same time consolidates the foundations on which the community exists. Every worker, every peasant, every inventor, state official,

etc., who works without ever achieving fortune or prosperity for himself is a representative of this sublime idea–even though he may never become conscious of the profound meaning of his own activity.

That which applies to work as the fundamental condition of human sustenance and the means of human progress, applies even more so to work done in defense of man and his culture. Giving one's own life for the sake of the community is the crowning sense of sacrifice. Only in this way can we protect that which has been built by man, ensuring that it won't be overthrown by man or destroyed by nature.

11.7 PUREST IDEALISM, DEEPEST KNOWLEDGE

Our German language has a word that admirably expresses this kind of activity: *Pflichterfüllung*, or the service of the community before individual self-sufficiency.

To distinguish it from egoism or selfishness, we call the basic attitude that arises from this kind of activity–idealism. By this we signify the willingness of the individual to make sacrifices for the community and his fellow men.

It's of the utmost importance to insist again and again that idealism is not merely a superfluous expression of emotion, but rather something that has been, is, and always will be a necessary precondition of human culture–yes, even that it created the very idea of the concept of 'human.' The Aryan owes his position in the world to this kind of mentality; and to the world, man. From this pure spirit has arisen the creative force that, combining brutal fist with intellectual genius, has created the monuments of human culture.

Were it not for idealism, all the faculties of the intellect, even the most brilliant, would be nothing but intellect itself–a mere external phenomenon without inner value, and never a creative force.

Since true idealism, however, is essentially the subordination of individual interests and life to the community, and since the community, for its part, represents the prerequisite of every form

of organization, this corresponds, in its innermost essence, with the final will of nature. This feeling alone makes men voluntarily acknowledge the privilege of strength and power, and thus makes them a constituent particle in that order that shapes and forms the whole universe.

The purest idealism is unconsciously associated with the deepest knowledge.

How true this is, and how little genuine idealism has to do with fantastic imagination, becomes clear the moment we ask an unspoiled child-a healthy boy, for example–to give his opinion. The very same boy who listens to the rantings of an 'idealistic' pacifist without understanding them, and even rejects them, would readily sacrifice his young life for the ideal of his people.

Unconsciously, his instinct will obey the primal necessity of the preservation of the species, even at the cost of his individual life, and he will protest against the fantasies of pacifist ranters–who in reality are nothing better than cowardly but disguised egoists, and who contradict the laws of human development. Such development requires a willingness of the individual to sacrifice for the community, and not the morbid imaginings of cowardly know-it-alls and critics of nature.

Just at the time when the idealistic attitude threatens to disappear, we notice a weakening of the force that founds and maintains the community, and is thereby a necessary precondition of culture. As soon as egoism begins to prevail among a people, the bonds of social order break down; and man, by seeking his own personal happiness, falls out of heaven and right into hell.

Yes: Posterity will forget those who pursued only their own interests; but it will praise those heroes who have renounced their own happiness.

11.8 ARYAN AND JEW

The most striking contrast to the Aryan is the Jew. There is probably no other people in the world who have so developed the instinct of self-preservation as the so-called chosen people. The best proof of this is the simple fact that this race still exists. Where

are another people that, in the course of the last 2,000 years, have undergone so few changes in mental outlook and character as the Jews? What other people has been involved in greater revolutionary changes–and yet, even after the most gigantic catastrophes, has emerged unchanged? What an infinitely tenacious will-to-live, to preserve one's kind, is shown by that fact!

The intellectual faculties of the Jew have been trained over thousands of years. Today he passes as 'smart'; and in a certain sense, he has been so throughout the ages. But his intelligence is not the result of an inner evolution, but rather has been shaped by the object-lessons of others.

The human spirit cannot climb upwards without taking successive steps. For every step upwards, it needs the foundation of the past–which, in the comprehensive sense, only appears in general culture. All thinking originates, only to a very small degree, in personal experience. The largest part is based on the accumulated experiences of the past. The general level of culture subconsciously provides the individual with such an abundance of preliminary knowledge that he can thereby more easily take further steps of his own.

The boy of today, for example, grows up among such an overwhelming mass of technical achievements of the last centuries that he takes for granted many things that, a hundred years ago, were still mysteries even to the greatest minds. Yet these things are of enormous importance to those who would understand the progress we have made in these matters, and would like to carry on that progress. If a man of genius from the 1820s were to arise from his grave today, he would find it harder to understand our present age than the average 15-year-old boy. He would lack an extraordinary amount of preliminary information that our contemporary youth receive automatically, so to say, as they grow up among the products of our modem culture.

Since the Jew–for reasons that will become apparent–never had a culture of his own, he has always been supplied with a basis for his intellectual work by others. His intellect has always developed through the cultural achievements of those around him.

The process has never been the reverse.

Though the Jewish people's instinct for self-preservation hasn't been weaker but rather much stronger than among other peoples, and although one gets the impression that their intellectual powers are at least equal to those of other races, they completely lack the most essential prerequisite of a cultured people–the idealistic spirit.

With the Jewish people, the readiness for sacrifice doesn't extend beyond the simple instinct for individual preservation. The feeling of solidarity that they apparently manifest is nothing but a very primitive herd instinct, similar to that which is found among other organisms in this world. It's a remarkable fact that this herd instinct provides mutual support only as long as there is a common danger, which makes mutual assistance useful or inevitable. The same pack of wolves that just joined together in a common attack will dissolve into individuals as soon as their hunger is quenched. The same is true of horses, which unite to defend themselves against any aggressor but separate as soon as the danger is over.

11.9 CONSEQUENCES OF JEWISH EGOISM

It's the same with the Jew. His spirit of sacrifice is only apparent. It is present only as long as the individual's existence makes this an absolute necessity. But as soon as the common foe is conquered, the danger that threatened is overcome, and the prey secured, then the apparent Jewish harmony disappears and the original conditions return. The Jews act in concord only when a common danger threatens, or when a common prey attracts them. Where these two motives are lacking, the most brutal egoism appears; and these people, who had previously lived together in unity, turn into a bloody, fighting swarm of rats.

If the Jews were the only people in the world, they would wallow in filth and mire. They would exploit and uproot one another in a bitter struggle–except insofar as their utter lack of the ideal of sacrifice, which shows itself in their cowardice, turned the struggle into comic theater.

It would therefore be a complete mistake to infer any sense of

sacrifice in the Jews from the fact that they stand together in a common struggle against–or rather, to exploit–their fellow man.

Here again, the Jew merely follows the naked egoism of the individual.

That's why the Jewish State-which should be a vital organization to preserve or increase the race-has absolutely no territorial boundaries. The territorial delimitation of a state always demands a certain spirit of idealism on the part of the race in question, and especially a proper interpretation of the idea of work. A territorially delimited state cannot be established or maintained without a generally positive attitude towards work. If this attitude is lacking, then the necessary basis of a culture is also lacking.

That's why the Jewish people, despite their apparent intellectual powers, have no culture–and certainly no culture of their own. The present sham culture of the Jew is the product of the work of others, and this product is debased in his hands.

11.10 SHAM CULTURE OF THE JEWS

In order to correctly evaluate Jewry's attitude toward the question of human culture, we must bear in mind the essential fact that there never has been any Jewish art, and consequently there is none today. Above all, in those two royal domains of art–architecture and music–Jewry has done nothing original. What they do achieve in the field of art is either a patchwork, or intellectual theft.[93] The Jew essentially lacks the qualities that are characteristic of those creative races that are the founders of culture.

To what extent the Jew appropriates foreign civilization-or rather corrupts it–is indicated by the fact that he chiefly cultivates the art that calls for the least original invention, namely, acting. And even here he is only a 'juggler,' or rather an imitative

[93] This complaint is ancient. For centuries, observers have remarked on the inability of Jews to create their own culture or civilization. As far back as circa 75 AD, Apollonius Molon wrote that the Jews "are the only people who have contributed no useful invention to civilization"; for details, see Dalton (2011).

monkey; he lacks the final touch that's necessary for true greatness. Even here, therefore, he is not a creative genius but rather a superficial imitator who, in spite of all his twists and tricks, cannot disguise the fact that there's no inner vitality in his work. Here the Jewish press comes in and renders friendly assistance by shouting hosannas over even the most ordinary bungler–as long as he's a Jew–until the rest of the world is stampeded into thinking that the object of so much praise must really be an artist. In reality he's nothing more than a pitiful comedian.

No; the Jew has no culture-creating abilities of any kind. There is not, and has never been, in him any spirit of idealism that is a necessary element in the higher development of mankind. His intellect will never be constructive, but always destructive. At best, it may serve as a stimulus in rare cases, but only as the archetype of "the power that always wants Evil and nevertheless creates the Good."[94] Human progress occurs not through him, but in spite of him.

11.11 THE JEW, A PARASITE

Since the Jew has never had a state based on territorial limits, and therefore never a culture of his own, the idea arose that here was a people who had to be considered as nomads.[95] This is a great and dangerous error. The true nomad does actually possess a definite territory; but he merely doesn't cultivate it, as the settled farmer does. He lives on the products of his herds, with which he wanders over his domain. The natural reason for this mode of existence can be found in the infertility of the soil, which doesn't allow permanent settlement.

The deeper cause, though, lies in the fact that there is no technical culture at hand to make up for the natural poverty of the living space. There are territories where even the Aryan can establish fixed settlements only by means of his technology,

[94] Goethe's *Faust*, line 1336.
[95] What we would today call 'nomadic hunter-gatherers.'

developed over the course of more than a thousand years. Otherwise these territories would have to be abandoned, unless the Aryan were willing to wander about in nomadic fashion. But his technical tradition and his age-long experience in the use of technical means would probably make the nomadic life unbearable for him.

We should remember that, during the first period of American colonization, numerous Aryans earned their daily livelihood as trappers, hunters, etc., frequently wandering about in large groups with their women and children, very much like nomads. But as soon as their growing numbers and improved tools allowed the land to be cleared, and natives driven out, their established settlements rapidly grew.

The Aryan himself was probably at first a nomad, becoming a settler only in the course of ages. And therefore he was never a Jew! No, the Jew is not a nomad; the nomad already has a definite attitude towards the concept of 'work,' and this served as the basis of later cultural development, when the necessary intellectual conditions were at hand. There's a certain amount of idealism in the nomad, even though of a rather primitive kind. His whole character, therefore, may seem odd to the Aryan, but he will never be unsympathetic to it. The Jew, however, hasn't the slightest trace of idealism. He has never been a nomad, but always a parasite in the body of other peoples. If he occasionally abandoned regions where he had previously lived, he didn't do so voluntarily. He did it because, from time to time, he was driven out by those whom he had abused.[96] Jewish self-expansion is a typical parasitic phenomenon; he always seeks new feeding ground for his race.

But this has nothing to do with nomadism, because the Jew never thinks of leaving a territory that he has once occupied. He firmly stays where he is, with such tenacity that he can hardly be driven out, even by force. He expands into new territories only when certain conditions for his existence appear; but without

[96] For millennia, Jews have been driven out by their host populations. The Nazi expulsion of Jews was only the latest in a long history of such actions, reaching back at least to the ancient Egyptians.

them–unlike the nomad–he would never change his residence. He is and remains an eternal parasite, a sponger who, like a pernicious bacillus, spreads over wider and wider areas as they become favorable to him. The effect produced by his presence is also like that of a sponger; wherever he establishes himself, the host people die out, sooner or later.

11.12 JEWISH 'RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY'

Thus the Jew has, at all times, lived in states belonging to other people, and there he has formed his own state. It remains hidden behind the mask of 'religious community,' as long as external circumstances make it inadvisable to reveal its true nature. But as soon as he feels strong enough to do without a disguise, he lifts the mask and suddenly becomes that which many others didn't wish to believe or see: the Jew.

The Jew's life as a parasite thriving on the body of other nations and states explains a characteristic that caused Schopenhauer to describe the Jew as "the great master of lies."[97] Existence compels the Jew to lie, and to lie systematically–just as it compels the inhabitants of northern climates to wear warm clothes.

He can live among other peoples only as long as he succeeds in persuading them that he is not a people but a 'religious community'–though of a special sort.

This is but his first great lie.

In order to continue his existence as a parasite of other peoples, he is obliged to conceal his inner nature. The greater the intelligence of the individual Jew, the better will he succeed in deceiving others. It may go so far that his host people will actually believe that the Jew really is a Frenchman or Englishman, a German or Italian, who happens to belong to a special religious faith. State authorities in particular, who generally have only a minimal historical sense, fall victim to his notorious deception. In these circles, independent thinking is considered a sin against the sacred rules by which official promotion takes place. It's therefore

[97] See Chapter 10.4, note 76.

unsurprising that even today, in the Bavarian government offices, for example, there isn't the slightest suspicion that the Jews form a people and not a 'religion.' One glance, though, at the Jewish press should provide sufficient proof for even those of the most modest intelligence. The *Jewish Echo*, however, is not an official gazette and therefore not authoritative in the eyes of those government potentates.

11.13 JEWISH RELIGIOUS DOCTRINE

Jewry has always been a nation of a definite racial character, and never a religion. Early on, and driven by a desire to get ahead, they began to seek for a means that would distract from any inconvenient attention. What could be more effective, and at the same time more above suspicion, than the idea of a religious community? Here, too, everything is copied, or rather stolen–the Jew could not possess any religious institution that developed from his own nature, seeing that he lacks any kind of idealism. As well, any belief in the afterlife is foreign to him.[98] To the Aryan mind, religion is unimaginable unless it embodies the conviction that life somehow survives after death. As a matter of fact, the Talmud is not a book that prepares one for the afterlife; it only supplies rules for a practical and profitable life in this world.

Jewish religious doctrine is principally a collection of instructions for maintaining the blood purity of Jewry, and for regulating intercourse between Jews, themselves, and the rest of the world–which is to say, their relation with non-Jews. But this teaching isn't concerned with moral problems. Rather, it's concerned with petty economic problems.

Of the moral value of Jewish religious teaching, there are, and have always been, exhaustive studies (not by Jews; Jewish drivel on this subject is always self-serving) that show this kind of religion to be utterly monstrous, from the Aryan perspective. The

[98] The Old Testament–that is, the Jewish Bible–is almost completely lacking in reference to an immortal soul, an afterlife, heaven and hell, etc. The focus is strictly on the present physical, material realm. This is partly why material concerns–money, material goods, sensual pleasure, power, etc–weigh so heavily within Judaism.

Jew himself is the best example of the product of this religious training. His life is only of this world, and his mentality is as foreign to the true spirit of Christianity as his character was to the great Founder of this new creed, 2,000 years ago.[99] The Founder made no secret of his estimation of the Jewish people. When necessary, he drove those enemies of the human race out of the temple of God; then, as always, they used religion as a means of advancing their commercial interests. In return, Christ was nailed to the cross. Our modem Christians, on the other hand, enter into party politics and, when elections are being held, they debase themselves to beg for Jewish votes. They even enter into political swindles with the atheistic Jewish parties, against the interests of their own nation.

On this first and greatest lie–that Jewry is not a race but a religion–other subsequent lies are based. One of these relates to the language of the Jew. For him, language is not a means for expressing his inner thoughts but rather a means of concealing them. When he speaks French, he thinks Jewish; and when writing German verses, he only gives expression to the character of his own nationality.

As long as the Jew has not succeeded in mastering other peoples, he's forced to speak their language–whether he likes it or not. But as soon as they become his slaves, they would have to learn another language (Esperanto, for example!), so that by this means Jewry could more easily dominate them!

11.14 THE 'ELDERS OF ZION'

How much the whole existence of this people is based on a permanent lie is proved in a unique way *by The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, so infinitely hated by the Jews.[100] With groans and

[99] Hitler seems unaware that Jesus, Mary, Joseph, and all 12 Apostles were Jews. For a detailed analysis of the relationship between Judaism and early Christianity, from Nietzsche's perspective, see Dalton (2010, 2011c).

[100] The Protocols are a series of 24 short essays purporting to describe Jewish plans for world domination. Of uncertain origin, they emerged in Russia in the early 1900s, and were "exposed" as a hoax in 1921. From Hitler's standpoint, however, it's irrelevant who wrote it; what matters is whether it is a true account of the activities of international Jewry.

moans, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* repeats again and again that these are forgeries: the best proof of their authenticity. Here, what many Jews unconsciously wish to do is clearly set forth, and that's what counts. It doesn't matter from what Jewish brain these revelations sprang; the important thing is that they disclose, with an almost terrifying precision, the nature and activity of the Jewish people, exposing both their inner contexts and final aims.

The best way of judging them, however, is reality. If historical developments of the last few centuries are studied in light of this book, we will immediately understand the constant outcry of the Jewish press. The moment that the general public gets hold of this book, the Jewish danger will be stamped out.

Copies are widely available on the Internet-for example, at www.radioislam.org and www.jewwatch.com. Radio Islam includes this brief and fairly accurate synopsis:

"Goyim are mentally inferior to Jews and can't run their nations properly. For their sake and ours, we need to abolish their governments and replace them with a single government. This will take a long time and involve much bloodshed, but it's for a good cause. Here's what we'll need to do:

- Place our agents and helpers everywhere.
- Take control of the media and use it in propaganda for our plans.
- Start fights between different races, classes, and religions.
- Use bribery, threats, and blackmail to get our way.
- Use Freemasonic Lodges to attract potential public officials.
- Appeal to successful peoples' egos.
- Appoint puppet leaders who can be controlled by blackmail.
- Replace royal rule with socialist rule, then communism, then despotism.
- Abolish all rights and freedoms, except the right of force by us.
- Sacrifice people (including Jews sometimes) when necessary.
- Eliminate religion; replace it with science and materialism.
- Control the education system to spread deception and destroy intellect.
- Rewrite history to our benefit.
- Create entertaining distractions.
- Corrupt minds with filth and perversion.
- Encourage people to spy on one another.
- Keep the masses in poverty and perpetual labor.
- Take possession of all wealth, property, and (especially) gold.
- Use gold to manipulate the markets, cause depressions, etc.
- Introduce a progressive tax on wealth.
- Replace sound investment with speculation.
- Make long-term interest-bearing loans to governments.
- Give bad advice to governments and everyone else.

Eventually the Goyim will be so angry with their governments that they'll gladly have us take over. We will then appoint a descendant of David to be king of the world, and the remaining Goyim will bow down and sing his praises. Everyone will live in peace and obedient order under his glorious rule." Even this brief summary demonstrates the relevancy of the document.

11.15 THE WAY OF JEWRY

In order to properly know the Jew, it's necessary to study the road that he has followed among other peoples during the last few centuries. One example will suffice to give clear insight here. Since his way has been the same for all epochs–just as that of the people degraded by him has remained the same–it will be best, for present purposes, to mark his development by stages. For the sake of simplicity, I will indicate these stages by letters of the alphabet.[101]

The first Jews came into ancient Germany during the time of the Roman invasion; as usual, they came as merchants. During the turmoil caused by subsequent great migrations, the Jews seem to have disappeared. The period of the first Germanic state formation may be seen as the beginning of a process whereby Central and Northern Europe was again, and this time permanently, Judaized. A development began that has always been the same, or similar, wherever Jews came into contact with Aryan peoples.

(a) As soon as the first permanent settlements were established, the Jew was suddenly 'there.' He arrived as a merchant, and in the beginning didn't bother to disguise his nationality. He still remained openly a Jew, partly because of the large racial difference between himself and his host people, partly because he knew too little of the language, and partly because the social cohesion of the host people was too strong; he couldn't appear as anything other than a foreign merchant. His cunning, combined with inexperience on the part of the host people, meant that it was no disadvantage to openly retain his Jewish character. Rather, it would have been an advantage; the foreigner was often well-received.

(b) Slowly but steadily, he began to take part in economic life–not as a producer, but only as a middleman. His commercial cunning, acquired over thousands of years of negotiation as an intermediary, made him superior to the Aryans, who were still

[101] The remainder of this chapter is organized around 12 distinct points, designated 'a' through 'l'.

quite helpless and boundlessly honest. After a short time, commerce threatened to become a Jewish monopoly.

He began to lend money at usurious interest. It was he who first introduced the payment of interest.[102] The danger of this innovation was not initially recognized; rather, it was welcomed, because it offered momentary advantages.

(c) At this stage, the Jew became firmly settled. He inhabited special quarters of the cities and towns, gradually coming to form a State within a State.[103] He regarded the commercial domain and all financial transactions as his own exclusive privilege, which he ruthlessly exploited.

(d) Finance and trade became his complete monopoly. His usurious interest rates finally aroused opposition; his impudence gave rise to indignation; his wealth, to envy. His cup ran over when he included land among his commercial objects, and degraded it to the level of a commodity to be sold, or rather traded. Since he himself never cultivated the soil but considered it only as an object to be exploited–something on which the peasant could still live, but only by submitting to the miserable extortions of his new master–public antipathy grew into open hatred. His blood-sucking tyranny became so unbearable that excessive actions were taken against him. People began to scrutinize this foreigner more closely, discovering more and more repulsive traits and characteristics in him, until the cleft became unbridgeable.[104]

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[102] Indeed, "the earliest roots of the concept [of usury] are found in the Old Testament and [later] in Aristotle" (Taeusch 1942: 291). And as Houkes (2004:15) points out, Jews were prohibited from loaning at interest only to their fellow Jews, and not to strangers: "Lending to foreigners not only was permissible, but it was regarded a blessing of God." This is explicit in the Jewish Bible: "Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy [Jewish] brother ... To a foreigner you may lend upon usury, but to your brother you shall not lend upon usury" (Deut 23:19). And God indeed promised to the Jews that usury would lead to power over nations; "For the Lord your God will bless you, as he promised you, and you shall lend to many nations, but you shall not borrow; and you shall rule over many nations, but they shall not rule over you" (Deut 15:6).

[103] See Chapter 4.12, note 45.

[104] Compare to this observation by the ancient Greek writer Philostratus: "The Jews have long been in revolt not only against the Romans, but against all humanity ... [They] are separated from ourselves by a greater gulf than divides us from Susa or Bactra or the more distant Indies" (*Life of Apollonius*, V.33 .4). Notably, this was written circa 225 AD. For details, see Dalton (2011).

In times of distress, a wave of public anger has usually arisen against him, and the plundered and ruined masses began to defend themselves against what they considered to be a scourge of God. They came to know him though the course of centuries, eventually viewing his mere existence as something comparable to the plague.

(e) Now the Jew begins to reveal his true character. He pays court to governments with servile flattery, using his money to ingratiate himself further and thus securing the privilege of exploiting his victims. Although public wrath occasionally flares up against this eternal blood-sucker, driving him out, after a few years he reappears in those same places and carries on. as before. No persecution can force him to give up this type of human exploitation, and none can drive him away; he always returns after a short time, and it's the same old story.

In an effort to at least prevent the worst from happening, people begin to withdraw the land from his usurious hands by making it illegal for him to own land.

(f) As the power of kings and princes grows, so in proportion does he cozy up to them. He begs for ‘charters’ and ‘privileges,’ which those gentlemen, who are generally in financial difficulty, gladly supply in return for suitable payment. However high a price he has to pay, he succeeds in getting it back within a few years from interest and compound interest. He is a true blood-sucker who clings to the body of his unfortunate victims and cannot be removed; and when the princes find themselves again in need, they draw from his blood with their own hands.

This game is repeated unendingly. And the role of the so-called ‘German princes’ is nearly as bad as that of the Jews themselves. This royalty is God's punishment for their people. The only equivalent can be found in some of the government ministers of our present time.

It was due to the German princes that the German nation couldn’t succeed in permanently freeing itself from the Jewish danger. Unfortunately nothing changed as time went on. All that the princes received from the Jews was their thousand-fold reward for the sins committed by them against their own people. They

made a pact with the devil and found themselves in his embrace.[105]

(g) His ensnaring of the princes leads to their downfall. Slowly but surely, their standing among the people declines as they not only overlook the public interest but actually exploit them. The Jew knows very well how it will end for them, and works to hasten it. He increases their financial hardship by hindering their effective duty toward their people, by slithering around them with servile flattery, and by encouraging their vices–thus making himself all the more indispensible. His astuteness, or rather his unscrupulousness, in financial affairs allows him to squeeze new income from the princes, to grind the money out of them, and then to quickly spend it.

Thus every court has its 'court Jews,' as these monsters are called, who torture their innocent victims until they're driven to despair, while at the same time preparing eternal pleasures for the princes. Who, then, can be surprised that these ornaments of the human race received official honors, and were even admitted into the hereditary nobility, not only making that institution ridiculous but serving to poison it? Now, he can naturally exploit his position for his own advancement.

Finally he needs only to become baptized to possess all the rights and privileges of the native peoples. Not rarely does he avail himself of this business–to the great joy of the Church, having won over a new son, and also to the joy of Israel, which rejoices at pulling off such a swindle.

(h) A change now begins to take place within Jewry. Until now they have been Jews; that is, they hadn't previously put much value on pretending to be something else. And in any case, they couldn't easily overcome the distinctive racial characteristics that separated them from others. Even as late as the time of Frederick the Great,[106] no one looked upon the Jews as other than a 'foreign' people, and Goethe revolted at the thought that marriage between Christians and Jews might no longer be prohibited. And Goethe,

[105] The parallels to modem-day American politicians, dominated as they are by AIPAC and the money of the American Jewish Lobby, are striking.

[106] That is, circa the 1780s.

by God, was certainly no reactionary or zealot; his words came from the voice of the blood and of reason. Notwithstanding the disgraceful happenings in court circles, the people instinctively recognized that the Jew was a foreign body in their own flesh, and they took the corresponding attitude toward him.

But all this was now to change. In the course of more than a thousand years, he has learned to master the host language so thoroughly that he can now downplay his Jewishness and place his 'Germanism' in the foreground. Though it seems ridiculous, or even absurd, he is impudent enough to call himself a 'Teuton,' which in this case means 'German.' With this he begins one of the most infamous deceptions imaginable. He doesn't possess the slightest bit of Germanism; he only has acquired the art of twisting the German language–and in the most disgusting way–to his own uses. Apart from this, he never mixes with the German character; his whole Germanism rests on language alone.

Race, however, doesn't lie in language, but only in the blood. No one knows this better than the Jew, seeing that he attaches so little importance to the preservation of his own language, while at the same time strives to maintain the purity of his own blood. A man may change his language without much trouble; but it's only his old ideas that he expresses in the new language. His inner nature is not thereby changed.

The Jew himself is the best proof of this; he can speak a thousand languages and yet he remains a Jew. His distinguishing characteristics are the same when he spoke Latin at Ostia 2,000 years ago as a grain merchant, . as they are today when he profits from grain-selling with his garbled German. He's always the same Jew. And it's self-evident that this obvious fact goes unrecognized by the typical ministerial secretary or police official; there is scarcely anyone with less instinct or intelligence than these civil servants of our modem German state authority.

The reason why the Jew suddenly decides to transform himself into a 'German' is obvious. He senses that royal power is slowly crumbling, and he therefore looks around to find a new platform on which to stand. Furthermore, his financial domination over all spheres of economic life has become so powerful that he can no

longer sustain or expand that enormous structure unless he earns full 'civil rights.' He desires both preservation and expansion; the higher he climbs, the more alluring becomes the prospect of reaching that ancient goal, promised to him long ago: the dream of world domination. He now anticipates this with feverish eyes. Therefore all his efforts are now directed toward full possession of 'civil rights.'[107]

This was the reason for his emancipation from the ghetto.

(i) And thus the Court Jew slowly develops into the national Jew. But naturally he still remains associated with the upper circles, and he even attempts to push his way in even further. But at the same time, others of his race curry favor with the beloved public. If we remember the crimes he has committed against the masses over the centuries, how repeatedly and ruthlessly he has exploited them, how he sucked out their very blood; and further, when we remember how they gradually came to hate him, and finally considered him as a punishment from the heavens–then we can well understand how difficult the Jew must have found this final transformation. Yes, it must be an arduous task to present themselves as 'friends of humanity' to their flayed victims.

He therefore begins by making amends for his previous sins. He begins his career as a 'benefactor' of humanity. Since his new philanthropy has a very concrete aim in view, he cannot very well apply to himself the biblical recommendation, not to allow the left hand to know what the right hand is giving.[108] No, he is obliged to let as many people as possible know how deeply the sufferings of the masses have grieved him, and to what a degree of personal sacrifice he is ready to make in order to help them-whether he likes it or not.

With this innate 'modesty,' he trumpets his virtues before the world, until finally people actually begin to believe him. Anyone who doubts him is considered unjust. Thus after a little while, he begins to twist things around, so as to make it appear that it was

[107] Jews began to gain civil rights in Germany in 1812, with partial political emancipation in Prussia. Rights for all German Jews came in 1870, upon German unification.
[108] Matthew (6:3).

he who suffered the injustices, and not vice versa. The particularly stupid ones believe him, and they can't help but pity 'the unfortunate.'

A remarkable fact is that, despite his proclaimed readiness to make personal sacrifices, the Jew never becomes impoverished. He knows how to make ends meet. Occasionally his benevolence might be compared to manure; it isn't spread around merely for love of the field, but rather with a view to future produce. Anyhow, after a comparatively short period of time, the Jew has come to be known as a 'benefactor and friend to mankind.' What an amazing transformation!

That which is more or less natural for others thus becomes an object of astonishment, and even admiration. That's why he receives more credit for his acts of benevolence than the rest of humanity.

And even more: The Jew becomes a liberal all at once, and begins to talk enthusiastically of the necessity of human progress.

Gradually he becomes the spokesman of a new age.

Yet at the same time he continues to destroy the foundations of that part of the economy that might truly benefit people. Through the purchase of stock, he pushes his influence into the circuit of national production, turning it into an object of trade, and thus ruining the basis on which personal ownership alone is possible. There then arises a feeling of estrangement between worker and employer, which eventually leads to political class struggle.

Finally, Jewish influence on all economic activities increases with a terrible speed via the stock exchange. He becomes the owner, or at least the controller, of the national labor force.

In order to strengthen his political position, he seeks to remove the racial and civil barriers that had previously hindered his advance. With a characteristic tenacity, he champions the cause of religious tolerance for this purpose. And in Freemasonry, which has completely fallen into his hands, he finds a magnificent weapon to achieve his ends.[109] Government circles, as well as the

[109] The Freemasons were originally a guild of stone workers that was established in the 15th century. Because of its influence in medieval society, it expanded to become a private

higher circles of the political and commercial bourgeoisie, fall prey to his net of Masonic strings, though they themselves never suspect what is happening.

Only the people as such, or rather the masses who were just becoming conscious of their own power and were beginning to use it to fight for their rights and liberties, had escaped his grasp. But this influence is more necessary than anything else. The Jew realized that, in his efforts to attain a dominant public role, he would need a 'pace-maker.' And he thought he could find this in broad sections of the bourgeoisie. But the Freemasons failed to catch the glove-makers and linen-weavers in their fragile nets. It thus became necessary to find a coarser and more effective means.

Thus Freemasonry became joined with a second weapon in the service of Jewry: the press. The Jew exercises all his skill and tenacity in getting hold of it. By means of the press, he gradually begins to control the whole of public life. He drives it along a road that he has chosen to reach his own ends; he is now in a position to create and direct that force which, under the name of 'public opinion,' is better known today than it was a few decades ago.

In this, he gives himself the air of thirsting after knowledge. He praises every step of progress, particularly those phases that lead to the ruin of others. He judges all progress and development from the standpoint of his own advantage. And when it brings him no such advantage, he is the mortal enemy of enlightenment; he hates all true culture. He uses all the knowledge acquired in the schools of others exclusively in the service of his own race.

He guards his nationality more than ever. Though overflowing with 'enlightenment,' 'progress,' 'liberty,' 'humanity,' etc., his first concern is to preserve his own racial integrity. He occasionally bestows one of his women on an influential Christian; but the racial stock of his male descendants is always pure. He poisons the blood of others, but preserves his own. The Jew rarely marries a Christian girl, but the Christian marries a

club of local or regional civic leaders. Over time it became known as a 'secret society' composed of powerful and hidden rulers of government. As Jews became wealthier and more influential in European society, they sought membership, and thus Freemasonry gradually became associated with Jewish power.

Jewess.[110] The resulting mongrels always fall on the Jewish side. Thus a part of the higher nobility becomes completely degenerate. The Jew is well aware of this fact, and thereby systematically 'disarms' the intellectual leaders of his racial adversaries. To mask his tactics and fool his victims, he speaks of the equality of all men, no matter their race or color.[111] And the fools begin to believe him.

Since his whole nature still has too foreign an odor for the broad masses to allow themselves to be caught in his nets, he uses the press to construct a picture of himself that is entirely untrue but well-designed to serve his purpose. In the comic papers, special efforts are made to represent the Jews as a harmless little people that, like all others, has its peculiarities. Despite their manners, which may seem a bit strange, the comics present them as fundamentally honest and benevolent souls. Attempts are generally made to make them appear more insignificant than dangerous.

During this phase of his progress, the chief goal of the Jew is the victory of democracy, or rather: rule of the parliamentary system. This is most compatible with his purposes; the personal element is excluded-and in its place we have the stupidity of the majority, incompetence, and last but not least, cowardice.

The final result must necessarily be the overthrow of the monarchy, which has to happen sooner or later.

11.16 STANDING OF THE FACTORY WORKER

(j) A tremendous economic development transforms the social structure of a nation. The small artisan class slowly disappears and the factory worker, who took its place, has scarcely any chance of establishing an independent existence of his own; he sinks more and more to the level of a proletariat. An essential characteristic

[110] Orthodox Judaism is matrilinial; that is, a Jewish woman bears Jewish children, even if the father is non-Jewish. From a biological perspective, of course, a child of mixed parentage is half of each. But in Hitler's view, the Jewish (lower) half always prevails.

[111] Though it is hard to believe today, there is a long philosophical and sociological legacy on behalf of the inequality of men. Thinkers as diverse as Plato, Aristotle, Gobineau, and Nietzsche held such a view.

of the industrial ‘factory worker’ is that he is scarcely ever able to support himself, now or later in life. He becomes propertyless, in the truest sense of the word. His old age is miserable and can hardly be called life at all.

In earlier times, a similar situation was created that demanded a solution; and one was found. Together with the peasant and the artisan, a new class was gradually formed, along with officials and salaried workers–especially from the state. All of them were property less, in the truest sense of the word. But the state found a remedy for this unhealthy situation by providing an old-age pension for its officials. Private enterprises slowly followed this example in increasing numbers, so that today every regular non-manual worker receives a pension in his later years, provided that the firm in which he works surpasses a certain size. Only by caring for the state official in old age could they develop a high degree of unselfish devotion to duty; in pre-war times, this was one of the distinguishing characteristics of German officials.

Thus an entire propertyless class was saved from destitution, and found a place in the social structure of the national community.

The question is once again put before the state and nation, but this time in a much larger form. More and more, millions of people left the countryside and the villages to take up employment in the big city factories. The working and living conditions of this new class were worse than miserable. The more or less mechanical transformation of prior methods of artisian and peasant work didn’t fit well. The way that the peasants and artisans formerly worked had nothing comparable to the intensive labor of the new factory worker. In the old trades, time did not play an important role, but it became an essential element in the new industrial system. The formal transfer of the old working hours into the large-scale industrial enterprises had fatal results. The actual amount of work previously accomplished within a certain time was comparatively small, because the modern methods of intensive production were then unknown. Therefore, though in the older system a working day of 14 or even 15 hours was bearable, now it was beyond the limits of human endurance because every

minute was utilized to the extreme.

This absurd transfer of the old working hours to the new industrial system proved unfortunate in two respects: it ruined the workers' health, and it destroyed their faith in a higher law of justice. To this was finally added, on the one hand, miserable wages; and on the other side, the employer held a much more lucrative position than before.

In the country, there could be no social problem because the master and the farmhand were doing the same kind of work, and even ate out of the same dish. But this, too, changed.

The division between employer and employees seems now to have extended to all branches of life. How far this Judaizing process of our people has been allowed to extend is illustrated by the low standing, if not contempt, of the manual worker. This isn't German. It's due to the introduction of a foreign element into our lives–in truth, a Judaizing process. One effect has been to transform the old respect for manual work into a definite feeling of contempt for all physical labor.

Thus a new social class has grown up, one that stands in low esteem. The day must come when we will have to face the question of whether the nation will be able to make this class an integral part of the social community, or whether the difference of status will become a permanent gulf separating this class from the others.

One thing, however, is certain: This class doesn't include the worst elements in its ranks, but rather the most energetic. The sophistication of so-called culture hasn't yet exercised its disintegrating and degenerating influence. The broad masses of this new lower class haven't yet been infected with the poison of pacifist weakness. They are still robust and can be, if necessary, even brutal.

While our bourgeoisie pay no attention at all to this question, and indifferently allow events to take their course, the Jew seizes upon the many possibilities for the future. While on the one hand he organizes capitalistic methods of exploitation to their ultimate degree, he curries favor with the victims of his policy and power, and in a short while becomes the leader of their struggle *against*

himself. 'Against himself' is here only figuratively speaking; for this Great Master of Lies knows how to appear in the guise of the innocent, and throw the guilt on others.[112] Since he has the impudence to lead the masses, they never for a moment suspect that they are falling prey to one of the most infamous betrayals of all time.

And yet that's what it was.

11.17 JEWISH TACTICS

The moment this new class arises from the general economic situation, the Jew clearly sees where to find the necessary pacemaker for his own progressive march. First he uses the bourgeoisie as a battering-ram against the feudal order; and then the worker against the bourgeois world. Just as he succeeded in obtaining civil rights in the protection of the bourgeois class, he now hopes to use the workers' struggle for existence as his path to obtain full control over them.

From that point on, the workers' only task is to fight for the future of the Jewish people. Without knowing it, the worker places himself at the service of the very power against which he believes he is fighting. The worker thinks he's fighting *against* capital, and thus is all the more easily brought to fight *for* capitalist interests. Outcries are raised against international capital, but in reality such actions are directed against the structure of national economics, in the hope that the international stock exchange can triumph over its dead body.

The Jew's procedure is as follows:

He approaches the worker, hypocritically pretending to feel pity for him and his lot of misery and poverty, thus gaining his confidence. He shows himself eager to study the workers' various

[112] The idea that Jews cast themselves as innocents to hide their danger was already recognized by Nietzsche: "People of the basest origin, in part rabble, outcasts not only from good but also from respectable society, raised away from even the smell of culture, without discipline, without knowledge, without the remotest suspicion that there is such a thing as conscience in spiritual matters; simply–Jews: with an instinctive ability to create an advantage, a means of seduction out of every superstitious supposition ... When Jews step forward as innocence itself, then the danger is great." (*Will to Power*, sec. 199.)

hardships–and strives to awaken a yearning to change the conditions under which they live. He artfully encourages the desire for social justice, which is a typical Aryan characteristic, and this is then transformed into a hatred of the more fortunate ones. Next he turns the struggle for the elimination of social ills into a precise worldview. And thus he establishes the Marxist doctrine.

11.18 CORE OF THE MARXIST WORLDVIEW

By presenting his doctrine as a series of socially just demands, he propagates the doctrine all the more effectively. But he also provokes the opposition of decent people who refuse to admit these demands that seem fundamentally unjust and impossible to realize. Under this cloak of purely social ideas are hidden truly diabolic purposes, which are proclaimed with a boundless impudence. This doctrine is an inseparable mixture of reason and absurdity–but in such a way that only the absurdity can be realized, never the reason.

By categorically repudiating the value of the individual and also the nation and its racial content, this doctrine destroys the fundamental basis of all culture; for culture depends on these very factors. Such is the true core of the Marxist worldview–insofar as the term ‘worldview’ can be applied at all to this phantom product of a criminal brain. The shattering of the concept of personality and of race removes the chief obstacle that barred the way to domination by society's inferior element–and this is the Jew.

The significance of this doctrine lies precisely in its economic and political absurdity. For this reason, intelligent people refuse to support it, while all those who are less intellectual, or who are poorly educated in economic principles, join it with flying colors. The intelligence behind the movement-for even this movement needs intelligence to exist–is ‘served up’ by the Jews themselves, from their own ranks.

Thus arises a movement that’s composed exclusively of manual workers under Jewish leadership. By all appearances, this movement strives to improve the workers' living conditions; but

in reality its aim is the enslavement, and thereby the destruction, of all non-Jewish people.

The Freemasons carried out a program of pacifistic paralysis of the instinct for national self-preservation among our so-called intelligentsia, which was then extended to the broad masses of the workers and bourgeoisie by means of the always-Jewish press.

To these two instruments of disintegration, a third and still more ruthless one was added, namely, organized brute force. As a shock- and storm-troop, Marxism seeks to finish off those parts of the social order left standing, after the two former weapons do their work.

The combined activity of all these forces has been wonderfully managed. And it won't be surprising if we find that those institutions which have always presented themselves as the organs of the more or less traditional state authority should now fail. Among our high and highest state officials (with very few exceptions), the Jew has always found the most complacent backers of his destructive work. An attitude of cringing submissiveness towards 'superiors,' and a condescending arrogance towards 'inferiors,' are the characteristics of this class, along with a degree of narrow-mindedness that is truly frightening. All this is exceeded only by a towering and utterly amazing self-conceit.

But these qualities are of greatest use to the Jew. Therefore they are the ones that he appreciates most.

11.19 ORGANIZATION OF MARXIST WORLD-DOCTRINE

The practical struggle, only now beginning, may be described as follows:

Consistent with the ultimate goals of the Jewish struggle–goals that are not exhausted by economic domination of the world–the Jew divides the organization of his Marxist world-doctrine into two parts. Though apparently distinct, these parts in truth form an indivisible unity: the political movement and the trade union movement.

The trade union movement gathers recruits. It offers assistance and protection to the workers in the hard struggle they must wage for the bare means of existence–a struggle that's due to the greediness and narrowmindedness of many of the employers. Unless the workers are ready to surrender all claims to their vital human rights, and unless they are ready to submit to those who are irresponsible and heartless, then the worker must necessarily take matters into his own hands. The organized national community–that is to say, the state–pays no attention to his needs.

The so-called national bourgeoisie, blinded by its own financial interests, opposes this life-or-death struggle of the workers, and places the heaviest obstacles in their way. Not only do they hinder all efforts at shortening the inhumanly long work hours, prohibiting child-labor, granting security and protection to women, and improving the hygienic conditions of the workshops and the dwellings of the working-class, but they actually sabotage them. All the while, the clever Jew takes the cause of the oppressed into his own hands. He gradually becomes the leader of the trade union movement. This is an easy task for him, because he doesn't genuinely intend to eliminate social evils; rather, his objective is to establish an economic stormtroop who will follow his commands and thereby destroy national economic independence. For while a sound social policy has to move between the two aims of securing public health and of safeguarding an independent national economy, the Jew gives no consideration to these goals at all. Rather, their elimination is his life's goal. He desires, not the preservation, but rather the destruction of an independent national economy.

Therefore, as leader of the union movement, he has no scruples about putting forth demands that not only exceed the declared purpose of the movement, but couldn’t be carried out without ruining the national economy. Furthermore, he has no interest in seeing a healthy and sturdy population develop; he would prefer a degenerate, unthinking herd that can more easily be subjugated. Because these are his final objectives, he can afford to propose the most senseless demands-demands that are unrealizeable, and that therefore couldn't lead to any real change. At best, they can arouse

a spirit of unrest among the masses. And that's precisely his purpose–and not a real and honest improvement of social conditions.

The leadership of Jewry will thus remain unquestioned, at least until an enormous effort is undertaken to enlighten the masses, so that they can better understand the causes of their misery. Or until the state gets rid of the Jew and his work. As long as the masses remain as ill-informed as they actually are today, and as long as the state remains as indifferent to their lot as it now is, the masses will follow whatever leader makes them the most extravagant promises in economic matters. And the Jew is a master at this. His entire activities are unhampered by moral considerations of any kind.

Naturally, then, it takes him only a short time to defeat all his competitors in this field and drive them from the scene. In accordance with his general brutality and rapacity, he teaches the union movement the most brutal use of physical violence. Those who, using their intelligence, are able to resist the Jewish lures are now broken by terror. The success of that kind of activity is enormous.

By means of the union–which ought to be a blessing for the nation–the Jew shatters the foundation of the national economy.

Parallel to this runs the political organization.

It operates hand-in-hand with the union movement, inasmuch as the latter prepares the masses for political organization, and even forces them into it. This is also the source of the money that the political organization needs to keep its enormous apparatus in action. It is the organ of control for the political activity of its members, and recruits the masses at all big political demonstrations. In the end it ceases to struggle for economic interests, but places its chief weapon–the refusal to work, in the form of a general strike–at the disposal of a political idea.

By means of a press whose contents are adapted to the intellectual horizon of the most ignorant readers, the political and trade union organizations obtain an instrument that prepares the lowest stratum for a campaign of ruthless action. Its purpose isn't to lead people out of the swamp of baseness and to lift their minds

up, but to cater to their lowest instincts. Among the lazy-minded and self-seeking sections of the masses, this kind of speculation turns out to be quite profitable.

Above all, it's this very press that carries on a fanatical campaign of slander, striving to tear down everything that might be considered as a support for national independence, and sabotaging all cultural values and the autonomy of the national economy along the way.

Above all, it attacks all men of character who refuse to yield to Jewish efforts to dominate, or who appear dangerous to the Jews merely because of their superior ability. In order to be hated by the Jew, it isn't necessary to openly combat him; it's quite sufficient if one be considered *capable* of opposing the Jew at some point in the future, or of using his talents to enhance the power and position of a nation hostile to the Jew.

His unfailing instinct readily sniffs out the inner spirit of all those he meets; and those who aren't of a .kindred spirit with him may be sure to earn his hostility. Since the Jew is not the attacked but the attacker himself, he considers as enemies not only those who attack him but also those who resist him. He then uses dishonorable means to break such upright people, including lies and slander.

He stops at nothing. His vileness is so appalling that one really cannot be surprised if, in the imagination of our people, the Jew is pictured as the personification of the devil and the symbol of all evil.

The ignorance of the broad masses about the inner character of the Jew, and the lack of instinct and narrow-mindedness of our upper classes, make our people an easy victim of this Jewish campaign of lies.

While the upper classes, with their innate cowardice, turn away from anyone whom the Jew attacks with lies and slander, the common people believe everything–either from ignorance or simple-mindedness. State authorities either wrap themselves in a robe of silence, or more frequently, they persecute the unjustly victimized ones in order to stop the campaign in the Jewish press. In the eyes of some official ass, such action appears to uphold the

authority of the state arid preserve public order.

Slowly, fear of the Marxist weapon of Jewry descends like a nightmare on the mind and soul of innocent people.

They begin to quiver before this fearful enemy, and thereby become his victims.

11.20 PALESTINE AS ORGANIZATIONAL CENTER

(k) Jewish domination in the state seems now so fully assured that not only can he afford to call himself a Jew again, but he even openly acknowledges his ideas on national and political questions. A part of his race avows itself quite openly as an alien people, but even here they lie. When the Zionists try to make the rest of the world believe that the new national consciousness of the Jews will be satisfied by the establishment of a Palestinian state,[113] the Jews thereby cleverly dupe the simple-minded goyim. They haven't the slightest intention of building up a Jewish state in Palestine so as to live there. What they really want is a central organization for their international world-swindle, one with sovereign rights and freedom from outside control–in other words, a refuge for convicted lowlifes and a training ground for budding criminals.

As a sign of their growing confidence and sense of security, a certain portion of them openly and impudently proclaim their Jewish race, while another part hypocritically pretends that they are still German, French, or English.

Their blatant behavior in their relations with other people shows how close they see the approaching victory.

The black-haired Jewish youth lies in wait for hours, satanically glaring at the unsuspecting girl whom he plans to seduce, adulterating her blood and stealing her from her own people. He uses every possible means to undermine the racial foundations of a subjugated people. In his systematic efforts to ruin girls and women, he strives to break down the last racial barriers for other peoples, even on a large scale. The Jews were and are responsible

[113] That is, Israel–which only came into being in 1948, and then illegally.

for bringing Negroes into the Rhineland, with the ultimate idea of bastardizing the hated white race, and thus lowering its cultural and political level so that he himself might dominate.

A racially-pure people who are conscious of their blood can never be overcome by the Jew. In this world, he will only be the master over a bastardized people.

That's why he systematically tries to lower the racial quality of a people by a continuous poisoning of the individual.

11.21 DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

In the field of politics, he now begins to replace the idea of democracy with a dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the organized mass of Marxism he has found a weapon that makes it possible for him to discard democracy, so as to subjugate and rule in a dictatorial fashion by the aid of brute force.

He systematically works to bring about this revolution in two ways: economically and politically.

Aided by international influences, he forms a ring of enemies around those nations that have proven too sturdy for him to attack from within. He incites them to war, and if necessary, plants the flag of revolution amidst the battlefield.

Economically he undermines the state, until social programs become so unprofitable that they are taken from the state and turned over to his financial control.

Politically he works to withdraw the means of subsistence from the state, undermines the foundations of national resistance and defense, destroys confidence in leadership, reviles the past and its history, and drags everything truly great down into the gutter.

Culturally he contaminates art, literature, and the theater, scorns national sentiment, overturns all concepts of the sublime and beautiful, the worthy and the good, and ultimately drags the people down to the level of his own base nature.

Religion is mocked, and ethics and morality are portrayed as antiquated prejudices; until the last pillars have fallen, on which the national being depends, in its struggle for existence in this world.

11.22 FROM NATIONAL JEWS TO RACIAL JEWS

(l) Now begins the last great revolution. As soon as the Jew gains political power, he drops the last few veils. Out of the democratic national Jew arises the blood-Jew, the tyrant of the peoples. In the course of a few years, he tries to root out all those who represent the national intelligence. By thus depriving the people of their natural intellectual leaders, he makes them ripe for a slave's lot of permanent subjugation.

Russia offers the most terrible example of such slavery, where he killed or starved 30 million people in a bout of savage fanaticism, and partly by means of inhuman torture.[114] He did this so that a gang of Jewish journalists and stock exchange bandits could dominate a great people.

The final result is not merely the loss of freedom of people oppressed by the Jews, but also the end of this parasite of nations. The death of the victim is followed, sooner or later, by that of the vampire.

11.23 BASTARDIZED PEOPLE

If we review all the causes of the German collapse, we find that the most profound and decisive cause remains the failure to recognize the racial problem, and especially the Jewish danger.

It would have been easy enough to endure the defeats suffered on the battlefields in August 1918. They were nothing compared to the military victories that our nation achieved. Our downfall was not the result of those defeats. Rather, we were overthrown by a force that had prepared those defeats by systematically operating, for several decades, to steal the political and moral instincts and stamina that alone make a nation capable, and thus fit to exist.

[114] The total number of people killed by the Bolsheviks and Stalin is hard to estimate, but Hitler's figure is surely within reason. Russian scholars have long discussed a figure of 20 million, but that is almost certainly an underestimate. If we count deaths into the late Soviet period, some researchers have identified an overall toll of 50 to 60 million–an astounding figure that is rarely discussed in the West. It's an open question how many had died by 1925, when Mein Kampf was initially published.

By neglecting the problem of preserving the racial foundations of our nation, the old Reich disregarded the sole right that allowed it to survive in this world. Nations that make mongrels of their people, or allow their people to be turned into mongrels, sin against the will of eternal Providence. And thus their overthrow at the hands of a stronger opponent cannot be looked upon as a wrong but, on the contrary, as a restoration of justice. If a people refuses to guard and uphold the nature-given qualities that have their roots in the blood, then such a people has no right to complain over the loss of its earthly existence.

Everything on this Earth can be improved. Every defeat can be the foundation of a future victory. Every lost war can be the cause of a later resurgence. Every hardship can give a new impetus to human energy. And from every oppression, forces can emerge that bring about a new spiritual rebirth–provided that the blood is kept pure.

But the loss of racial purity will wreck inner happiness forever. It degrades men for all time. And the consequences can never be removed.

If this single problem is studied and compared with the other problems of life, we will easily recognize how insignificant they are. They are all limited in time; but the problem of the maintenance or loss of the purity of the blood lasts as long as man himself.

All symptoms of decline in the pre-war period can be traced back to racial causes.

11.24 FAILURE TO RECOGNIZE THE INNER ENEMY

Whether one is dealing with questions of general law or excesses of economic life, of symptoms of cultural decline or political degeneration, of defective schooling or the evil influence of the press over the adult population–always and everywhere, it's a fundamental disregard for the racial needs of the nation. That is, the failure to recognize the danger posed by a foreign race.

That's why all attempts at reform, all institutions for social

relief, all political striving, all economic progress, and all apparent increase in the general stock of knowledge, were futile, practically speaking. The nation and the organization that enables it to exist–the state–weren't becoming healthier but, on the contrary, were languishing more and more. The false prosperity of the old Reich couldn't disguise its inner weakness. And every attempt to invigorate it failed because the most important problem was disregarded.

It would be a mistake to think that the followers of the various political parties that tried to fix the condition of the German people, or even all their leaders, were bad or malevolent in themselves. Their activity was doomed to failure simply because of the fact that they saw nothing but the symptoms of our general malady, and tried to treat the symptoms while overlooking the real cause of the disease. If one makes a methodical study of the political development of the old Reich, one cannot help seeing that, after a careful political analysis, a process of inner degeneration had already set in even at the time of German unification. The general situation was declining year by year, despite the apparent political success and increasing economic wealth.

At the Reichstag elections, the growing number of Marxist votes indicated that the internal breakdown and political collapse were then rapidly approaching. All the victories of the so-called bourgeois parties were worthless–not only because they couldn't prevent the numerical increase in the growing mass of Marxist votes, but mainly because they themselves were already infected with the ferment of decay. Though quite unaware of it, the bourgeois world was infected from within with the deadly poison of Marxist ideas. Their occasional resistance was due to the competitive strife among ambitious political leaders, rather than any principled opposition between adversaries who were determined to fight to the bitter end.

During all those years, only one protagonist fought with steadfast perseverance, and that was the Jew. The Star of David steadily ascended as the will to national self-preservation declined.

Therefore, in August 1914, it wasn't a unified people resolved to attack that rushed to the battlefields. Rather, it was the last flicker of an instinct for national self-preservation against the creeping pacificist-Marxist paralysis of the national body. Even in those days of destiny, we didn't recognize the internal enemy; therefore all external efforts were bound to be in vain. Providence didn't grant her reward to the victorious sword, but followed the eternal law of retribution.

A profound recognition of all this was the source of those principles and tendencies that inspire our new movement. We were convinced that, only by recognizing such truths, could we halt the German national decline and lay a granite foundation on which the state could again be built–one that would not be an alien mechanism for economic purposes and interests, but a national organism:

A Germanic State
for the German Nation.

CHAPTER 12

THE FIRST PERIOD OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST GERMAN WORKERS' PARTY

If, at the close of this volume, I describe the first stage in the progress of our movement and give a brief account of the problems raised, it's not because I seek to expound on the ideals of the movement. These are so momentous that they require a whole volume. Therefore I will devote the second volume of this book to a detailed survey of the principles that form the program of our movement, and attempt to draw a picture of what we mean by the word 'state.'

When I say 'we,' I mean to include all those hundreds of thousands who have fundamentally the same longing, though in the individual cases they cannot find adequate words to describe their inner vision. It's a noteworthy fact of all great reforms that, in the beginning, there is only one single champion to come forward on behalf of several million. The goal has often been the object of profound longing on the part of hundreds of thousands for many centuries, until finally one man comes forward to proclaim the will of the masses and become the standard-bearer of the old yearning–which he now leads to victory as a new idea.

The fact that millions yearn at heart for a radical change in our present conditions is proven by their profound discontentment. This feeling is manifest in a thousand ways: in some as discouragement and despair, in others as resentment, anger, and indignation. One man reacts with indifference, another with violent excess. Other witnesses to this feeling are those who abstain from voting, as well as the many who tend to side with the

fanatical left-wing extremists.

It was to the latter that our young movement was intended to appeal. It wasn't meant to be an organization for the contented and satisfied, but rather to embrace all those who were suffering from profound anxiety and could find no peace, the unhappy and the discontented. It wasn't meant to float on the surface of the nation but rather to push its roots deep among the masses.

12.1 SITUATION AFTER THE REVOLUTION

Considered purely politically, the year 1918 presented the following picture: a people tom in two. One part, and by far the smaller of the two, contained the intellectual classes of the nation. Superficially this part is nationalistic, but this word means to them little more than a vague and feeble defense of so-called state interests, which are in turn identical to dynastic interests. This class tries to defend its ideas and reach its goals with intellectual weapons; these are fragmentary and superficial, and they fail completely in the face of the enemy's brutality. With one violent blow, this class, which had previously governed, is now struck down. It trembles with fear and accepts every humiliation imposed on it by the ruthless victor.

Against them stands a second class, the broad masses of manual laborers. This group is organized with a more or less radical Marxist tendency, and is determined to break any kind of intellectual resistance by the use of brute force. They have no nationalist tendencies whatsoever, and deliberately reject all national interests. On the contrary, they promote the interests of the foreign oppressor. Numerically this class is the strongest, and more importantly, includes all those elements necessary for a national resurgence.

Already in 1918, one thing was clear: no resurgence of the German nation could take place without the restoration of outward-directed power. The prerequisites for this are not arms, as our bourgeois 'statesmen' babble, but rather the force of will. Earlier, the German people had more than enough arms. And yet they were not able to defend their liberty because they lacked

those energies that spring from the instinct of national self-preservation: the will for self-preservation. Even the best armaments are only dead and worthless material, as long as the spirit is lacking that makes men willing and determined to use them. Germany was rendered defenseless not for lack of arms, but for lack of will to protect its weapons for national survival.

Today our left-wing politicians in particular are constantly insisting that their spineless, compliant, and in truth treasonous foreign policy results from a lack of arms. To this we must say: no, the opposite is true. Through your anti-national and criminal policy, you surrendered our arms. And now you try to make people believe that your miserable villany is essentially caused by the lack of arms. Just like everything else you do, this is a lie and falsification.

But the politicians on the right deserve exactly the same reproach. It was through their miserable cowardice that those Jewish rabble came to power in 1918 to steal the nation's arms. They too have neither right nor reason on their side when they appeal to disarmament as the cause of their prudence (which is to say, cowardice). Rather, our defenselessness is the result of their cowardice.

Therefore the question of restoring Germany's power is not, How can we manufacture arms? but: How we can produce that spirit which enables a people to bear arms? Once this spirit prevails among a people, then the will finds a thousand ways–each of which ends in a weapon! But a coward won't fire even a single shot when attacked, even though he may have ten pistols. For him they are of less value than a knarled stick in the hands of a courageous man.

12.2 RECOVERY OF POLITICAL POWER

The problem of re-establishing the political power of our nation is primarily a problem of restoring the instinct of national self-preservation–if only because every preparatory step in foreign policy, and every judgment on the worth of a state, has been proved by experience to be grounded not on existing weapons but

rather on the nation's moral capacity for resistance. The ability to build alliances is determined not so much by the inert mass of arms but by the obvious presence of a sturdy will to national self-preservation and a heroic, death-defying courage. An alliance is not made between arms but between men.

The British nation will therefore be considered as the most valuable ally in the world, as long as it can be counted upon to show that brutality and tenacity in its government, as well as in the spirit of the broad masses, that enables it to carry through to victory any struggle that it begins–regardless of duration or sacrifice. And all this, even though the actual military weaponry at hand may be utterly inadequate when compared with that of other nations.

Once it's understood that German restoration is a question of reawakening the will to political self-preservation, we can see quite clearly that it won't be enough to win over those elements that are already national-minded, but only by the nationalization of the consciously anti-national masses.

12.3 WINNING OVER THE BROAD MASSES

A young movement that aims at re-establishing a German state with full sovereign powers will therefore have to direct its efforts entirely at winning over the broad masses. Our so-called 'national bourgeoisie' are so wretched, generally speaking, and their national spirit appears so feeble, that we can be sure they will offer no serious resistance to a powerful domestic or foreign policy. Even if the narrow-minded German bourgeoisie should maintain a passive resistance when the hour of deliverance is at hand–as they did in Bismarck's time–we will never have to fear any active resistance on their part, because of their recognized and proverbial cowardice.

It's quite different with our internationalized masses. In their primitive roughness, they are predisposed to the idea of violence, while at the same time their Jewish leaders are more brutal and ruthless. They will crush any German revival, just as they smashed the German army by striking from the rear. Above all, these

organized masses will use their numerical majority in this parliamentarian state not only to hinder any national foreign policy, but also to prevent Germany from restoring its political power abroad–thus making it undesirable as an ally. Not only are we ourselves aware of the weakness in our 15 million Marxists, democrats, pacifists, and centrists; foreign countries also recognize this internal burden, and take it into consideration when considering possible alliances. No one allies himself with a state where the active portion of the population is even passively opposed to any resolute foreign policy.

Added to this is the fact that the leaders of those parties that were responsible for the national betrayal are ready to oppose every attempt at a revival, simply to retain power. Historically speaking, it's impossible for the German people to recover their former position by retaliating against those who were the cause and occasion for the collapse of our state. Before the judgment seat of posterity, November 1918 will not be regarded as a simple rebellion but as high treason against the country.

Therefore any possibility of regaining German independence depends upon, first and foremost, a recovery of the inner unity of the people's will.

Looked at from a technical standpoint, it seems absurd to think of liberating Germany as long as the masses aren't willing to support an ideal of freedom. From a purely military point of view, every officer will agree that a war cannot be waged against an outside enemy by student battalions; together with the brains of the nation, fists are also necessary.

Furthermore, it must be remembered that the nation would be robbed of irreplaceable assets by a national defense in which only the so-called intelligentsia were engaged. The young German intellectuals who joined the volunteer regiments and fell on the battlefields of Flanders in the autumn of 1914 were bitterly missed later on. They were the highest treasure that the nation possessed; their loss couldn't be compensated in the course of the war. And it's not only the struggle itself that couldn't be waged without the working masses in the storm battalions, but also the necessary technical preparations couldn't be made without an inner unity of

the national will.

Our nation–which has to exist disarmed, under a thousand eyes appointed by the Versailles Treaty–cannot make any technical preparations for the recovery of its freedom and human independence until the whole army of domestic spies is cut down to those few whose inborn baseness would lead them to betray anything and everything for the well-known 30 pieces of silver. But we can deal with such people. The millions, however, who are opposed to every kind of national revival simply because of their political opinions, constitute an insurmountable obstacle–as long as the cause of their opposition, the international Marxist worldview, is not overcome and banished from their hearts and minds.

From whatever viewpoint we may examine the possibility of recovering our state and national independence–whether from the standpoint of technical rearmament or from that of the actual struggle itself–the necessary prerequisite always remains the same. This is the winning over of the broad masses to accept the principle of our national independence.

If we don't regain our external freedom, every domestic reform will, at best, be an increase in our productive powers as a colony. The surplus of any so-called economic improvement would only go into the hands of our international controllers, and any social betterment would at best increase the productivity of our labor for them. No cultural progress can be made by the German nation, because such progress is too much bound up with political independence and the dignity of our people.

Therefore, if we can find a satisfactory solution for the problem of Germany's future only by winning over the broad masses to the nationalist idea, this work of education must be considered the highest and most important task to be accomplished by a movement–that is, for one that doesn't strive merely to satisfy the needs of the moment but considers everything only in light of future results.

12.4 NATIONALIZATION OF THE MASSES

Thus, as early as 1919, we were convinced that accomplishing the nationalization of the masses would constitute our highest aim.

From a tactical standpoint, a number of obligations followed.[115]

(1) No social sacrifice could be considered too great, in order to win over the masses for a national revival.

Any economic concessions granted today to employees are negligible when compared with the benefit to the whole nation if they contribute to bringing back the masses of the people to their own nation. Nothing but meanness and shortsightedness–which, unfortunately, are prevalent characteristics of our employers–could prevent people from recognizing that, in the long run, no economic improvement, and therefore no rise in profits, are possible unless the internal national solidarity of our people is restored.

If the German unions had defended the interests of the working-classes uncompromisingly during the war; if, even during the war, they had used the labor strike a thousand times over to force the dividend-hungry industrialists to grant the workers' demands; if at the same time they had stood up as good Germans for the national defense as stoutly as for their own claims; and if they had given to their country what was their country's due–then the war would never have been lost. How ridiculously insignificant would all, and even the greatest, economic concessions have been in comparison with the tremendous importance of winning the war!

For a movement that plans to restore the German worker to the German people, it's absolutely necessary to understand clearly that economic sacrifices should be utterly disregarded–provided, of course, that they don't go as far as endangering the independence and stability of the national economic system.

(2) The nationalistic education of the masses can be carried out only indirectly, by improving their social conditions. Only in this way can the economic conditions be created that enable everyone

[115] What follows are 14 numbered sections, constituting Hitler's program of nationalization.

to participate in the cultural life of the nation.

(3) The nationalization of the broad masses can never be achieved by half-measures–that is, by feebly insisting on a so-called objective standpoint–but only by a ruthless and devoted insistence on the one goal to be attained. This means that a people cannot be made 'national' in the sense of that word given by our bourgeois class today-with so many limitations–but rather in the vehement and extreme sense. Poison can be overcome only by an antidote, and only a shallow bourgeois mind could think that the middle way is the road to heaven.

The broad masses of a nation are neither professors nor diplomats. They are only poorly acquainted with abstract ideas; their reactions lie more in the domain of the feelings. That's where their positive or negative attitude lies. They respond only to an expression of force from one of the two extremes, and never to any half-measure that wavers between the two. Their emotional grounds also account for their extraordinary stability. Faith is stronger than knowledge; love is less changeable than respect; hate is more permanent than aversion. And the driving force that has brought about the most tremendous revolutions on this Earth has never been a scientific teaching that has gained power over the masses, but always a fanaticism that has inspired them–and sometimes even a hysteria that has driven them forward.

Anyone who wishes to win over the masses must know the key that opens the door to their hearts. It's not objectivity–meaning, weakness–but rather will and power.

(4) The soul of the people can be won only if we carry through the positive struggle for our own aims, and also destroy the enemy that opposes them.

When they see a ruthless attack on a foe, the people take it as proof of the rightness of such action. Conversely, when the aggressor renounces the destruction of the foe, this makes their rightness seem uncertain, if not an injustice.

The masses are but a part of nature itself. Their feelings don't allow them to understand hand-shaking between avowed enemies. They desire the victory of the stronger and the destruction of the weaker, or at least his unconditional submission.

The nationalization of the masses will succeed only if, in the positive struggle to win the soul of the people, those international poisoners who oppose it are rooted out.

(5) All the great questions of our time are questions of the moment, and are only the results of certain definite causes. And among all those, there is only one that has a profoundly causal significance, namely, the question of the racial preservation of the people. Human strength and weakness depends on the blood alone. Nations that are unaware of the importance of their racial stock are like men who try to educate the poodle to do the work of the greyhound–not understanding that both the speed of the greyhound and the docility of the poodle are inborn qualities, and these cannot be learned. A people that fails to preserve its racial purity thereby renounces the unity of the soul of the nation, in all its manifestations. A disintegrated national character is the inevitable result of a disintegration of the blood. And the change in the spiritual and creative forces of a people is only an effect of the change in their racial foundations.

Whoever would free the German people from their vices of today–which did not spring from their original nature–must first rid them of the foreign viruses in the national body.

The German nation will never be restored unless the racial problem, and hence the Jewish question, is clearly understood.

The racial question supplies the key, not only to human history, but also to every kind of human culture.

(6) By incorporating the internationalist masses into the national community, we don't intend to neglect a safeguarding of trade and professional interests. Divergent professional interests are not the same as class division, but are inherent in our economic life. Professional grouping doesn't clash at all with the idea of a national community, for this means national unity in regard to all those problems that affect the life of the nation as such.

The integration of a professional group or class into the national community, or into the state, cannot be accomplished by lowering the higher classes, but only by raising up the lower classes. The class that carries through this process is never the higher class, but rather the lower–the one that's fighting for equal rights. The

bourgeoisie of today was not incorporated in the state through measures of the nobility, but only by its own energy and leadership.

The German worker cannot be raised and incorporated into the German national community via ineffectual talk of brotherhood, but by a systematic improvement in the social and cultural life of the worker-until the most serious differences are bridged. A movement that has this for its aim must try to recruit its followers mainly from the ranks of the workers. It may include members of the intellectual classes only insofar as they completely understand the goal to be achieved. This process of transformation and reunion cannot be completed within 10 or 20 years; it will take several generations, as experience has shown.

The most difficult obstacle to the reunion of our contemporary worker with the national community doesn't consist so much in the fact that he fights for the interests of his fellow workers, but rather in the international ideas with which he is imbued, and which are hostile to nationhood and fatherland. If inspired by the same leadership, the trade unions could turn millions of workers into the most valuable members of the national community, without thereby affecting their own struggles for their economic demands.

A movement that sincerely tries to bring the German worker back into his people, and rescue him from the folly of internationalism, must wage a vigorous campaign against certain notions that are prevalent among the industrialists. One of these is that the employee is obliged to surrender all his economic rights to the employer and, further, that the workers would come into conflict with the national community if they attempted to defend their own justified interests. This assertion is a deliberate lie; the idea of a national community doesn't impose any obligations on the one side that aren't imposed on the other.

A worker certainly sins against the spirit of the national community if he acts entirely on his own initiative and puts forward exaggerated demands without regard for the common good or the survival of the national economy. But an industrialist also does so if he adopts inhuman methods of exploitation and

misuses the working forces of the nation, to make millions for himself unjustly from the sweat of the workers. He has no right to call himself 'national,' and no right to talk of a folk community; he's only an unscrupulous egoist who sows the seeds of social discontent and provokes a spirit of conflict that sooner or later must harm the interests of the nation.

The reservoir from which the young movement has to draw its members will primarily be the working masses. Those masses must be delivered from the clutches of the international delusion. They must be freed from social distress. They must be raised above their present cultural misery and transformed into a united and valuable factor in the folk community, inspired by nationalist ideas and sentiment.

If, among nationalist intellectual circles, men can be found who genuinely love the people and eagerly anticipate the future of Germany, and at the same time have a sound grasp of the importance of a struggle for the soul of the masses, such men are cordially welcomed in the ranks of our movement. They can serve as a valuable intellectual force. But this movement can never aim at recruiting its membership from the herd of bourgeois voters. If it did so, the movement would be burdened with a group of people whose whole mentality would only paralyze our campaign to win over the masses.

In theory, it may be true that the broad masses ought to be influenced by a combined leadership of the upper and lower social strata within the framework of the movement. But notwithstanding all this, the fact remains that, though it may be possible to exercise a psychological influence on the bourgeois classes and to arouse some enthusiasm or even awaken some understanding among them by our public demonstrations, their traditional characteristics–or better, vices–cannot be changed. Such vices are part of a tradition that has developed over centuries. The difference between the cultural levels of the two groups, and between their attitudes towards economic questions, is still so great that it would become an obstacle as soon as the initial enthusiasm of our demonstrations subsided.

Finally, it's not part of our program to transform the nationalist

camp itself, but rather to win over those who are anti-nationalist.

The strategy of the whole movement must finally be determined from this viewpoint.

(7) This one-sided but clear approach must be manifested in the propaganda of the movement; and on the other hand, this is absolutely necessary on propagandist grounds.

If propaganda is to be of service to the movement, it must be addressed to one side alone. If it varies, the direction of its appeal won't be understood in the one camp or may be rejected by the other, as merely obvious and uninteresting; for there is a great difference in the intellectual training of the two camps in question.

Even the style and tone can't have the same effect in those two opposite extremes of the social structure. If the propaganda refrains from using primitive forms of expression, it won't appeal to the sentiments of the masses. If, on the other hand, it conforms to the crude sentiments of the masses in its words and gestures, it will be rejected by the so-called intellectual circles as coarse and vulgar.

Among a hundred so-called orators, there are scarcely ten who are capable of speaking with effect before an audience of street-sweepers, locksmiths, sewer-cleaners, etc. today, and then lecturing with equal effect tomorrow before an audience of university professors and students. Among a thousand public speakers, there may be only one who can speak to locksmiths and professors in the same hall in such a way that his statements can be fully comprehended by each group, while at the same time he effectively influences both and awakens enthusiasm, to hearty applause. But it must always be remembered that even the most beautiful theory, in most cases, can reach the public only through smaller minds.

What matters is not the vision of the man of genius who created the great idea, but rather the success that his prophets achieve in transmitting this idea to the broad masses.

Social Democracy and the whole Marxist movement were particularly attractive because of the uniformity of the public to which they addressed their appeal. The more limited and narrow their ideas and arguments, the easier it was for the masses to grasp

and assimilate them; those ideas and arguments were well-adapted to a low level of intelligence.

These considerations led the new movement to adopt a clear and simple line:

In both its message and forms of expression, propaganda must be kept on a level with the intelligence of the masses, and its value must be measured only by the actual results.

At a public meeting of all classes, the best speaker is not the one who is closest to the intellectuals, but the one who knows how to win the hearts of the masses.

An educated man who is present, and who finds fault with an address because of its low intellectual level–even though he sees its effect on the lower groups to be won over-only proves the incapacity of his thinking and his worthlessness to the new movement. The only useful intellectuals are those who understand its mission and its aims so well that they have learned to judge the propaganda exclusively by the success obtained, and never by the impression made on the intellectuals themselves. Our propaganda isn't meant to serve as entertainment for those national-minded people, but to win over the enemies of nationalism–those who, nevertheless, are of our own blood.

In general, those trends that I briefly summarized in the chapter on 'War Propaganda' determined the approach that we adopted in our campaign, and the manner in which we put it into practice.[116]

Success proves that the decision was right.

(8) The goal of any political reform movement can never be reached by trying to educate the public or influence those in power, but only by gaining political power. Every world-changing idea has not only the right but also the obligation to secure those means that enable it to be carried out. In this world, success is the only basis for judging right or wrong. And by 'success' we don't mean the mere conquest of power–as in 1918–but an exercise of power that is beneficial to the nation. A coup d'etat cannot be considered successful if, as many empty-headed government lawyers in Germany now believe, the revolutionaries succeed in

[116] See Chapter 6.

getting control of the state into their hands. It's successful only if, in comparison with conditions under the old regime, the lot of the nation has been improved. This certainly does not apply to the German revolution, as that movement was called, which brought a gang of bandits into power in the fall of 1918.

But if the conquest of political power is a prerequisite for the practical realization of the ideals that inspire a reform movement, then any movement that aims at reform must, from the very first, be considered as a movement of the masses–and not as a literary tea club, or a shopkeepers' bowling society.

12.5 HIGHEST AUTHORITY, HIGHEST RESPONSIBILITY

(9) The nature and internal organization of the new movement must be anti-parliamentarian. That is, it rejects in general, and in its own structure, the principle of majority rule, and the idea that the leader is only the executor of the will and opinion of others. In things both small and large, the movement holds that one person must have absolute authority combined with highest responsibility.

In our movement, the practical consequences of this principle are the following:

The leader of a local group is appointed, and he is then the responsible leader of his group. All committees are subject to his authority, and not he to theirs. There is no such thing as committees that vote, but only committees that *work*. This work is allotted by the responsible leader, who is the head of the group. The same principle applies to the higher organizations: precinct, district, and region. In each case the leader is appointed from above and is invested with full authority and executive power. Only the leader of the whole party is elected at the general meeting of the members. But he is the sole leader of the movement. All committees are responsible to him, but he is not responsible to the committees. His decision is final, but he bears the full responsibility for it.

The members of the movement are entitled to call him to

account by means of a new election, or to remove him from office, if he has violated the principles of the movement or has served it badly. He is then replaced by a more capable man who is invested with the same authority and obliged to bear the same responsibility.

One of the highest duties of the movement is to make this principle an imperative-not only within its own ranks but also for the whole state.

The man who wishes to become leader earns the highest and unlimited authority, but he also has to bear the final and gravest responsibility.

The man who hasn't the courage to shoulder responsibility for his actions isn't fitted to be a leader. Only a hero is suited to the task.

Human progress and culture are not a product of the majority, but rather are exclusively the work of personal genius and energy.

A prerequisite for recovering the greatness and power of our nation is the cultivation of individual personality, and the establishment of its rights.

Hence, our movement must necessarily be anti-parliamentarian. If it takes part in the parliamentary institution, it's only for the purpose of destroying it–for doing away with an institution that we must look upon as one of the gravest symptoms of human decline.

12.6 NEITHER MONARCHIST NOR REPUBLICAN

(10) The movement steadfastly refuses to take any stand on questions that are either outside its political framework, or that are not of fundamental importance, and hence irrelevant. It doesn't aim at a religious reformation, but rather a political reorganization of our people. It looks upon the two religious denominations as equally valuable mainstays for the existence of our people, and therefore it makes war on all those parties that would degrade this foundation–on which the religious and moral stability of our people is based–to an instrument in the service of party interests.

Finally, the movement doesn't aim at establishing any one form of state and fighting against another, but rather to create those fundamental principles without which no republic or monarchy can survive for any length of time. The movement doesn't consider its mission to be the establishment of a monarchy or the preservation of a republic, but rather to create a German state.

The question concerning the outer form of this state–which is to say, its final shape–is not of fundamental importance. This is something to be resolved only by questions of practical expediency.

Once a people has understood and appreciated the great problems that affect its existence, the question of outer formalities will never lead to any internal conflict.

12.7 THE NECESSARY EVIL OF ORGANIZATION

(11) The question of the inner organization of the movement isn't one of principle but of expediency.

The best kind of organization isn't that which places the largest intermediary apparatus between the leadership of the movement and the individual followers, but rather the smallest. It's the task of such an organization to transmit a certain idea–which originated in the brain of one individual–to a multitude of people, and to supervise its realization.

Therefore, organization is always only a necessary evil. At best it's a means of reaching certain ends; at worst, it becomes an end in itself.

Since the world produces more mechanical than intelligent beings, it's always easier to develop the form of an organization than ideas per se.

The march of any idea towards practical realization, especially those that seek to reform, may be roughly sketched as follows:

A creative idea takes shape in the mind of someone, who thereby feels himself called upon to transmit this idea to humanity. He preaches his faith and gradually wins a certain number of followers. This direct and personal way of promoting one's ideas among fellow men is the most ideal and natural. As the movement

increases the number of followers of the new doctrine, it gradually becomes impossible for the original founder to continue exerting personal and direct influence on his followers, to guide and direct them. Proportionate to the growth of the community, direct communication become impossible; the ideal situation is gone, and is replaced by the necessary evil of organization. Small subsidiary groups come into existence–as in the political movement, for example, where the local groups represent the germ-cells out of which the organization develops later on.

But such sub-divisions must not occur until the authority of the spiritual. founder, and of the school he has created, are accepted without reservation. The importance of having one geographic center as the chief seat of the movement can't be over-emphasized. Only the existence of such a place, around which is woven a magic spell–as with Mecca or Rome–can supply a movement with a permanent driving force based on internal unity, and with the recognition of one head as representing this unity.

When the first organizational germ-cells are formed, care must always be taken to insist on the importance of the place where the idea originated. The creative, moral, and practical greatness of the place from which the movement emerged and is governed must be exalted to a supreme symbol. And all the more so, as the original cells of the movement become so numerous that they have to be reorganized into larger structural units.

When the number of individual followers became so large that direct personal contact with the head of the movement was out of the question, then we formed those first local groups. As those groups multiplied, it was necessary to establish higher levels into which the local groups were distributed, designated as regional or precinct groups.

Though it may be easy enough to maintain the original central authority over the lowest groups, it's much more difficult to do so in relation to the higher units of organization. And yet this is an indispensable condition if the unity of the movement is to be guaranteed and the idea of it carried out.

Finally, when those larger intermediary organizations have to be combined into new and still higher units, it becomes

increasingly difficult to maintain the absolute supremacy of the original seat of the movement, its teachings, and so on.

teachings, and so on. Consequently, the mechanical forms of an organization must only be introduced to the degree that the spiritual authority and ideals of the central seat are firmly established. In the political sphere, it may often happen that this supremacy can be provided only by practical power.

From all this, the following principles were laid down for the inner structure of the movement:

(a) All activity should be concentrated in one place: Munich. A band of absolutely reliable followers must be trained, and a school founded that would help to propagate the ideas. The necessary authority must be acquired for the future through the greatest possible visible successes in this one place.

To make the movement and its leader known, it was necessary, not only to shatter the belief that the Marxist doctrine was invincible, but also to show that a counter-doctrine was possible.

(b) Local groups couldn't be established until the supremacy of the central authority in Munich was definitely acknowledged.

(c) Precinct, regional, and provincial groups could be formed only after the need for them became evident, and only after the supremacy of the central authority was satisfactorily guaranteed.

Further, the creation of subordinate organizational forms must depend on the availability and leadership of qualified men. This can occur in two ways:

(a) The movement acquires the necessary funds to attract and train intelligent people who are capable of becoming leaders. The personnel thus obtained can then be systematically deployed according to tactical and efficiency demands.

This solution is quicker and easier. But it demands large financial resources; the leaders will work in the movement only if they are paid a salary.

(b) If the movement is not in a position to employ paid leaders, it must begin by depending on voluntary helpers.

This way is slower and more difficult.

The leaders of the movement must allow vast territories to lie fallow, unless someone comes forward to place himself at the

service of the central authority for the purpose of organizing and directing the movement in the region concerned.

It may happen that in extensive regions no one can be found. But at the same time, in other regions, two or three may appear whose capabilities are almost equal. The difficulty involved here is very great, and can be overcome only with the passing of the years.

For the establishment of any branch of the organization, the prerequisite is always that a person can be found who is capable of leadership.

Just as the army and all its organization units are useless if there are no officers, so any political organization is worthless if it hasn't the right kind of leader.

If an inspiring leader cannot be found for the organization and direction of a local group, it's better to refrain from establishing it than to run the risk of failure after the group has been formed.

Leadership requires not only will but also ability. And greater importance must be placed on will power and energy than on intelligence. Most valuable of all is a combination of ability, determination, and perseverance.

12.8 INNER STRUCTURE OF THE MOVEMENT

(12) The future of a movement is determined by the devotion, and even intolerance, with which its members fight. Convinced of their correctness, they must carry it through to success against other similar organizations.

It’s a great error to believe that the strength of a movement increases if it's combined with other similar movements. Any such expansion will of course mean an increase in external size, which superficially appears as an increase of power. But in reality, the movement thereby admits outside elements that will subsequently lead to an inner weakening.

Though it may be said that one movement is similar to another, in reality no such identity exists. Otherwise there would not be two movements, but only one. And whatever the difference may be–even if only in the abilities of the leaders–it is there. It’s against

the natural law of all development to couple dissimilar organisms; rather, the stronger must overcome the weaker and, through this struggle, increase the constitutional force and effective strength of the victor.

By combining political organizations that are approximately alike, certain immediate advantages may be gained. But in the long run, these are bound to become the cause of internal weaknesses that appear later on.

A movement can become great only by the unhampered development of its internal strength, and by its steady growth leading up to a final victory over its competitors.

One may safely say that the strength of a movement and its right to existence can be developed only as long as it remains true to the principle that struggle is a necessary condition of its progress. Its maximum strength will be reached only as soon as complete victory has been won.

Therefore a movement must not strive to obtain merely immediate and transitory successes, but it must show a spirit of uncompromising perseverance in carrying through a long struggle that will secure for it a long period of growth.

Movements that owe their expansion only to a so-called combination of similar structures–which means that their external strength is due to a policy of compromise-are like hothouse plants. They shoot up quickly but lack the inner strength to withstand the storms of centuries.

The greatness of every powerful organization that embodies a creative idea lies in the spirit of religious devotion and intolerance with which it stands out against all others. If an idea is right in itself and, thus armed, wages war on this earth, then it is invincible. Every persecution will only add to its internal strength.

The greatness of Christianity didn't arise from attempts to make compromises with similar philosophical opinions of the ancient world, but in the unrelenting fanaticism in defending its own teaching.

The apparent gains that a movement makes by joining with others is easily surpassed by the steady increase of strength that a

doctrine and its organization acquires, if it remains independent and fights its own cause alone.

12.9 EDUCATION FOR STRUGGLE

(13) The movement must educate its adherents about the principle that struggle isn't to be considered a necessary evil but rather as desired in itself. Therefore they must not fear the hostility of their adversaries, but they must take it as a necessary condition for their whole right to existence. They must not try to avoid the hatred of the enemies of our people and our worldview, but must welcome it. Lies and slander are among the manifestations of this hatred.

The man who is not opposed, vilified, and slandered in the Jewish press is not a staunch German, and no true National Socialist. The best rule to measure the sincerity of his convictions, his character, and his strength of will is the hostility th.at his name arouses among the mortal enemies of our people.

The followers of the movement, and indeed the whole nation, must be reminded again and again of the fact that the Jew and his newspapers are always spreading lies. If he tells the truth on some occasions, it's only for the purpose of masking some greater deception, which turns the apparent truth into a deliberate falsehood. The Jew is the great master of lies.[117] Lies and deception are his weapons in struggle.

Every Jewish slander and every Jewish lie is a scar of honor on the bodies of our warriors.

He whom they revile the most is nearest to us, and he whom they mortally hate is our best friend.

Anyone who opens a Jewish newspaper in the morning and doesn't find himself vilified there, has spent yesterday to no account. If he had achieved something, he would be persecuted, slandered, derided, abused, and besmirched. Those who effectively combat this mortal enemy of our people, who is at the same time the enemy of all Aryan peoples and culture, can only

[117] Again recalling Schopenhauer. See Chapter 10.4, note 76.

expect to arouse opposition on the part of this race and become the object of its slanderous attacks.

When these truths become part of the flesh and blood of our members, then the movement will be impregnable and invincible.

12.10 EDUCATION FOR RESPECT OF THE PERSON

(14) The movement must use all possible means to cultivate respect for the individual personality. It must never forget that all human values are based on *personal* values, and that every idea and achievement is the fruit of the creative power of one man. Admiration for everything great is a tribute to one creative personality, and all those who feel such admiration become thereby united.

Nothing can take the place of the individual. This is especially true when the individual embodies in himself not the mechanical but the creative and cultural element. No pupil can take the place of the master in completing a great picture that was left unfinished; and just in the same way, no substitute can take the place of the great poet or thinker, or the great statesman or military general. Their activity lies in the realm of art. It can never be mechanically acquired, because it's an innate product of divine grace.

The greatest revolutions and the greatest achievements of this world, its greatest cultural works and the immortal creations of great statesmen, are inseparably bound up with one name, and are represented by it. The failure to pay tribute to one of those great spirits signifies a neglect of that enormous source of power that lies in the names of all great men and women.

The Jew knows this best of all. He, whose great men have always been great only in their efforts to destroy mankind and its culture, worships them as idols. But he attempts to stigmatize respect for a nation's own great spirits as unworthy; this he labels a 'personality cult.'

As soon as a people has so lost its courage as to submit to this Jewish arrogance and defamation, it renounces the most important source of its own inner strength. This is not a pandering to the

masses, but a veneration of genius, ennoblement, and enlightenment.

When men's hearts are breaking and their souls despair, their great forebears turn their eyes towards them from the dim shadows of the past–they who knew how conquer anxiety and affliction, despair and misery, mental servitude and physical bondage–and extend their eternal hands to despairing souls!

Woe to the nation that is ashamed to grasp them!

12.11 DANGER OF OBSCURITY

During the initial phase of our movement, our greatest handicap was the fact that none of us were known and our names meant nothing–a fact that then seemed to diminish our chances for success. Our most difficult task then–when it was often only six, seven, or eight of us–was to make everyone in this tiny circle believe that there was a tremendous future in store for the movement.

Consider that only six or seven poor devils, who were entirely unknown, came together to found a movement that would succeed in doing what the great mass parties had failed to do: namely, to reconstruct a German Reich of greater power and glory. We would have been very pleased if we were attacked or even ridiculed. But the most depressing fact was that no one paid any attention to us at all. This utter lack of interest in us caused me the greatest suffering at the time.

When I entered the circle of those few men, there was no question of a party or a movement. I already described my initial impressions of that small organization. Subsequently, I had time and the occasion to study the form of this so-called party, which at first looked so impossible. By God, the picture was quite depressing and discouraging. There was nothing; absolutely nothing at all. There was only the name of a party. And the committee consisted of all the party members. Somehow or other, it seemed just like the kind of thing we were fighting against–a miniature parliament. The voting system ruled. When the great parliament cried until they were hoarse, at least they shouted about

problems of importance. Here, this small circle engaged in interminable discussions as to how they might answer the letters that they were delighted to have received!

Needless to say, the public knew nothing of all this. In Munich, nobody knew of our party, not even by name, except our few members and their few friends.

Every Wednesday, a so-called committee meeting was held in one of the Munich cafes, and a lecture was arranged for one evening each week. In the beginning, all the members of the movement were also members of the committee; therefore all the faces were the same. Now the task was to extend the narrow limits of this small circle and get new members; but above all, to make the movement known at any price.

We chose the following technique:

Monthly-and later, every two weeks–we decided to hold a 'meeting.' Some of the invitations were typewritten, and others were written by hand. For the first few meetings, we distributed them in the streets and delivered them personally. Each solicited among his own acquaintances and tried to persuade some of them to attend our meetings.

The result was lamentable.

I still remember how I once personally delivered 80 of these invitations, and how we waited in the evening for the crowds to come.

After an hour, the 'chairman' finally had to open the 'meeting.' Again there were only seven men: the same old seven.

12.12 THE FIRST MEETING

We then changed our methods. We had the invitations typed in a Munich stationery shop, and then mimeographed them. The result was that a few more people attended our next meeting. The number increased gradually: from 11 to 13, then to 17, to 23, and finally to 34.

We collected some money within our own circle, each poor devil giving a small contribution. In that way, we raised sufficient funds to be able to advertise one of our meetings in the *Munich*

Observer, which was still an independent paper. This time we had an astonishing success. We chose the Munich Hofbräuhaus Keller (not to be confused with the Munich Hofbräuhaus Festsaal) as our meeting place. It was a small hall and would accommodate scarcely more than 130 people. To me, however, the hall seemed enormous, and we were all worried that this 'mighty' edifice might remain partly empty on the night of the meeting.[118]

At 7:00 pm, 111 people were present, and the meeting was opened.

A Munich professor delivered the principal address, and I spoke after him. That was my first time speaking in public.

The whole thing seemed very daring to Herr Harrer, who was the first chairman of the party. He was a very decent fellow; but he believed that I, despite a number of good qualities, had no talent for public speaking. Even later, he couldn't be persuaded to change his opinion.

Things turned out differently. I was allotted 20 minutes for my speech on this occasion, which might be looked upon as our first public meeting.

I spoke for 30 minutes. And something that I always felt deep down in my heart, without really knowing, was here proven to be true: I could speak! After my 30 minutes, the people in the little hall were electrified. Their enthusiasm found its first expression in the fact that my appeal to those present brought us donations of 300 marks. That was a great relief for us. Our finances at that time were so meager that we couldn't afford to have our party slogans printed, or even distribute leaflets. Now we at least possessed the nucleus of a fund from which we could pay our most urgent and necessary expenses.

12.13 SOLDIERS AS THE BASIS OF THE MOVEMENT

But the success of this first larger meeting was also important from another point of view.

[118] This was on 16 October 1919.

I had already begun to introduce some young and fresh members into the committee. During the long period of my military service, I had come to know a large number of good comrades whom I was now able to persuade to join our party. All of them were energetic and disciplined young men who, through their years of military service, had been imbued with a principle: Nothing is impossible, and that where there's a will, there's a way.

The need for this supply of fresh blood became evident to me after just a few weeks of collaboration.

Herr Harrer, who was first chairman of the party, was a journalist by profession, and as such he was widely educated. But as leader of the party, he had one very serious handicap: he couldn't speak to a crowd. Though he did his work conscientiously, it lacked the necessary driving force–probably because he had no oratorical gifts whatsoever. Herr Drexler, at that time chairman of the local Munich group, was a simple working man. He, too, was not of any great significance as a speaker, and moreover he wasn't a soldier, even during the war. This man, who was feeble and uncertain by nature, had missed the only school that knows how to transform such types into real men.

Therefore neither of those two men was made of the stuff that would have enabled them to stir up an ardent and indomitable faith in the ultimate triumph of the movement. Neither could brush aside with obstinate force and, if necessary, brutal ruthlessness, all obstacles that stood in the path of the new idea. Such a task could be carried out only by men whose bodies and souls had been trained in those military virtues that perhaps can be described as: swift as a greyhound, tough as leather, and hard as Krupp steel.

At that time I was still a soldier. Outside and inside, I had the polish of six years of service, and so I must have looked quite strange in this circle. I had forgotten such phrases as: "That won't work," or "That's impossible," or "That's too risky," or "That's too dangerous," and so on.

The whole thing was dangerous. In 1920, there were many parts of Germany where it would have been absolutely impossible to openly invite people to a national meeting that dared to make a direct appeal to the masses. Those who attended such meetings

were usually dispersed and driven away with bleeding heads. It certainly didn't call for any great skill to do things in that way. The largest so-called bourgeois mass meetings were accustomed to dissolving and scattering like rabbits frightened by a dog, at the sight of a dozen communists.

The Reds used to pay little attention to those bourgeois organizations where only babblers talked. They recognized their inner triviality and harmlessness better than the members themselves. They were determined to use all means of ridding themselves of a dangerous movement. Their most effective means in such cases have always been terror and brute force.

Marxist deceivers of the public naturally hated most of all a movement whose declared aim was to win over those masses that had previously been exclusively at the service of international Marxist and Jewish stock-exchange parties. The very title 'German Workers' Party' irritated them. It could easily be foreseen that, at the first opportune moment, we would have to confront the Marxist despots, who were still intoxicated with their victory.[119]

In the small circles of our own movement, people showed a certain amount of anxiety at the thought of such a conflict.

They wanted to avoid coming out into the open, because they feared being beaten. In their minds, they saw our first public meetings broken up and feared that the movement was ruined forever. I found it difficult to defend my own position: that conflict shouldn't be avoided but openly confronted, and that we should acquire the arms necessary for protection against violence. Terror cannot be overcome by the mind but only by counter-terror. The success of our first public meeting strengthened my own position. The members felt encouraged to arrange for a second meeting, on an even larger scale.

[119] Of 1918.

12.14 SECOND MEETING

Around October 1919, the second larger meeting took place in the Eberlbräu Keller. Theme: 'Brest-Litovsk and Versailles.' There were four speakers. I spoke for almost an hour, and the success was even more striking than at our first meeting. The number of people who attended had grown to more than 130. An attempted disturbance was immediately stopped by my comrades. The would-be disrupters were thrown down the stairs, with gashed heads.

Two weeks later, another meeting took place in the same hall. The attendance had now increased to more than 170, and the room was fairly well filled. I spoke again, and once more it was more successful than at the previous meeting.

I then proposed a larger hall. After looking around, we found one at the other end of the town, in the 'Deutschen Reich' on Dachauer Strasse. The first meeting there had a smaller attendance than the previous meeting: barely 140 people. The committee members got discouraged; those who had always been skeptical were now convinced that this drop-off was due to the fact that our events were held too frequently. There were vociferous discussions, in which I defended my own view, that a city with 700,000 inhabitants should be able to stand not one meeting every couple weeks, but ten every week. I held that we shouldn't be discouraged by a setback, that the tactics we had chosen were correct, and that sooner or later success would be ours–if we only continued with determined perseverance to push ahead on our path. This whole winter of 1919-1920 was one continual struggle to strengthen confidence in our ability to carry the movement through to success, and to instill a burning faith that could move mountains.

The next meeting in the small hall proved me correct. Our audience increased to more than 200. The publicity effect and financial success were spectacular.

I immediately urged that a further meeting be held. It took place in less than two weeks, and there were more than 270 people there.

Two weeks later, we invited our followers and their friends, for

the seventh time, to attend our meeting. The same hall was scarcely large enough for the number that came. They amounted to more than 400.

12.15 INNER FORMATION OF THE MOVEMENT

It was at this time that the young movement developed its inner form. Sometimes we had more or less violent discussions within our small circle. Various sides–then as now–objected to the idea of calling the young movement a party. I've always considered such criticism as a demonstration of the critic's practical incapacity and narrow-mindedness. Those objections have always been raised by men who couldn't differentiate between external appearances and inner strength, but tried to judge the movement by the high-sounding character of its name. To this end, they ransacked the vocabulary of our ancestors, with unfortunate results.

At that time, it was very difficult to make the people understand that every movement is a party as long as it hasn't brought its ideals to final victory and thus achieved its purpose. It's a party even if it takes a thousand different names.

If anyone tries to carry out an original idea whose realization would be for the benefit of his fellow men, he will first have to look for disciples who are ready to fight for his goals. And if these ends don't go beyond the destruction of the party system and thus put a stop to the process of disintegration, then all those who come forward as propagators of such an ideal are a party in themselves-as long as their final goal hasn't been reached. It's only hair-splitting and playing with words when these antiquated theorists, whose practical success is in inverse proportion to their wisdom, presume to think they can change the character of a movement–which is at the same time a party–merely by changing its name.

On the contrary.

It's highly distasteful to toss around old Germanic expressions that are neither appropriate for our present day, nor represent anything concrete. This deceives people into thinking that the importance of movement lies in its external vocabulary. This is a

real menace, and unfortunately is quite prevalent today.

At that time, and later, I had to warn followers repeatedly against these German folklore-ish wandering scholars who never accomplished anything positive or practical, except to cultivate their own overflowing self-conceit.[120] A new movement must guard itself against an influx of people whose only recommendation is their own declaration–the same one that they have been fighting for during the last 30 or 40 years. Anyone who has fought for an idea for 40 years, and has no positive results to show for it–not even of hindering their opponents–then the story of those 40 years of futile efforts provides sufficient proof for their incompetence. The chief danger is that they don't want to participate in the movement as ordinary members, but prefer to discuss their leadership of circles in which only they are qualified to carry on their work.

Woe to a young movement, if its conduct falls into such hands! A businessman who has been in charge of a great firm for 40 years, and who has completely destroyed it, isn't qualified to run a new firm. In the same way, any folkish Methuselah who has ineffectively preached an idea for 40 years, is utterly unqualified for the leadership of a new movement!

12.16 TIN SWORDS AND TANNED BEARSKINS

Furthermore, only a small portion of such people join a new movement to serve it. In most cases, they come because they think that, within the new movement, they will be able to promulgate their old ideas-to the misfortune of others. Anyhow, no one ever seems able to describe what exactly these ideas are.

It's typical of such people that they rant about ancient Teutonic heroes of the dim and distant ages, stone axes, battle spears, and shields; whereas in reality they themselves are the biggest cowards imaginable. Those very same people who brandish Teutonic tin swords and wear tanned bearskins, with ox horns mounted over their bearded faces, proclaim that all contemporary conflicts must

[120] Hitler refers here to the leaders of other right-wing parties, with whom he was in competition.

be decided by intellectual weapons alone. And then they scatter when the first communist cudgel appears. Posterity will have little occasion to write a new epic about their heroic existence.

I've seen too much of those kind of people not to feel a profound contempt for their miserable play-acting. To the broad masses, they are just an object of ridicule; and the Jew finds it to his own interest to treat these folk-lore comedians with respect, and he prefers them to true fighters for a German state. And yet these comedians are extremely proud of themselves. Notwithstanding their proven incompetence, they pretend to know everything better than other people–so much so that they become a real plague to all sincere and honest patriots, to whom not only the heroism of the past is worthy of honor, but who also feel bound to leave examples of their own work for the inspiration of posterity.

Among those people, it's often hard to distinguish between those who are merely stupid and incompetent, and those who have a definite rationale. My impression, especially with the so-called religious reformers based on ancient Germanic customs, is that they are sent by those who don't wish to see a national revival of our people. Their whole activity leads people away from the common struggle against the common enemy, the Jew.

This causes people to waste their strength on senseless and ruinous religious controversies. These are the grounds for an authoritative and dominant centralizing force in the movement. Only in this way can it counteract the activity of such ruinous elements. And that's why these folklore wandering Jews are so hostile to any movement whose members are firmly united under one leader and one discipline. They hate such a movement because it's capable of putting a stop to their mischief.

12.17 REJECTION OF THE WORD 'FOLKISH'

It was not without good reason that we laid down a clearly defined program for the new movement that excluded the word 'folkish.' The concept underlying this term cannot serve as the basis of a movement, because it's too vague and general in its application. Because this concept is so indefinite from a practical

viewpoint, it gives rise to various interpretations and thus people can more easily invoke its authority. The insertion of such a vague and ill-defined concept into a political movement tends to break up the disciplined solidarity of the fighting forces, because it allows each individual to define his own concept of faith and will.

It's disgraceful to see the kind of people who run around nowadays with the word 'folkish' on their caps, and how they have their own interpretation of this concept. A well–known professor in Bavaria–a famous combatant who fights only with intellectual weapons, and who boasts of having marched against Berlin–believes that the concept of folkish is the same as monarchical. But this learned authority failed to explain the identity between our German monarchs and the present-day concept of folkish. I think he would have a very hard time. It would be very difficult indeed to imagine anything less folkish than most of those German monarchical states. Had they been otherwise, they wouldn't have disappeared. Or if they were folkish, then their collapse would prove the failure of the folkish worldview.

Everyone interprets this concept in his own way. But to make such diverse opinions the basis of a political struggle is out of the question.

I won't even mention the unworldliness, and especially the failure to understand the popular soul, that's displayed by these folkish St. Johns of the 20th century. It suffices to point to the ridicule heaped upon them by the Left. They allow them to babble on, and then laugh.

12.18 'INTELLECTUAL WEAPONS,' 'SILENT WORKERS'

I don't put much value on the friendship of people who don't succeed in getting hated by their enemies. Therefore, we considered the friendship of such people as not only worthless, but even dangerous to our young movement. That was the main reason why we first called ourselves a 'party.' We hoped that, by giving ourselves such a name, we might scare away a whole host of

folkish dreamers. And secondly, that was why we named ourselves The National Socialist German Workers' Party.

The first term, 'party,' kept away all those dreamers who live in the past and all the lovers of bombastic nomenclature, those advocates of the so-called 'folkish idea.' Secondly, the full name of the party kept away all those knights of the 'intellectual sword'– all those wretches whose 'intellectual weapons' hid their cowardice.

It was only to be expected that this latter class would attack us the hardest–not actively, of course, but only with their pens. This is the only weapon of the folkish goose-quills. To them, our principle "We shall meet violence with violence in our own defense," was terrifying. They reproached us bitterly, not only for what they called our crude worship of the cudgel, but also because, according to them, of our lack of spirit as such. They didn't realize for a moment that even a Demosthenes[121] could be reduced to silence at a mass-meeting by 50 idiots who had come there to shout him down and use their fists against his supporters. Their innate cowardice prevents them from exposing themselves to such a danger; they always work 'silently' and never dare to make 'noise,' or to come forward in public.

Even today, I must warn our young movement in the strongest possible terms to guard against falling into the snare of those so-called 'silent workers.' They are not only cowards but also, and always will be, incompetents and do-nothings. A man who is aware of certain things and knows that danger threatens, and at the same time sees the possibility of a certain remedy, has an obligation not to work 'in silence' but openly and publicly. He must fight against the evil, and for its cure. If he does not, then he is a timid weakling who fails from cowardice, laziness, or incompetence.

Most of these 'silent workers' generally pretend to know God-knows-what. They do nothing but try to fool the world with their tricks. Though quite indolent, they try to create the impression that

[121] Famed orator and stateman of ancient Athens, contemporary of Aristotle. Lived circa 350 BC.

their 'silent' work keeps them very busy. In short, they are sheer swindlers–political crooks who hate the honest work of others. When you find one of these folkish moths buzzing over the value of his 'silence,' you may bet a thousand-to-one that you are dealing with someone who does nothing productive at all, but steals–steals the fruits of others' labor.

Additionally, one should note the arrogance and conceited impudence with which these obscurantist idlers try to tear to pieces the work of other people–criticizing it with an air of superiority, and thus aiding the mortal enemy of our people.

Every last agitator, who has the courage to stand on a beerhall-table amid his enemies and manfully and openly defend his position, achieves a thousand times more than these lying, treacherous sneaks. He will at least convert one or another to the movement. One can examine his work and test its effectiveness by its actual results. Only those cowardly swindlers–who praise their own 'silent' work and shelter themselves under the despicable cloak of anonymity–are just worthless and, in the truest sense of the term, useless drones, for the purpose of our national reconstruction.

12.19 FIRST GREAT MASS MEETING

In the beginning of 1920, I put forward the idea of holding our first mass meeting. There were differences of opinion amongst us. Some leading members of our party thought that the time was not ripe for such a meeting, and that the outcome might be detrimental. The Red press began to take notice of us, and we were lucky enough to arouse their hatred. We had begun to appear at other meetings and to ask questions or contradict the speakers, and naturally we were shouted down. But still we thereby gained some success. People got to know us; and the better they understood us, the stronger was their aversion and their enmity. Therefore we expected that a large contingent of our friends from the Red camp would attend our first mass meeting.

I fully realized that our meeting would probably be broken up. But we had to face the fight; if not now, then some months later.

Since the first day of our founding, we were resolved to secure the future of the movement by fighting our way forward in a spirit of blind faith and ruthless determination. I was well-acquainted with the mentality of all those on the Red side, and I knew quite well that if we opposed them, not only would we make an impression but we might even win new followers. Thus we had to be resolved to put up resistance.

Herr Harrer was then chairman of our party. He didn't support my view as to the opportune time for our first mass meeting. Accordingly, as an honest and upright man, he resigned from the leadership of the movement. Herr Anton Drexler took his place. I kept the work of organizing the propaganda in my own hands and uncompromisingly carried it out.

We decided on 24 February 1920 as the date for the first great mass meeting of the still-unknown movement.

I made all the preparatory arrangements personally. They were very brief. The whole apparatus of our organization was designed to make rapid decisions. Within 24 hours, we had to decide on the attitude we would take in regard to the questions that would be put forth at the mass meeting. They would be announced on posters and leaflets, whose content followed the guidelines that I have already laid out regarding propaganda in general:[122] appeal to the broad masses; concentration on a few points; constant repetition; concise and dogmatic expression of ideas; perseverance in distribution; and patience in awaiting the effect.

For our principal color, we chose red; it has an exciting effect on the eye and was therefore calculated to arouse and provoke our opponents. Thus they would have to remember us–whether they liked it or not.

Subsequently, the inner fraternization in Bavaria between the Marxists and the Center Party became clear. The ruling Bavarian People's Party[123] did its best to counteract the effect that our posters had on the Red working masses. Later they moved to prohibit them. If the police could find no other grounds for doing

[122] That is, in Chapter 6.

[123] They were affiliated with the Center Party.

so, then they could claim that we were 'disturbing the traffic' in the streets. And thus the so-called German National People's Party pleased their inner, silent Red ally by completely banning those posters–posters that brought back hundreds of thousands of workers to their own people, who had been incited and seduced by internationalism. These posters–appended to the first and second editions of this book[124]–bear witness to the bitterness of the struggle in which the young movement was then engaged. Future generations will find in them a documentary proof of our determination and the justice of our own cause. And they show the despotism of our so-called national officials, who acted against us because we were nationalizing the broad masses of the people.

12.20 PÖHNER AND FRICK

These posters will also help to destroy the idea that there was then a national government in Bavaria. They also show that if Bavaria remained nationally-minded during the years 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, and 1923, this was not due to a national government but because they were compelled to acknowledge the growing national sentiment among the people.

The government authorities themselves did everything in their power to restrict this process of recovery, and to make it impossible.

Two men, though, must be mentioned as exceptions.

Ernst Pöhner, chief of police at the time, and his loyal advisor and chief deputy Frick, were the only men with the courage to place the interests of the country above their own jobs.[125] Of those in responsible positions, Ernst Pöhner was the only one who didn't curry favor with the masses but felt that his duty was towards the nation as such. He was ready to risk and sacrifice everything, even his personal livelihood, to help in the restoration of the German people, whom he dearly loved. For that reason he was a bitter

[124] Not included here.

[125] Ernst Pöhner (1870- 1925) was the Munich police chief from 1919 to 1922. Wilhelm Frick (1877-1946) was Pöhner's deputy, and ultimately served in Hitler's cabinet for over 10 years. He was convicted at Nuremberg and sentenced to death by hanging.

thorn in the side of the venal group of government officials who simply followed orders without considering the interests and needs of the people. They had no thought whatsoever for the national welfare that had been entrusted to their care.

Above all, Pöhner was one of those people who, in contrast with the majority of our so-called defenders of the state, wasn't afraid to incur the enmity of the traitors to the country and the nation, but rather courted it as a mark of honor and honesty. For him, the hatred of the Jews and Marxists, and the lies and slanders they spread, were the only source of happiness in the midst of national misery.

A man of granite loyalty, he was an ascetic character of the classical era, a straightforward German, for whom the saying 'Better dead than a slave' is not an empty phrase but the essence of his being.

In my eyes, he and his collaborator, Dr. Frick, are the only men holding state positions who have the right to be considered as co-creators of a national Bavaria.

12.21 DRAFTING THE PROGRAM

Before holding our first great mass meeting, it was necessary not only to have our propaganda material ready but also to have the main points of our program printed.

In the second volume of this book, I'll develop the guiding principles that we then followed in drawing up our program. Here I will only say that the program was arranged, not merely to set forth the form and content of the young movement, but also with the goal of making it understood among the broad masses.

The so-called intellectual circles made jokes and sneered at it, and then tried to criticize it. But the effectiveness of our program has proven that the ideas of that time were right.

During these years, I saw dozens of new movements arise and disappear without leaving a trace. A single one remains: the National Socialist German Workers' Party. Today I am more convinced than ever before that, though they may combat us and try to paralyze our movement, and though petty party ministers

may forbid us to speak, they cannot prevent the triumph of our ideas.

When both the present system of state administration and the names of its advocates are forgotten, the fundamentals of the National Socialist program will supply the basis for a future state.

Our four months of meetings held before January 1920 slowly enabled us to collect the financial means necessary to have our first leaflets, posters, and programs printed.

12.22 A MOVEMENT ON THE MARCH

I'll bring the first part of this book to a close by referring to our first great mass meeting, because it marked the occasion on which it burst the bounds of a small club and began to exert an influence on the most powerful factor of our time: public opinion.

I myself had but one concern at that time: Will the hall be filled, or will we speak to a gaping void? I was firmly convinced that if only the people would come, this day would turn out to be a great success for the young movement. And so I waited impatiently for the evening to come.

The meeting would begin at 7:30 pm. At 7:15, I walked through the chief hall of the Hofbräuhaus on the Platz in Munich, and my heart nearly burst with joy. The great hall–for at that time, it seemed very big to me–was filled to overflowing, shoulder to shoulder. Nearly 2,000 people were present. And above all, those people had come whom we had always wished to reach. More than half of the audience seemed to be communists or independents. Our first great demonstration was destined, in their view, to come to an abrupt end.

But things happened otherwise. When the first speaker finished, I got up to speak. After a few minutes, I was met with a hailstorm of interruptions, and violent encounters broke out in the hall. A handful of my loyal war comrades and some other followers wrestled with the disturbers and gradually restored order. I continued my speech. After half an hour, applause began to drown the interruptions and the shouting.

I now took up the program, and began to explain it for the first

time.

Minute by minute, the interruptions was increasingly drowned out by shouts of applause. I finally came to explain the 25 points, and laid them out, point after point, before the masses.[126] As I asked them to pass their own judgment on each point, one after another was accepted with increasing enthusiasm–unanimously and again unanimously. When the last point was reached and found its way to the heart of the masses, I had before me a hall full of people united by a new conviction, a new faith, and a new will.

After nearly four hours, the hall began to clear. As the masses streamed towards the exit, crammed shoulder to shoulder, shoving and pushing, I knew that a movement was now set afoot among the German people that would never be forgotten.

A fire was kindled, from whose flame the sword would be fashioned that would restore freedom to the German Siegfried, and bring life back to the German nation.

And alongside the coming revival, I sensed that the Goddess of Inexorable Vengeance was now getting ready to redress the treason of 9 November 1918.

The hall slowly emptied.

The movement was on the march.

[126] Listed in Appendix A.

MEIN KAMPF

THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

CHAPTER 1
WORLDVIEW AND PARTY

On 24 February 1920, the first great mass meeting of our young movement took place. In the Banquet Hall of the Munich Hofbräuhaus, the 25 theses of our new party program were explained to an audience of nearly 2,000 people; each thesis was enthusiastically received.[127]

Thus we made the public aware of those first principles and lines of action by which the new struggle would abolish a mass of confused and obsolete ideas and opinion–things that had led to obscure and pernicious ends. A new force now appeared among the timid and feckless bourgeoisie. This force was destined to resist the triumphant advance of the Marxists and, at the last minute, bring the wheel of destiny to a halt.

It was self-evident that this new movement could gain the significance and support that are necessary pre-requisites in such a gigantic struggle only if it succeeded from the very outset in awakening a sacred conviction in the hearts of its followers. This was not a case of introducing a new electoral slogan into the political field, but rather that an entirely new worldview-one of fundamental significance–had to be promoted.

1.1 BOURGEOIS 'PROGRAM COMMITTEES'

One must recall the wretched viewpoints that were normally patched together to form the usual so-called Party Program, and how they were brushed up or remodeled from time to time. We must carefully investigate the motives that inspired the average bourgeois 'program committee' if we are to properly evaluate these programmatic monstrosities.

Those people are always influenced by one and the same

[127] See appendix A.

concern when they introduce something new into their program, or modify something already contained in it: the results of the next election. The moment these parliamentary artists have the first glimmering of a suspicion that their darling public may be ready to kick up its heels and escape from the harness of the old party wagon, they begin to paint the shafts with new colors. On such occasions, the party astrologists and horoscope readers–the so-called 'experienced men' and 'experts'–come forward. For the most part they are old parliamentary hands whose 'rich political schooling' has furnished them with ample experience. They recall previous occasions when the masses showed signs of losing patience, and they now foresee a similar menace arising once again. Resorting to their old prescription, they form a 'committee.' They go around among the darling public and listen to what's being said. They dip their noses into the newspapers and gradually begin to sense what it is that their darlings, the broad masses, wish for–and what they reject, and what they hope for. Every trade or business group, and every class of employees, is carefully studied and their innermost desires are investigated. Even the 'evil slogans' of the dangerous opposition are now suddenly looked upon as worthy of reconsideration, and it often happens that these slogans, to the great astonishment of those who originally coined and circulated them, now seem to be quite harmless and indeed appear among the dogmas of the old parties.

So the committees meet to 'revise' the old program and draw up a new one (these gentlemen change their convictions just the way that a soldier changes his shirt in war–when the old one is lice-ridden!). In the new program, everyone gets his share. The farmer gets protection for his agriculture. The industrialist is assured of protection for his products. The consumer is protected for his purchases. Teachers are given higher salaries and civil servants will have better pensions. Widows and orphans will receive generous assistance from the State. Trade will be promoted. Tariffs will be lowered and even taxes, though they cannot be entirely abolished, will be almost so. It sometimes happens that one section of the public is forgotten or that one of the public demands fails to reach the ears of the party; this is also

hurriedly patched onto the whole, should there be any space available for it. Finally it's believed that the anxieties of the whole petty bourgeois and their wives are laid to rest, and they beam with satisfaction once again. And so, inwardly armed with faith in the goodness of God and the impenetrable stupidity of the electorate, the struggle for what's called the 'reconstruction' of the Reich now begins.

When election day is over and the parliamentarians have held their last public meeting for five years, when they can leave their job of training the masses and can now devote themselves to higher and more pleasant tasks–then the program committee is dissolved and the struggle for the progressive reorganization of public affairs once again becomes merely a business of earning one's daily bread: which is called a parliamentarian attendance fee.

Every morning, the honorable deputy wends his way to the House. Though he may not enter the Chamber itself, he gets at least as far as the front hall where the attendance lists are kept. As a part of his onerous service to the people, he signs his name, and in return receives a small payment as a well-earned reward for his unceasing and exhausting labors.

After four years–or sooner if there should occur some critical period during which the parliamentary body faces the danger of being dissolved–these gentlemen suddenly become seized by an irresistible desire to act. Just as the grub-worm cannot help growing into a butterfly, these parliamentarian caterpillars leave the great Pupae House and flutter out on new wings among the beloved public. They address the voters once again, give an account of the enormous labors they have accomplished, and emphasize the malicious obstinacy of their opponents. They don't always meet with grateful applause, however; occasionally the foolish masses throw rude and bitter insults in their faces. When this public ingratitude reaches a certain degree, there's only one way out: The party's prestige must be polished up again. The program has to be revised. The committee is called into existence once again. And the swindle begins anew. Once we understand the granite stupidity of our public, we shouldn't be surprised at the

outcome. Led by the press and blinded once again by the enticing new program, the 'bourgeois' as well as the 'proletarian' herds of voters faithfully return to the common stable and re-elect their old deceivers.

The people's man and labor candidate now changes back again into a parliamentarian caterpillar and fattens on the leaves of the State, only to be transformed once again, in four more years, into a glittering butterfly.

There is hardly anything more depressing than watching this process in sober reality and to be an eyewitness of this repeatedly recurring betrayal.

1.2 MARXISM AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES

On such a spiritual ground, it's impossible for the bourgeois camp to develop the necessary strength to carry on the fight against the organized power of Marxism.

Indeed, they have never seriously thought of doing so. Though these parliamentary quacks of the white race are generally recognized as mentally inferior men, they are shrewd enough to know that they could not seriously entertain the hope of being able to use the weapon of Western democracy to fight a doctrine–namely, Marxism–which employs this very democracy for its own end. Democracy is exploited by the Marxists for the purpose of paralyzing their opponents and gaining a free hand for themselves, in order to put their own methods into action. When certain groups of Marxists use all their ingenuity for the time being to give the impression that they are inseparably attached to the principles of democracy, it's good to recall the fact that, on critical occasions, these same gentlemen showed no regard for the democratic principle of majority rule! Such was the case in those days when the bourgeois parliamentarians, in their monumental small-mindedness, believed that the security of the Reich was guaranteed because it had an overwhelming numerical majority in its favor; meanwhile the Marxists didn't hesitate to suddenly grasp power, backed by a mob of loafers, deserters, party bosses, and Jewish journalists. That was a slap in the face of the democracy

that so many parliamentarians believed in. Only those credulous parliamentary wizards of a bourgeois democracy could have believed that the Marxist world-plague, and the brutal determination of its carriers, could for a moment–now or in the future–be banished by the magical formulas of Western parliamentarianism.

Marxism will march shoulder to shoulder with democracy until it succeeds in indirectly winning the support of even the nationalist world that it strives to root out. But if the Marxists ever came to believe that there was a danger that, from this witch's cauldron of our parliamentary democracy, a majority vote might be concocted that could seriously attack Marxism–even if only on the basis of its ruling majority–then the whole parliamentarian hocus-pocus would be at an end. Instead of appealing to the democratic conscience, the standard bearers of the Red International would immediately emit a furious rallying-cry among the proletarian masses, and the ensuing fight would take place not in the sedate atmosphere of Parliament but in the factories and the streets. Then democracy would be finished at once; that which the intellectual agility of the parliamentarian apostles had failed to accomplish would now be successfully carried out by the crowbar and the sledgehammer of the exasperated proletarian masses, just as in the fall of 1918. At a single blow, they would awaken the bourgeois world to the madness of thinking that Jewish world domination could be opposed by means of Western democracy.

1.3 WORLDVIEW AGAINST WORLDVIEW

As I have said, only a very credulous mind could think of complying with the rules of the game when he has to face a player for whom those rules are nothing but a mere bluff or a means of serving his own interests–which he will quickly discard when they are no longer to his advantage.

All the parties that profess so-called bourgeois principles look upon political life as, in reality, a struggle for seats in Parliament. The moment that their principles and convictions are of no further

use in that struggle, they are thrown overboard like sand ballast. And the programs are constructed in such a way that they can be dealt with in a like manner. But such a practice has a correspondingly weakening effect. The parties lack the great magnetic attraction that alone draws in the broad masses; these masses always respond to the compelling force that emanates from absolute faith in the ideas put forth, along with the fanatical fighting courage to defend them.

At a time in which the one side, armed with all the weapons of a thousand-times criminal worldview, makes an attack against the established order, the other side will be able to resist only when it draws its strength from a new faith, which in our case is a political faith. This faith must replace the weak and cowardly command to defend with the battle-cry of a courageous and ruthless attack. If our present movement is accused, especially by the so-called national bourgeois cabinet ministers–the Bavarian Center, for example–of heading towards a 'revolution,' we have only one answer to those political midgets: We are trying to make up for that which you, in your criminal stupidity, failed to do. By your parliamentarian cattle-trading, you helped to drag the nation into the abyss; but we, by our aggressive policy, are setting up a new worldview, one that we shall defend with indomitable devotion. Thus we are building the steps upon which our nation may once again ascend to the temple of freedom.

Hence during the founding time of our movement, we had to take special care that our militant group, which fought for a new and exalted political faith, shouldn't degenerate into a mere society for the promotion of parliamentarian interests.

The first preventive measure was to create a program that would, by itself, tend towards developing a certain inner greatness that would scare away all the small and weak minds of our present party politicians.

The fatal defects that finally led to Germany's collapse [in 1918] offer the clearest proof of how correct we were in considering it absolutely necessary to set up programmatic goals that were sharply and distinctly defined.

Because we recognized these defects, we realized that a new

conception of the State had to be formed. This in itself became a part of our new world-conception.

1.4 THE 'FOLKISH' CONCEPT

In the first volume of this book, I have already dealt with the term 'folkish.'[128] I said then that this term is insufficiently precise to allow the formation of a solid fighting community. All kinds of people, with all kinds of divergent opinions, are parading around under the 'folkish' banner. Therefore, before I address the purposes and aims of the National Socialist German Workers' Party, I want to establish a clear understanding of what is meant by the concept 'folkish' and explain its relation to our party movement.

The word 'folkish' doesn't express any clearly specified idea. It may be interpreted in several ways, and in practice it's just as vague as the word 'religious,' for instance. It's difficult to attach any precise meaning to this latter word, either as a theoretical concept or in practical life. The word 'religious' acquires a precise meaning only when it's associated with a distinct and definite form through which the concept is put into practice. To call a man 'deeply religious' is fine phraseology; but generally speaking, it tells us little or nothing. There may be a few people who are content with such a vague description, and there may even be some to whom the word conveys a more or less definite picture of the person's soul.

But since the masses of the people are neither philosophers nor saints, such a vague religious idea will mean nothing for them other than to justify each person thinking and acting according to his own inclination. It won't lead to that effectiveness by which an inner religious yearning is transformed when it leaves the sphere of purely metaphysical ideas and conforms to a clearly outlined faith. Such a belief is certainly not an end in itself, but the means to an end; yet it's a necessary means for attaining the end. This end, however, is not merely something ideal, but rather, it's eminently practical. We must always bear in mind the fact that,

[128] See volume 1, chapter 12, sections 12.17-12.18.

generally speaking, the highest ideals always correspond to the deepest necessities of life, just as the nobility of the most sublime beauty is ultimately justified by that which is best suited to its purpose.

1.5 FROM RELIGIOUS FEELINGS TO DOGMATIC BELIEFS

By helping to lift man above the level of mere animal existence, faith certainly contributes to grounding and securing his existence. Taking humanity as it exists today, and considering the fact that present religious beliefs have been established through education in way that promotes practical moral standards, if we now abolished religious teaching and didn't replace it by an equivalent, the result would be to undermine the foundations of human existence. Therefore we may safely say that man doesn't live merely to serve higher ideals, but that these ideals, in turn, supply the necessary conditions for human existence. And thus the circle is closed.

Of course, the word 'religious' implies various ideas and beliefs; for example, the immortal soul, its future existence in eternity, the belief in the existence of a higher being, and so on. But all these ideas, no matter how firmly the individual believes in them, may be critically analyzed by anyone, and accepted or rejected accordingly; at that point, the emotional concept or yearning has been transformed into an active force that's governed by a clearly-defined doctrinal faith. Such a faith supplies, above all, the fighting factor that clears the way for a recognition of basic religious views.

Without a clearly-defined belief, religious feeling, with its vague and multifarious forms, would not only be worthless for the purposes of human existence but might even contribute towards a general disintegration.

The situation with the word 'religious' also applies to the term 'folkish.' This word also implies certain fundamental ideas. Though these ideas are very important indeed, they assume such vague and indefinite forms that they cannot hold greater value

than mere opinions until they are integrated into the structure of a political party. In order to give practical force to the ideals arising from a worldview and to respond to the logical consequences of such ideals, mere feeling and inner will are of no use; in the same way, freedom cannot be won by a universal yearning for it. No, only when the idealistic longing for independence is organized in such a way that it can fight for its ideals with military force, only then can the urgent wish of a people be transformed into a potent reality.

Any worldview, though a thousand-fold right and supremely beneficial to humanity, will be useless for the maintenance of a people until its principles become the rallying point of a militant movement. And in turn, this movement will remain a mere party until it has brought its ideals to victory and transformed its party doctrines into the new foundations of a State that gives shape to the national community.

If a spiritual conception of a general nature is to serve as the basis of future development, then the first prerequisite is to form a clear understanding of its nature, character, and scope. Only on such a basis can a movement be founded that will be able to draw the necessary fighting strength. From general ideas, a political program must be constructed, and a general worldview must by imprinted by a definite political faith. Since this faith must be directed towards practical ends, it must not only serve the general ideal as such, but it must also take into consideration the means that have to be employed for the triumph of the ideal. Here the practical wisdom of the statesman must come to the assistance of the abstract idea, which is correct in itself. Thus an eternal ideal, as a guiding star to mankind, must be adapted to the weaknesses of humanity so that its practical effect won't be frustrated at the very outset due to general human inadequacy. The searcher for truth must here go hand in hand with one who has a practical knowledge of the human soul, so that we may select from the realm of eternal truths and ideals those which are best-suited to the capacities of human nature, and give them practical form.

The most important task of all is to take abstract and general principles, derived from a worldview based on a solid foundation

of truth, and to transform them into a militant community of members who have the same political faith. This community must be precisely defined, rigidly organized, and of one mind and one will; only then do we have the possibility of successfully carrying out the idea. Therefore, out of a mass of millions who feel the truth of these ideas, and even may understand them to some extent, *one man* must arise. This man must be able to expound general ideas in a clear and definite form and, from the world of vague ideas shimmering before the minds of the masses, he must formulate granite principles. He must fight for these principles as the only true ones, until a solid rock of common faith and common will emerges above the troubled waves of miscellaneous ideas.

Such action is justified by its necessity; and the individual will be justified by his success.

1.6 MARXISM VERSUS RACE AND PERSONALITY

If we try to penetrate to the inner meaning of the word 'folkish,' we arrive at the following conclusions: The current political conception of the world is that the State, though it possesses a creative, culture-creating force, has nothing to do with racial considerations. The State is considered rather as something resulting from economic necessity, or at best, the natural outcome of political forces. Such a conception, together with all its logical consequences, is not only mistaken about basic racial forces, but it also underestimates the individual. A denial of racial differences with respect to their culture-creating powers must also extend the same error to the valuation of the individual. The assumption of racial equality becomes the basis for a similar way of viewing nations and individuals. And international Marxism is nothing but the application, by the Jew Karl Marx, of a pre-existing worldview to a definite profession of political faith. Without the foundation of this widely-diffused infection, the amazing success of this doctrine would have been impossible. In reality, Karl Marx was the one among millions who, in a slowly decomposing world, used his keen insight to detect the essential poisons; he then extracted and concentrated them, with the skill of a wizard, into a solution

that would bring about the rapid destruction of the independent nations of this Earth. And all this was done in the service of his race.

Marxist doctrine is the concentrated extract of the mentality that underlies the present generally-accepted worldview. For this reason alone, it's out of the question, and even ridiculous, to think that our so-called bourgeois world can offer any effective resistance. This bourgeois world is infected with all those same poisons, and its general worldview differs from Marxism only in degree and in the person who holds it. The bourgeois world is Marxist, but believes in the possibility of rule by a certain group of people (the bourgeoisie), while Marxism itself systematically aims at delivering the world into the hands of the Jews.

In opposition to this, the folkish worldview recognizes that basic racial elements are of the greatest significance for mankind.

In principle, the State is viewed as a means to an end, and this end is the conservation of the racial characteristics of humanity. Therefore on the folkish principle, we cannot accept racial equality, but rather we recognize their differences. In doing so, it separates races into superior and inferior worth. Based on this recognition, it feels bound to conform to the eternal will that dominates the universe, to promote the victory of the better and stronger and the subordination of the inferior and weaker. It serves the truth of the aristocratic principle underlying all Nature's operations and it believes that this law is valid down to the last individual. It sees differences of value not only in the races but also in individual men. Out of the mass of men, it selects the importance of the individual, and thus it operates as an organizing principle, whereas Marxism acts to disorganize. It holds that humanity must have its ideals, because ideals are a necessary condition of human existence. But it denies that an ethical ideal has the right to prevail if it endangers the existence of a race that is the standard-bearer of a higher ethical ideal; in a bastardized and narrowed world, all ideals of human beauty and nobility, and all hopes for an idealized future for humanity, would be lost forever.

In this world, human culture and civilization are inseparably

bound up with the presence of the Aryan. If he dies out or declines, then the dark shroud of a barbarian era will again envelop the Earth.

In the eyes of a folkish worldview, to undermine the existence of human culture by destroying its carriers would be a deplorable crime. Anyone who dares to raise a hand against that highest image of God sins against the bountiful creator of this miracle, and collaborates in the expulsion from Paradise.

Hence the folkish worldview corresponds to the innermost will of Nature. It restores the free play of forces that will lead to a continuous higher breeding, until at last the best of humanity, through possession of the Earth, will be free to act in every domain in and above it.

We all feel that, in the distant future, we will be faced with problems that can only be solved by a highest race of master human beings–those who have at their disposal the means and resources of the whole world.

1.7 ORGANIZATION OF A PARTY

It's obvious that such a general sketch of the ideas implied in the folkish worldview can be interpreted in a thousand different ways. As a matter of fact, there is scarcely one of our recent political movements that doesn't refer at some point to this conception of the world. But the fact that it still maintains its independent existence amidst all the others proves the difference in conceptions. Thus the Marxist worldview, directed by a unified central organization, is opposed by a hodge-podge of opinions that isn't very impressive in the face of the solid front of the enemy. Victory cannot be achieved with such weak weapons! Only when the international worldview–politically organized by Marxism–is confronted by the folk idea, organized in an equally-systematic way, will the fighting energy be equal on both sides, with victory falling on the side of eternal truth.

But a worldview can only be comprehended when it's precisely and definitely formulated. The function that dogma plays in religious belief is parallel to that which party principles play for a

political party in the making.

Therefore it's necessary to create an instrument by which the folkish worldview can fight, in the same way that the Marxist party organization clears the way for internationalism.

This is the goal pursued by the National Socialist German Workers' Party.

Such a party formulation is a pre-condition for the victory of the folkish worldview. This is clearly proved by a fact that's indirectly accepted by those who oppose a connection between party and worldview.

The folk conception must therefore be definitely formulated so that it may be organically incorporated into the party. This is a necessary prerequisite for the success of this idea. And that it is so is very clearly proved even by the indirect acknowledgment of those who oppose such an amalgamation of the folk idea with party principles. The very people who never tire of repeatedly insisting that the folkish worldview can never be the exclusive property of a single group because it lies dormant or 'lives' in millions of hearts, only confirms the simple fact that the general presence of such ideas has proven unable to prevent the victory of the enemy worldview-which is represented by a political party. If that were not so, the German people should have already earned a gigantic victory instead of finding themselves on the brink of the abyss. The internationalist ideology succeeded because it was organized as a political party in the manner of storm troops; the opposing worldview failed because it lacked a unified body to defend it. A worldview cannot fight and win by allowing unlimited freedom of interpretation, but only through the restricted and integrating form of a political organization.

I therefore considered it my special duty to extract from the extensive but vague contents of a general worldview the ideas that were essential, and to give them a more or less dogmatic form. In this way, these ideas are suited to the purpose of uniting together all those who are ready to accept them as principles. In other words: The National Socialist German Workers' Party extracts the essential principles from the generally folkish conception of the world. On these principles it establishes a political doctrine that

considers the practical realities of the day, the times, and the available human material and all its weaknesses. This doctrine makes possible the organization of great masses of people in a strictly integrated sense. And this organization is the main precondition for the victory of this worldview.

CHAPTER 2
THE STATE

Already by the years 1920-21, certain circles within the outdated bourgeois class accused our young movement, again and again, of taking a negative attitude towards the modem State. For that reason, political criminals of all stripes assumed the right to use all available means to suppress the young protagonists of this new worldview. They deliberately forgot that the bourgeois world has no uniform view of the State concept, nor can it give any coherent definition of it. Those whose duty it is to explain it typically are law professors in our state universities; their highest task is to find explanations and justifications for the more-or-less fortunate existence of that particular system that provides them with their daily bread. The more impossible the State, the more obscure, artificial, and incomprehensible are their definitions of the purpose of its existence. What, for instance, could a royal and imperial university professor write about the meaning and purpose of a State in a country whose political form represented the greatest monstrosity of all time?

That would be a difficult undertaking indeed, considering that the contemporary professor of political law is less obligated to the truth than to a certain definite purpose. And this purpose is: to defend at all costs the existence of that monstrous human mechanism called the State. No one should be surprised if concrete facts are avoided as far as possible when discussing the problem of the State, or if professors conceal themselves in a morass of ‘ethical’ and ‘moral’ abstract values, duties, and purposes.

2.1 THREE LEADING CONCEPTIONS OF THE STATE

Generally speaking, one can distinguish three different conceptions:

(a) Those who hold that the State is a more-or-less voluntary group of men under a ruling authority.

This is the largest group. We find in its ranks those who worship our present principle of legalized authority; in their eyes, the will of the people has no role whatsoever. For them, the mere existence of the State makes it sacred and inviolable. To accept this insanity of the human mind, one would need a sort of canine adoration for the so-called State authority. In the minds of such people, the means instantly become the end. The State no longer exists to serve men, but rather men exist for the purpose of adoring the authority of the State, which is vested in its bureaucrats, right down to the lowest official. To prevent this placid, ecstatic adoration from becoming disruptive, State authority is limited simply to the task of preserving peace and order. Now it, too, is no longer a means but an end. State authority must preserve peace and order, and peace and order must make possible the State's existence. All life must revolve between these two poles.

In Bavaria, this view is upheld by the artful politicians of the Bavarian Center, called the 'Bavarian People's Party'; in Austria, it was the Black-and-Yellow Legitimists. In the Reich, unfortunately, the so-called conservative elements follow the same line of thought.

(b) The second group is somewhat smaller. It includes those who at least make the State's existence dependent on a few conditions. They desire not only a uniform system of government but also, if possible, a uniform language-though solely for technical reasons of administration. State authority is no longer the sole and exclusive purpose of the State, but rather it must also promote the good of its subjects. Ideas of 'freedom,' mostly based on a misunderstanding of the word, enter into the State conception of these circles. The form of government is no longer considered inviolable simply because it exists; rather, it must prove its

efficiency. Its venerable age no longer protects it from modem criticism. Moreover, its primary duty is to ensure the economic well-being of the individual citizens, and therefore it passes judgment primarily according to principles of general economic profitability. The chief representatives of this view are to be found among the average German bourgeoisie, especially our liberal democrats.

(c) The third group is the smallest.

It sees the State as a means for realizing certain tendencies of political power, by a people who are ethnically homogeneous and speak the same language. The will for a common State language is expressed not only because they hope that this will supply a solid basis for an outward expression of power, but also because they think–basically falsely–that it would enable them to carry out a process of nationalization in a definite direction.

2.2 FALSE CONCEPTIONS OF 'GERMANIZATION'

During the last century it was regrettable to witness how these circles played with the word 'Germanization,' even though it was with the best of intentions. I remember how, in the days of my youth, this very term used to give rise to unbelievably false notions. Even in Pan-German circles, the opinion was expressed that the Austrian Germans might very well succeed in Germanizing the Austrian Slavs, if only the Government would be ready to cooperate. They didn't understand that Germanization can only be based on soil and not on mere people. What they mostly meant by this word was simply the forced acceptance of the German language.

But it's an almost inconceivable mental error to think that a Negro or a Chinese will become a German because he has learned the German language and is willing to speak it in the future, or even that he will vote for a German political party. Our bourgeois nationalists could never clearly see that any such Germanization is in reality a de-Germanization. Even if today all the obvious differences between the various peoples could be bridged over and

finally wiped out by the use of a common language, that would begin a process of bastardization that, in our case, wouldn't signify Germanization but rather the destruction of the German element. In the course of history, it happens only too often that a conquering people succeeds in enforcing their language on their subjects, but that after a thousand years, they speak the language of another people; thus the conquerors actually become the conquered.

That which makes a people, or better, a race, is not language but blood. Therefore it would only be justifiable to speak of Germanization if that process could change the blood of the subjected people. But this is impossible. A change would be possible only by a mixture of blood, but in this case the quality of the superior race would be debased. The final result of such a mixture would be the destruction of precisely those qualities that enabled the conquering race to achieve victory. It's especially the cultural force that disappears when a superior race intermixes with an inferior one, even if the resulting mongrels excelled a thousand-fold in speaking the language of the previously higher race. For awhile there will be a conflict between the different mentalities, and it may be that a nation in a state of progressive decay will, at the last moment, produce striking examples of cultural value. But these results are due only to individual elements of the higher race, or perhaps to bastards in whom, after the first mixing, the better blood still predominates and tries to assert itself; but never with the final products of such a mixture. They are always in a state of cultural retrogression.

Today we must consider it fortunate that a Germanization of Austria, according to the plan of Joseph II, did not succeed. The result would likely have been the survival of the Austrian State, but also a lowering of the racial quality of the German nation, due to a linguistic union. In the course of centuries, a certain herd instinct might have crystallized, but the herd itself would have become inferior. A national people might have been born, but a cultural people would have been lost.

For the German nation, it was better that this process of intermixture did not take place–even if not for any high-minded

reasons but simply through the short-sighted pettiness of the Habsburgs. Had it turned out differently, the German people could not be regarded as a cultural factor today.

Not only in Austria, however, but also in Germany, these so-called national circles were, and still are, influenced by similarly false ideas. A Polish policy, involving a Germanization of the East, was demanded by many and was unfortunately based on the same false reasoning. Here again it was believed that a Germanization of the Polish element could occur by a purely linguistic union. The result would have· been catastrophic: A foreign people expressing their foreign thoughts in the German language, thus compromising the dignity and nobility of our own nation by their inferiority.

A terrible damage is indirectly done to Germanism today when, due the ignorance of many Americans, the German-babbling Jews are classified as Germans when they set foot on American soil! Surely no one would take the fact that these lice-ridden Eastern immigrants speak German as proof of their German origin and nationality.

That which has been beneficially Germanized in the course of history is the land that our ancestors conquered with the sword and settled with German farmers. To the extent that they introduced foreign blood into our national body in this process, they aided that catastrophic splintering of our inner being, resulting in our German hyper-individualism–something which is unfortunately frequently praised.

Also, in this third group there are people who, to a certain degree, consider the State as an end in itself. Hence they consider its preservation as one of the highest aims of human existence.

We can sum things up as follows: All these views have the common feature that they don’t recognize, at root, that the capacity for creating cultural values is essentially based on a racial element. They therefore fail to acknowledge that the highest purpose of the State is to preserve and improve the race; this is an indispensable condition of all human cultural development.

2.3 THE STATE IS NOT AN END IN ITSELF

The Jew Marx was able to draw the final conclusions from these false concepts and ideas on the nature and purpose of the State: By eliminating from the State-concept all thought of racial obligation, without finding any other formula that might be equally accepted, the bourgeois world prepared the way for a doctrine that rejects the State as such.

Even in this field, therefore, the bourgeois world's struggle against Marxist internationalism is absolutely doomed to failure. The bourgeoisie have already sacrificed the basic principles that alone could furnish a solid footing for their ideology. Their crafty opponent has perceived the defects in their structure and now assaults it with those weapons that they themselves have provided–though without meaning to do so.

It's therefore the first obligation of any new movement based on a folkish worldview, to put forth a clear and logical doctrine of the nature and purpose of the State.

The fundamental principle is that the State is not an end in itself, but the means to an end. It's the pre-condition of a higher form of human civilization, but it's not the cause. This cause is found exclusively in the existence of a culture-creating race. There may be hundreds of excellent States on this earth, and yet if the Aryan culture-bearer died out, no culture would exist that corresponds to the spiritual level of the highest peoples today. We may go still further and say that the fact that States have been created by human beings does not in the least exclude the possibility of the destruction of the human race, because the superior intellectual faculties and flexibilities of the racial bearers would be lost.

If, for example, the surface of the globe were shaken today by some seismic convulsion and if a new Himalaya emerged from the ocean waves, this one catastrophe alone might destroy human civilization. No State could exist any longer. All order would be shattered. And all vestiges of cultural products developed over thousands of years would disappear–nothing but one tremendous field of death submerged in water and mud. If, however, just a few people survived this horrible chaos, and if these people belonged

to a culture-producing race, then, when the commotion had passed, even if after thousands of years, the earth would again bear witness to the creative power of the human spirit. Only with the destruction of the last culture-creating race and its individual members would the earth definitely be turned into a desert.

On the other hand, modem history gives examples showing that state institutions that owe their beginnings to a race that lacks creative genius won't endure. Just as many varieties of prehistoric animals gave way to others and left no trace behind them, so man will also have to give way, if he loses that definite spiritual force that enables him to find the weapons necessary for his self-preservation.

It's not the State per se that brings about a certain definite advance in cultural progress; it can only protect the race that is the cause of such progress. The State per se may well exist unchanged for hundreds of years, though the cultural faculties and the general life of the people–which is shaped by these faculties–may have suffered profound changes because the State didn't prevent a racial mixture from taking place. The present State, for instance, may continue to exist in a merely mechanical form, but the racial poisoning of our national body brings about a cultural decay that, even now, manifests itself in terrifying ways.

Thus the indispensable precondition for the existence of a superior humanity is not the State but the nation, which alone possesses the essential ability.

This capacity is always there, though it lies dormant until external circumstances awaken it to action. Nations, or rather races, that are endowed with the faculty of cultural creativeness possess this faculty in a latent form, even if conditions are temporarily unfavorable to their realization. It's therefore outrageously unjust to speak of the pre-Christian Germans as 'cultureless,' as barbarians. They never have been that. But the severity of the prevailing climate of their northern homeland hampered development of their creative faculties. If they had come to the fairer climate of the south without any culture whatsoever, and if they had acquired the necessary tools from inferior nations, then the dormant cultural faculty would have

blossomed radiantly–as happened in the case of the Greeks, for example. But this primordial culture-creating force wasn't solely due to their northern climate. The Laplander would not have become creators of a culture if they were transplanted to the south, nor would the Eskimo. No, this glorious creative faculty was only bestowed on the Aryan; it becomes active or lies dormant depending on whether there are favorable circumstances or whether adverse Nature prevents it.

From these facts the following conclusions may be drawn: The State is a means to an end. Its end is to preserve and promote a community of people who are physically and mentally akin. First it must preserve the existence of the race, which thereby permits the free development of all the forces dormant in this race. A part of these forces will always have to serve primarily to maintain the physical existence of the race, and only the remaining portion will be free to promote intellectual progress. But as a matter of fact, the one is always the necessary precondition of the other.

States that don't serve this purpose have no justification for their existence ; they are monstrosities. The fact that they do exist is no more of a justification than the success of a band of pirates can be considered a justification of piracy.

2.4 THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONCEPTION OF THE STATE

We National Socialists, who are fighting for a new worldview, must never base our stand on the famous 'accepted facts'–and false ones at that. If we did, we would never be the protagonists of a new and great idea, but rather would become slaves of the present lie. We must make a clear-cut distinction between the State as a vessel and race as its contents. The vessel has meaning only if it preserves and safeguards the contents; otherwise it's worthless.

Hence the highest purpose of the folkish State is to guard and preserve those racial elements that, through the bestowing of culture, create the beauty and dignity of a higher mankind. As Aryans, we consider the State only as the living organism of a

people–an organism that doesn't merely maintain a people's existence but leads them to a position of highest liberty by the progressive development of the spiritual and intellectual faculties.

What they want to impose upon us as a State today is usually nothing but a monstrosity–the product of a profound human error that brings with it untold suffering.

We National Socialists know that, in holding these views, we take a revolutionary stand in the present world, and that we are also branded as such. But our thoughts and actions won't be determined by the approval or disapproval of our contemporaries, but only by our obligation to a truth that we have acknowledged. In doing this, we have reason to believe that the higher insight of posterity will not only understand our actions of today, but will also confirm and praise them.

2.5 CRITERIA FOR THE EVALUATION OF A STATE

On these principles, we National Socialists base our standards for evaluating a State. This value will be relative when viewed from the particular standpoint of the individual nation, but absolute when considered from the standpoint of humanity as a whole. In other words, this means: The excellence of a State can never be judged by the level of its culture or the degree of importance that the outside world attaches to its power, but only by the degree to which its institutions serve its nationality.

A State may be considered as exemplary if it adequately serves not only the vital needs of the nationality it represents but if it actually ensures the preservation of this same nationality by its very existence-no matter the general cultural significance of this state formation in the eyes of the rest of the world. It's not the State's task to create human capabilities, but only to ensure free rein for the exercise of capabilities that already exist. On the other hand, a State may be called bad if, despite a high cultural level, it undermines the racial composition of the bearers of that culture. The practical effect of such a policy would be to destroy those conditions for the survival of that culture–something that the State

did not create but which is the fruit of a culture–creating nationality that is secured by being united in the living organism of the State.

The State itself is not the contents but the form. Therefore, cultural level is not the standard by which we can judge the value of the State in which that people lives. It's evident that a people endowed with high creative powers in the cultural sphere are of more worth than a tribe of Negroes; and yet the state structure of the former, if judged from the standpoint of efficiency, may be worse than that of the Negroes. Not even the best of States and state structures can extract faculties from a people that lack them and never had them, but a bad State may gradually kill the faculties that once existed by permitting or even promoting the destruction of the racial culture-bearers.

Therefore, the relative worth of a State can be determined only to the extent that it succeeds in promoting the well-being of a definite nationality, and not by the role it plays in the world at large.

Its relative worth can be estimated readily and accurately, but it's difficult to judge its absolute worth because this is conditioned not only by the State but also by the quality and cultural level of the nationality in question.

Therefore, when we speak of the higher mission of the State, we mustn't forget that it belongs to the nationality; the State must use its organizing powers for the free development of the people.

2.6 CONSEQUENCES OF OUR RACIAL DIVISION

And if we ask what kind of state structure we Germans need, we must first clearly understand which kind of people it should contain and what purpose it should serve.

Unfortunately the German nationality is no longer based on a unified racial core. The mixing process of the original elements, however, has not gone so far as to justify speaking of a new race. On the contrary: The blood-poisoning of our national body,

especially since the Thirty Years' War,[129] has degraded not only our blood but also our soul. The open borders of our fatherland, the association with non-German foreign elements in these borderlands, and especially the strong influx of foreign blood into the interior of the Reich itself, have prevented any complete assimilation of those various elements because of the steady influx. No new race arose from this melting-pot. Rather, the various racial elements continue to exist side by side, with the result that–especially in times of crisis, when the herd usually sticks together–the Germans disperse in all directions. The fundamental racial elements are not only scattered by district, but also within single districts. Aside the Nordic type we find the East-European, aside the Easterner there is the Dinaric,[130] the Westerner intermingles with both–with cross-breeds among them all.

This is, on the one hand, a grave disadvantage: The Germans lack a strong herd instinct that arises from unity of blood and saves nations from ruin in dangerous and critical times; on such occasions, all petty differences disappear, and a united herd faces the enemy. The word 'hyper-individualism' arises from the fact that our primordial racial elements exist side by side without ever truly combining. During times of peace, such a situation may offer some advantages, but all things considered, it has prevented us from gaining world dominion. If the German people had historically possessed the herd unity that other peoples enjoyed, then the German Reich would today likely be mistress of the globe. World history would have followed another course, and in this case no one can tell if we might have reached, in this way, that which many blind pacifists hope to gain by begging, whining, and crying: namely, a peace based not upon the waving of olive branches by tearful, mournful, pacifist women, but a peace guaranteed by the triumphant sword of a master people,

[129] The Thirty Years' War was a religious war in central Europe–mainly within present-day Germany–that ran from 1618 to 1648. Some 8 million lives were lost.

[130] 'Dinaric' refers to the indigenous people of the Dinaric Alps, a mountain range running across the former Yugoslavia-present-day Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia especially. Dinarics were seen as a mixture of the northern European and the southern.

administering the world in the service of a higher culture.

The fact that our people do not have a nationality of unified blood has brought us untold misery. It gave capital cities to many petty German potentates, but it deprived the German people of their master right.

Even today our nation still suffers from this lack of inner unity; but the cause of our past and present misfortunes may turn out to be a future blessing for us. Though on the one hand it was a drawback that our racial elements were not mixed together, so that no homogeneous national body could develop, on the other hand it was fortunate that at least a part of our best blood was thus kept pure and escaped racial degeneration.

A complete assimilation of all our racial elements would certainly have brought about a homogeneous national organism; but, as has been proven in every case of racial mixture, it would have been less capable of creating a civilization than the highest of its original elements. This is the benefit of incomplete mixing: that even now we have large groups of unmixed German Nordic people within our national body, and that they are our most precious treasure for the future.

During that dark period of absolute ignorance in regard to all racial laws, when each individual was considered equal to every other, there could be no clear appreciation of the difference between the various fundamental racial characteristics. Today we know that a complete assimilation of all the various national elements might have resulted in giving us a larger share of external power; but the highest of human aims would not have been attained, because the only kind of people that fate has clearly chosen to bring about this perfection would have perished in such a racial mish-mash.

2.7 THE STATE–A WEAPON IN THE LIFE–STRUGGLE

But what has been prevented by a kind fate, without any assistance on our part, must now be reconsidered and utilized in light of our new knowledge.

He who speaks of an earthly mission of the German people must know that this cannot be fulfilled except by creating a State whose highest purpose is to preserve and promote those nobler elements of our nation–and indeed of all mankind–that remain intact.

Thus, for the first time, the State has a higher inner goal. In opposition to that laughable phrase about preserving law and order, so that everyone can peacefully dupe everyone else, the State is given a very high mission: to preserve and encourage the highest type of humanity that a beneficent Almighty has bestowed on this Earth.

From a dead mechanism that claims to be an end in itself, a living organism must arise with one single purpose: to serve a higher ideal.

As a State, the German Reich must include all Germans. Its task is not only to assemble and preserve our most valuable racial elements, but to lead them slowly and surely to a dominant position.

2.8 WORLD HISTORY IS MADE BY THE FEW

Thus a condition of stagnation is replaced by a period of struggle. And here, as in every other sphere, the proverb holds good that ‘he who rests rusts.’ Furthermore, victory always lies with he who attacks. The greater the goal for which we struggle, and the lesser it be understood at the time by the broad masses, the more magnificent will be its success-as the experience of world history shows. And the success will be all the more significant if the end is properly conceived and the struggle carried through with unswerving persistence.

Many of the officials who presently direct the affairs of State may find it easier to work for the maintenance of the present order than to fight for a new one. They will find it more comfortable to look upon the State as a mechanism whose purpose is its own preservation, and to say that their lives ‘belong to the State’–as they like to put it: as if anything that grew from the nationality could logically serve anything but the nationality, or as if man could serve anything else than man. Naturally it’s easier, as I have

said, to consider State authority as nothing but the formal mechanism of an organization, rather than as the sovereign incarnation of a people's instinct for self-preservation on this Earth. For the weak-minded, the State and its authority is nothing but an end in itself; while for us, it’s only an effective weapon in the service of the great and eternal struggle for existence. It’s a weapon that everyone must adopt, not because it's a merely formal mechanism but rather the main expression of our common will to preserve life.

Therefore, in the struggle for our new idea-which conforms completely to the primal meaning of things–we will find only a few fellow warriors in a social order that has become physically and mentally decrepit. From these classes, only a few exceptional people will join our ranks: only those few mature people with young hearts and vigorous minds–but not those who consider it their duty to maintain the present state of affairs.

Against us is the endless army of those who are lazy-minded and indifferent rather than evil, as well as those whose self-interest leads them to uphold the present situation. But in contrast with the apparent hopelessness of our great struggle lie the magnitude of our task and the possibility of success. A battle-cry that, from the very start, scares off all the small-minded ones, or at least discourages them, will become the rally-signal for all those with real fighting natures. And this must be clearly recognized: If a highly energetic and active body of men emerge from a nation and unite in the fight for one goal, thereby ultimately rising above the inert masses, this small percentage will become masters of the whole. World history is made by the few–if these numerical minorities represent the will and determination of the majority.

What seems an obstacle to many is really a pre- condition of our victory. Precisely because our task is so great and because so many difficulties must be overcome, only the best kind of fighters will likely join our ranks. This selection is the guarantee of our success.

2.9 DANGERS OF RACIAL MIXING

Nature generally takes certain corrective measures with respect to racial purity. She has little love for the bastard. The products of crossbreeding suffer bitterly, especially the third, fourth, and fifth generations. Not only are they deprived of the higher parental qualities of the crossbreeding, but their lack of blood-unity also means a lack of unified willpower and vigorous vital energies. At all critical moments in which a racially–unified person makes correct–that is, coherent–decisions, the racially-mixed person becomes confused and takes half-measures. Taken together, this means not only the relative inferiority of the mixed-race person, but also in practice the possibility of a more rapid decline. In innumerable cases where race holds up, the bastard breaks down. In this we see the corrective action of nature. But often she goes further. She restricts the possibilities of procreation-thereby hindering the fertility of cross–breeds and driving them to extinction.

For instance, if an individual member of a race were to mix with someone of a lower race, the first result would be a lowering of the racial level, and furthermore the descendants of this cross-breeding would be weaker than those who remained racially unmixed. If new blood from the superior race is blocked, and if the bastards continue to cross-breed among themselves, they will either die out because they have insufficient powers of resistance, which is Nature's wise provision, or in the course of many thousands of years they will form a new mixture in which the original elements will become so wholly mixed through this thousand–fold crossing that the original elements will be no longer recognizable. And thus a new people would be developed that possessed a certain herd resistance, but its intellectual and cultural significance would be markedly inferior to that of the first cross-breeds. But even in this last case, the mongrel product would succumb in the mutual struggle for existence, as long as a higher racial group remained unmixed. The herd solidarity of this new national body, even though developed over thousands of years, would still be no match in the struggle with an equally unified, but

spiritually and culturally superior, race; it would lack the elasticity and creative capacity to prevail.

Hence we can establish the following valid principle : Every racial mixture necessarily leads, sooner or later, to the downfall of the mongrel product, as long as the higher part of this cross-breed still exists with any kind of racial unity. The danger to the mongrels ceases only with the bastardization of the last remaining elements of the higher race.

This principle is the source of a slow but steady process of regeneration in which all racial poisoning is gradually eliminated, as long as there remains a basic stock of pure racial elements that resists further bastardization.

Such a process may begin automatically among those people with a strong racial instinct, particularly those who have been thrown off the track of normal, racially-pure reproduction by some special condition or special compulsion. As soon as this compulsion ceases, that part of the race that has remained intact will tend to mate with its own kind, thus halting further mixture. Then the mongrels will recede quite naturally into the background, unless their numbers have increased so much that they can withstand all serious resistance from those who have remained racially pure.

When men have lost their natural instincts and ignore the obligations imposed on them by nature, then there’s no hope that nature will correct the loss that has occurred until a recognition of the lost instincts has been restored; then the task of restoring what has been lost must be accomplished.

But there's a serious danger that those who have become blinded once in this respect will repeatedly continue to break down racial barriers and finally lose the last remnants of what is best in them. What then remains is nothing but a uniform mish-mash, which seems to be the dream of today's famous world-reformers; but that mish-mash would soon banish all ideals from the world. Indeed: a great herd could thus be formed, a herd-animal produced by all sorts of ingredients. But a mixture of this sort could never produce a breed of men who were culture-bearers–or better, culture-founders and culture-creators. The

mission of humanity might then be seen as at an end.

Anyone who doesn't wish for the Earth to fall into such a condition must realize that it's the task of the Germanic states in particular to bring a halt to this bastardization.

Our contemporary generation of weaklings will naturally decry such a policy, and whine and complain about it as an assault on the most sacred of human rights. No, there's only one right that is sacrosanct, and this right is at the same time a most sacred duty, namely: that the purity of the blood should be preserved, thus preserving the best types of human beings and rendering possible a nobler development of humanity itself.

2.10 THE FOLKISH STATE AND RACIAL HYGIENE

A folkish State should begin by raising marriage above the level of being a constant scandal to the race. The State should consecrate it as an institution to produce creatures made in the likeness of the Lord, and not to create monsters that are a mixture of man and ape.

Protest against this on so-called humane grounds is inappropriate for a generation that makes it possible for the most depraved degenerates to propagate themselves, thereby imposing unspeakable suffering on their own offspring and their contemporaries–while on the other hand, contraceptives are permitted and sold in every drug store, and even by street venders, so that babies might not be born even among the healthiest parents. In our present state of law and order, this brave, bourgeois-national world looks upon it as a crime to make procreation impossible for those who suffer with syphilis, tuberculosis, hereditary diseases, and also cripples and cretins. But the actual prevention of procreation among millions of our very best people is not considered an evil, nor does it offend against the noble morality of this social class, but rather encourages their short-sighted mental laziness. For otherwise they would at least rack their brains to figure out how to create the conditions for the feeding and maintenance of those future beings

who, as the healthy representatives of our nation, will someday serve the same function with respect to future generations.

How boundlessly unideal and ignoble is this whole system! People no longer bother to breed the best for posterity, but rather let things slide along, as best they can. The fact that the churches join in committing this sin against the image of God, even though they continue to emphasize the dignity of that image, is quite consistent with their present activities. They talk about the Spirit, but they allow man, as the embodiment of the Spirit, to become a degenerate proletarian. Then they are amazed at how little influence the Christian faith has in their own country, and at the depraved 'ungodliness' of this physically and therefore morally degenerate riff-raff. They then try to make up for it by converting the Hottentots and the Zulu Kaffirs, and to grant them the blessings of the Church. While our European people-God be praised-are left to become the victims of physical and moral depravity, the pious missionary goes out to Central Africa and establishes missions for Negroes. Eventually even there, healthy–though primitive and backward–people will be transformed, in the name of 'higher culture,' into a foul breed of bastards.

It would better accord with noble human aspirations if our two Christian churches would cease to bother the Negroes with missions that they don't want and don't understand. Instead, they should kindly but seriously teach the people of Europe that it's much more pleasing to God for a couple that is not healthy to show loving kindness to some poor orphan and become a father and mother to him, rather than give birth to a sickly child who will be a cause of suffering and unhappiness to all.

The folkish State will have to make up for everyone else's neglect in this area. It must put race at the center of all life. It must ensure its purity. It must declare that children are a people's most valuable treasure. It must see to it that only those who are healthy shall beget children. There is only one disgrace : for ill or defective parents to bring children into the world; and one highest honor: to refrain from doing so. Conversely, it must be considered reprehensible to refrain from giving healthy children to the nation. Here the State must assert itself as the trustee of a millennial

future, by which the selfish desires of the individual count for nothing and must yield. To this end, the State must employ the most modern medical technologies. It must proclaim as unfit for procreation all those who are inflicted with some visible hereditary disease or are the carriers of it, and then must put this policy into actual practice. Conversely, it must ensure that the normally fertile woman is not restricted by the financial irresponsibility of a political regime that sees the blessing of children as a curse to their parents. The State will have to abolish the cowardly and even criminal indifference by which it handles the problem of social amenities for large families, and it will have to be the supreme protector of this greatest blessing of a people. Its attention and care must be directed more towards the child than the adult.

Those who are physically and mentally unhealthy and unfit must not perpetuate their own suffering in the bodies of their children. From an educational point of view, this is the greatest task for the folkish State to accomplish. Someday this work will appear greater and more significant than the most victorious wars of our present bourgeois era. Through education, the State must teach individuals that being sickly and ill is not a disgrace but rather an unfortunate accident, one to be pitied. But it's a crime and a disgrace to make this affliction all the worse by passing it on to innocent creatures out of mere egotism. And by comparison, it's an expression of a truly noble nature, and an admirable humanitarian act, if an innocently sick person refrains from having a child of his own but gives his love and affection to some unknown child who, through its health, promises to become a robust member of a healthy community. In accomplishing such an educational task, the State integrates its function by this activity in the moral sphere. It must act without regard to the question of whether its conduct will be understood or misconstrued, blamed or praised.

If only for a period of 600 years, those individuals who are physically degenerate or mentally ill were to be prevented from procreating, humanity would not only be freed from an immense misfortune but also restored to such a condition as we at present

can hardly imagine.

If the fertility of the healthiest portion of the nation were to be conscientiously and methodically promoted, the result would be a race that, at least, would have eliminated the germs of our present moral and physical decay.

Once a people and a State have started on this course, developing the most valuable racial core of the nation and increasing its fertility, the people as a whole will subsequently enjoy the blessings of a highly-bred racial stock.

To achieve this, the State should first of all not leave to chance the colonization of newly acquired territory, but should do so according to special norms. Specially-constructed racial committees should issue colonization certificates to individuals; these certificates should guarantee their racial purity. In this way, border colonies could gradually be founded, whose inhabitants would be of the purest racial stock and hence of the highest racial quality. This will make them a valuable asset to the whole nation; their development would be a source .of pride and confidence to each citizen because they would contain the kernel for a great development of our nation–yes, and even of mankind itself.

The folkish worldview must finally succeed in bringing about a nobler era in which men will no longer pay exclusive attention to breeding dogs, horses, and cats, but will improve the breed of the human race itself.[131] It will be an era in which one class knowingly and silently renounces, while the other joyfully sacrifices and gives.

That such a thing is possible cannot be denied in a world where hundreds and thousands voluntarily accept the principle of celibacy, without being obliged or bound to do so by anything except religious injunction.

Why wouldn't it be possible to induce people to make this

[131] Such passages recall the similar intentions of Plato who, in the Republic, argued that wise rulers would breed the best possible citizens, not unlike the process with animal-breeders, who always try to breed "from the best." Plato explains: "And do you think that if they weren't bred in this way, your stock of birds and dogs would get much worse? What about horses and other animals? Are things any different with them? . . . If this also holds true of human beings, our need for excellent rulers is indeed extreme." (459a-c)

sacrifice if, instead of such a precept, they were simply told that they ought to put an end to this original sin of racial poisoning? And further, if they realized their duty to give to the Almighty Creator beings such as he himself created?

Naturally, our wretched army of contemporary bourgeois won't understand this. They will ridicule the idea, or shrug their shoulders and groan out their eternal excuses: "Of course it's a fine thing, but it can't be done!" And we reply, true, it can't be done by *you*–your world isn't fit for it! You have only one concern: your own life; and only one God: your money! Thus we turn not to you for help, but to the great army of those who are too poor to consider their personal lives as the highest good on earth. They place their trust not in gold but in other gods. Above all we turn to the vast army of our German youth. They are growing up in a great epoch, and they will fight against the evils that were due to the laziness and indifference of their fathers. Either the German youth will one day create a new folkish State or they will be the last witnesses of the complete collapse and end of the bourgeois world.

For if a generation suffers from defects that it recognizes and admits, and is nevertheless quite pleased with itself–as the bourgeois world is today-and is satisfied with the cheap excuse that nothing can be done, then such a society is doomed. A marked characteristic of our bourgeois is that they can no longer deny the failings that exist. They must admit that much is foul and wrong, but they're no longer able to fight against the evil, which would mean mobilizing the forces of 60 or 70 million people to oppose this danger. On the contrary: When such an effort is made elsewhere, they only indulge in silly comments and try, from a safe distance, to show that such an approach is theoretically impossible and doomed to failure. No argument is too absurd to be employed in the service of their own dwarfishness and moral attitude. If, for example, a whole continent wages war against alcoholism, so as to free a people from this devastating vice, our bourgeois European offers nothing better than an incredulous stare and head-shaking, a superior ridicule-something appropriate for

this ridiculous society.[132] But when all this ridicule comes to nothing, and in that part of the world this sublime and intangible attitude is effective and successful, then such success is questioned or deprecated. Even moral principles are used in this slanderous campaign against a struggle that aims at suppressing the greatest immorality.

No–we must have no mistake about this: Our contemporary bourgeoisie has become worthless for any such noble human task because it has lost all sense of quality and is evil. Evil, not so much–I'd say–because evil is desired but rather because of an incredible laziness and all that comes with it. That's why those political societies that call themselves 'bourgeois parties' are nothing but associations to promote the interests of certain professional groups and classes. Their highest aim is to defend their own selfish interests as best they can. It's obvious that such a politicized 'bourgeois' guild is fit for anything other than a struggle; especially when the adversaries are not small businessmen but the proletarian masses, incited to extremes and determined to do their worst.

2.11 EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES OF THE FOLKISH STATE

If we consider it the first duty of the State to serve and promote the general welfare of the people by preserving and encouraging the development of the best racial elements, it's natural that this task cannot be limited to measures concerning the birth of every little member of the race and nation. The State must also educate each citizen to become a worthy factor in the chain of future propagation.

Just as, in general, racial quality is the pre-condition for the intellectual achievement of any given human material, education must initially be directed towards the development of sound physical health; as a general rule, a strong and healthy mind is found only in a strong and healthy body. The fact that geniuses are

[132] Hitler refers to the then-recent American experiment with prohibition, which was enacted in 1920. (It was subsequently repealed in 1933.)

sometimes not robust in health, or even sickly, is no proof against this. These cases are only exceptions that–as everywhere else–prove the rule. But if the mass of people is physically degenerate, it's rare for a great spirit to arise from such a swamp. And in any case, his activities would never meet with great success. A degenerate mob will either be incapable of understanding him at all, or their will-power will be so weak that they cannot follow the soaring of such an eagle.

The folkish State, realizing this truth, must first of all base its educational work not on the mere imparting of knowledge but rather on absolutely healthy bodies. The cultivation of intellectual facilities comes only secondarily. And here again, it is character that has to be developed first of all, especially will-power and decisiveness, along with promoting a readiness to accept responsibility; technical schooling comes last.

Accordingly, a folkish State must start with the principle that a person of little formal training but who is physically robust, and with a firm character, decisive and strong of will, is a more valuable member of the national community than a clever weakling. A nation of scholars who are physically degenerate, weak-willed, and cowardly pacifists, can't reach to heaven and, indeed, can't even guarantee its own earthly existence. In the harsh struggle of fate, it's not he who knows the least that succumbs, but rather he who ignores the consequences of his knowledge and is weakest at putting them into action. There must be a certain harmony here. A degraded body is not made more beautiful by a radiant mind. We wouldn't be justified in bestowing the highest intellectual training on those who are physically deformed and crippled, or who in character are weak-willed, wavering, and cowardly. What makes the Greek ideal of beauty something immortal is the wonderful union of magnificent physical beauty with a brilliant mind and the noblest spirit.

Moltke's saying: "In the long run, fortune only favors the ablest,"[133] is certainly valid for the relationship between mind and

[133] Helmuth von Moltke (1800-1891), German Field Marshall under Bismarck; from his *On Strategy* (1871).

body: a sound mind will generally–and in the long run–dwell only in a sound body.

Physical training in the folkish State is therefore not a matter for the individual alone, nor is it a duty that rests primarily on the parents and only secondly or thirdly on the community, but rather it's necessary for the preservation of the people who are represented and protected by the State.

Regarding purely formal education, the State even now interferes with the individual's right of self-determination and insists upon the right of the community by submitting the child to compulsory education without requesting the parents' approval or disapproval. Similarly, and to an even greater degree, the folkish State will one day enforce its authority over the ignorance and incomprehension of individuals regarding the preservation of the nation. It must organize its educational work such that young bodies will be systematically trained from childhood, so as to be hardened for later demands. Above all, the State must see to it that it doesn't raise a generation of slackers.

The work of education and hygiene has to begin with the young mother. Painstaking efforts carried on for several decades have achieved antiseptic cleanliness at childbirth and reduced postpartum infections to a relatively small number of cases. And so it ought to be possible, by instructing nurses and mothers, to institute a system of child training from early infancy onwards that will serve as an excellent basis for future development.

The folkish State must allow much more time for physical training in school. It's nonsense to burden young brains with loads of material, of which–as experience shows–they retain only the non-essentials because the young mind is incapable of sifting through all the stuff that's been pumped into it.

Today, even in the high school curriculum, only two short hours per week are reserved for gymnastics, and it's not even obligatory but left to the individual. This is a gross disproportion compared to purely intellectual instruction. Not a single day should go by in which the young pupil doesn't have one hour of physical training in the morning and one in the afternoon, and of every kind of sport and gymnastic.

There's one sport that should be particularly encouraged, although many who call themselves 'folkish' consider it brutal and vulgar: boxing. It's unbelievable how many false notions prevail among the 'educated' classes. The fact that a young man learns how to fence and then to duel is considered quite natural and respectable, but boxing–that's brutal! Why? There's no other sport that equals this in developing the militant spirit, none that demands such lightning-fast decisions or that gives the body a steely flexibility. It's no more vulgar when two young men settle their differences with their fists than with sharpened pieces of steel. It's also no more vulgar for one who is attacked to defend himself with his fists, than one who runs off and yells for a policeman. But above all, a healthy youth has to learn to endure hard blows. This may appear savage to our contemporary warriors of the intellect. But it's not the purpose the folkish State to raise a colony of aesthetic pacifists and physical degenerates. This State doesn't consider the human ideal to be found in the honorable shopkeeper or the maidenly spinster, but in a defiant personification of manly force, and in women capable of bringing men into the world.

Generally speaking, then, the function of sport is not only to make the individual strong, agile, and daring, but also to harden him and train him to endure hardship.

If our entire intellectual upper-class had received not only a distinguished education, and if they had learned to box, it would never have been possible for low-lifes, deserters, and other such riff-raff to carry through a German revolution. The success of this revolution wasn't due to the bold, courageous energy of the revolutionaries but to the lamentable cowardice and indecision of those who ruled the State at that time and were responsible for it. But our educated leaders had received only an 'intellectual' education and thus were defenseless when their adversaries used crowbars instead of intellectual weapons. All this was possible only because our system of higher education didn't produce real men but rather civil servants, engineers, technicians, chemists, lawyers, journalists, and especially–to sustain the intelligentsia–professors.

Our intellectual leadership has always been brilliant, but regarding practical will-power, they have been beneath contempt.

Of course, education cannot turn a temperamental coward into a courageous man; but a naturally courageous man won't be able to develop that quality if, in the face of a defective education, he starts off with an inferior level of physical strength and agility. The army offers the best example of the fact that the knowledge of one's physical ability develops a man's courage and militant spirit. Here we are dealing not with the heroes but rather with the broad average. The excellent training that German soldiers received before the war imbued the members of the whole gigantic organism with a degree of confidence in their own superiority that even our enemies never thought possible. All the immortal examples of dauntless spirit and courage that the German armies made during late summer and autumn of 1914 were the result of that systematic training. During the long years of pre-war peace, frail bodies were made capable of incredible deeds, and thus developed a self-confidence that didn't fail them, even in the most terrible battles.

Our German people, who today lie broken and walked-upon by the rest of the world, need the power that comes from self-confidence. But this self-confidence must be instilled into our children from their early years. The whole system of education and training must be directed towards instilling in the child a conviction that he is unquestionably the best. He must recover his own physical strength and agility in order to believe in his nation's invincibility. What had formerly led the German armies to victory was the sum total of the confidence that each individual had in himself, and which all together had in their leadership. What will revive the German people is confidence in the possibility that they will regain their freedom. But this confidence can only be the final product of the same feeling in millions of individuals.

And here again we must have no illusions: The collapse of our people was overwhelming, and the efforts to put an end to this misery must also be overwhelming. It would be a bitter mistake to believe that our people could be made strong again simply by means of our present bourgeois training in peace and order. That

won't suffice if we hope to smash the present world order–which spells our doom-and to hurl the broken chains of slavery in the face of our opponents. Only by a superabundance of national will–power, a thirst for freedom, and the highest passion can we recover what has been lost.

2.12 SUPERVISION BETWEEN SCHOOL–AND MILITARY-AGE

Youth clothing should also harmonize with this purpose. It's truly lamentable to see how our young people have fallen victim to a fashion mania that distorts the meaning of the old saying, 'Clothes make the man.'

Especially in the youth, clothes should be put in the service of education. The boy who walks about in summer-time wearing long baggy pants and covered up to the neck is hampered even by his clothes in any feeling towards physical exercise. We must appeal to ambition and, quite frankly speaking, even vanity. Not such vanity as leads people to desire fine clothes that only a few can afford, but rather that which develops a beautiful, well-formed body–something that everyone can attain.

This is also useful in later years. The young girl must get to know her sweetheart. If physical beauty weren't completely thrust into the background today through our ridiculous fashions, it wouldn't be possible for thousands of our girls to be seduced by bow-legged, repulsive Jewish mongrels. It's also in the national interest that those who have a beautiful body should find one another, thus giving the nation renewed beauty.

We have no military training today, and this is all the more necessary because it was the only institution that, in peace-time, at least partly made up for what was lacking in our education system. The success of our old training showed itself not only in the education of the individual but also in the influence it exercised over relations between the sexes. Young girls preferred the soldier to the non-soldier.

The folkish State must not confine its control of physical training to the official school period, but must continue this

training after the boy leaves school and as long as his body is still developing; this will be to his long-term benefit. It's stupid to think that the right of the State to supervise its young citizens suddenly comes to an end the moment they leave school, and returns only with military service. This right is a duty, and as such it must continue at all times. The present State, which has no interest in developing healthy people, has criminally neglected this duty. It leaves our contemporary youth to be corrupted on the streets and in the brothels, instead of taking them in hand and continuing their physical training until the day they have grown into healthy men and women.

It doesn't matter today what form the State chooses for carrying on this education. The essential thing is that it should be developed, and that it should seek out the most suitable ways of doing so. The folkish State will have to regard post-school physical training as a public duty, one equal to intellectual training; these should be conducted through public institutions. Its general outlines can be a preparation for subsequent military service. The army will then no longer have to teach young men the most elementary drill routine, and in fact won't have to deal with recruits in the present sense at all; rather it will simply have to transform youth with flawless physical training into soldiers.

In the folkish State, the army will therefore no longer be obliged to teach individuals how to walk and stand erect, but will be the last and highest school of patriotic education. In the army, the young recruit will learn the art of bearing arms, but at the same time he will be equipped for his other duties in later life. And the supreme aim of military education must always be to achieve that which the old army regarded as its highest merit: in this school, the boy must be transformed into a man; and in this school he must not only learn to obey but also how to command. He must learn to remain silent not only when he is justly rebuked but also, if necessary, when unjustly rebuked.

Furthermore, confident in his own strength and in the basis of that commonly-experienced esprit de corps, he must become convinced that he belongs to a people who are invincible.

After he has completed his military training, he'll receive two

certificates: his citizen's diploma, which is a legal document that admits him to public affairs; and secondly a health certificate, which guarantees his fitness for marriage.

The folkish State will also have to direct the education of girls, analogously to that of boys. Here again, special importance must be given to physical training, and only later to spiritual and intellectual values. The final goal of female education should always be that she will one day be a mother.

2.13 TRAINING IN SECRECY

Only secondarily should the folkish State promote the training of character, in every way.

Of course, the essential traits of the individual character are already inherent: A person who is fundamentally egoistic will always remain so, and the idealist will always remain fundamentally an idealist. But apart from those with distinct characters, there are millions who are indefinite and vague. The born criminal will always remain a criminal; but numerous people who show only a certain tendency toward criminal acts may become useful members of the community, if rightly trained; whereas, on the other hand, unstable characters may easily become bad elements, if the education is bad.

How often during the war did we hear that our people were incapable of silence! How hard this made it to keep highly important secrets from the enemy! But let's ask this question: What did the German educational system do in pre-war times to teach individuals about secrecy? Wasn't it true that, in school, the little tattle-tale was preferred to his silent companions? Isn't it true that then, as now, complaining about others was considered praiseworthy 'candor,' while secrecy was taken as obstinacy? Has any attempt ever been made to teach that secrecy is a precious and manly virtue? No, for such matters are trifles in the eyes of our educators. But these trifles cost our State innumerable millions in legal fees, because 90 percent of all defamation lawsuits arise only from a lack of discretion. Irresponsible remarks are thoughtlessly repeated, and our economic welfare is continually harmed because

important production methods are thus disclosed. Secret preparations for our national defense are rendered illusory because our people have never learned to stay silent, but rather they repeat everything they hear. In wartimes, such talkativeness may even cause the loss of battles and therefore may directly contribute to an unsuccessful military outcome.

Here again, we may rest assured that adults cannot do what they haven't practiced in youth. A teacher shouldn't try to discover boys' silly tricks by encouraging loathsome tattle-tales. Youth have their own State, and they face adults with a certain solidarity–this is quite natural. The ties that bind ten-year-old boys together are stronger and more natural than their relationship to adults. A boy who snitches on his friend commits an act of treason, and displays a character that is, bluntly speaking, the equivalent of treason to one's country. Such a boy must never be called 'good' or 'upstanding,' but rather as one of undesirable character. A teacher may find it convenient to make use of such vices to enhance his authority, but in this way, the seed of a moral habit is sown in young hearts that may one day prove catastrophic. More than once, a young informer has developed into a big scoundrel!

This is only one example among many. There is virtually no deliberate training of fine and noble character traits in our schools today. In the future, this will demand much more emphasis. Loyalty, self-sacrifice, and discretion are virtues that a great nation must possess, and their teaching is a more important matter than many others things now included in the curriculum. Giving up habits of complaining, whining, crying when they are hurt, etc., also belongs to this matter. If an educational system fails to teach the child at an early age to endure pain and injury without complaining, we cannot be surprised if, later on, when a man is, for example, fighting at the Front, the postal service is used for nothing more than to send whining letters and complaints. If during their years in primary school, our youth had had their minds crammed with a little less knowledge and a little more self-control, it would have served us well during the years 1915 to 1918.

Thus in its educational system, the folkish State must attach the

highest importance to the development of character, hand-in-hand with physical training. Many moral weaknesses in our national body could be eliminated, or at least much reduced, by this kind of education.

2.14 JOY IN RESPONSIBILITY

The highest importance should be attached to the training of willpower and decisiveness, and also the joyful acceptance of responsibility.

In the army, a standard principle held that any order is always better than none. Applied to our youth, this becomes: any answer is better than none. Fear of replying, because one is afraid to be wrong, ought to be considered more humiliating than giving a wrong answer. On this primitive basis, our youth should be trained to have the courage to act.

It has been often lamented that, in November and December 1918, all authorities failed and that, from the monarch on down to the last divisional commander, no one had the strength to make a decision of his own responsibility. That terrible fact constitutes a grave rebuke to our educational system because what was then revealed on a colossal scale, at that moment of catastrophe, recurs on a smaller scale. It's the lack of willpower, and not the lack of arms, that renders us incapable of resistance today. This defect is found everywhere among our people and prevents decisive action wherever risks are found–as if any great deed did not involve risk. Quite unsuspectingly, a German general found a formula for this lamentable spinelessness when he said : "I act only when I can count on a 51 percent chance of success." In that '51 percent' we find the very root of the German collapse: The man who demands from Fate a guarantee of success deliberately denies the significance of a heroic act. For in this lies the very fact that an action is undertaken that may lead to success, despite knowing that the situation is fraught with mortal danger. A cancer victim who faces certain death if he doesn't have an operation, needs no 51 percent chance of success. And if the operation promises only a half-percent chance of success, a courageous man will risk it and

won't otherwise whine about his life.

All in all, the cowardly lack of will-power and indecisiveness are chiefly results of the faulty education of our youth–with disastrous effects later in life. The crowning example of this is the lack of civil courage in our leading statesmen.

Along the same line, we see the present-day cowardice towards responsibility. Here too, it's the fault of the education of our youth, which permeates all aspects of public life, and finds its immortal consummation in the institution of parliamentary government.

Even at school, unfortunately, more value is placed on 'repentant' confession and 'contrite renunciation' by our little sinners, than on a frank avowal. But this latter seems today, in the eyes of many educators, the surest sign of utter incorrigibility and depravation. And, incredible as it may seem, many a boy is told that the gallows awaits him because he has shown certain traits that would be of inestimable value in the nation as a whole.

Just as the folkish State must one day give its attention to developing will-power and decisiveness among the youth, so too must it inculcate in their hearts, from early childhood onwards, a joy in responsibility and the courage of avowal. Only if it recognizes the full importance of this necessity, will it–after centuries of educational work–succeed in building up a nation that will no longer be subject to those weaknesses that have contributed so disastrously to our present decline.

2.15 NO OVERLOADING OF THE BRAIN

Technical training, which constitutes the chief work of our educational system today, can be overtaken by the folkish State with only a few changes. These changes lie in three areas.

(1) First of all, the youthful brain must generally not be burdened with subjects that are 95 percent useless and therefore forgotten. In particular, primary and secondary school curricula present an odd mixture today; in many cases, the subject matter to be learned has become so enormous that only a small fraction can be recalled, and only a small fraction of this whole mass can be used. On the other hand, it's inadequate for the man working and

earning his daily bread in a given field. Take, for example, the average civil servant who graduated from the Gymnasium or high school, and ask him at the age of 35 or 40 how much of that painfully-acquired knowledge he has retained. How little of all that stuff pounded into him does he retain!

He will surely answer: “Well, the mass of stuff taught wasn’t for the sole purpose of supplying a future stock of knowledge, but it served to develop intellectual skills, thinking powers, and especially memory.” That’s partly true. And yet there’s a danger in flooding a young brain with impressions that it can hardly master, and whose various elements it cannot discern or appreciate at their proper value. Besides, it’s generally the most essential knowledge that's forgotten and sacrificed, not the incidental. Thus the main purpose of so much learning is lost; so it can’t be that the purpose was to develop intellectual skills after all, but rather to supply a stock of knowledge that will be needed later in life and which will benefit the community. And even this goal becomes illusory if, because of the over-abundance of material forced on him in youth, the man can't remember anything or has lost the essentials.

There’s no reason, for example, why millions of people should learn two or three languages, when only a small fraction will use them later in life, and hence that most will entirely forget. Out of 100,000 students who learn French, for example, barely 2,000 will be able to make use of this later in life, while 98,000 will never have a chance to practice what they learned in youth. They have therefore spent thousands of hours on a subject that will later be of no value or meaning to them. And the objection that this forms part of a general education is invalid, because it would only hold true if people could retain for life everything they had learned. So in reality, 98,000 are tortured for nothing and waste their valuable time just for the sake of the 2,000 for whom the knowledge of this language will be useful.

In the case of the French language, it cannot even be said that learning it educates the student in sharp, logical thinking, as applies to Latin, for example. It would therefore be much better to teach young students only the general outline, or better, the inner

structure of such a language, thus allowing them to discern the characteristic features of the language, or perhaps to introduce the rudiments of its grammar, pronunciation, syntax, etc., by using examples. This would suffice for general use because it would be easier to visualize and remember, and it would be more practical than the present-day cramming into their heads of the whole language, which they can never master and will later forget. We would thereby avoid the danger that, out of the overflowing abundance of matter, only a few crumbs would remain in the memory. The youth would then have to learn what is worthwhile, and the selection between the useful and the useless would thus have been made in advance.

For most, a knowledge and understanding of the rudiments of a language would suffice for the rest of their lives. And those who really do need this language would thus have a foundation on which to start, should they choose to make a more thorough study of it.

Thus we would gain the necessary amount of time for physical training, as well as for the increased demands in the various fields already mentioned.

A change of particular importance ought to take place in present methods of teaching history. Hardly any other people study as much history as the Germans; and hardly any make such a bad use of it. If politics is history in the making, then our historical education stands condemned by the way we have conducted our politics. Here again, there would be no point in bemoaning the lamentable results of our political conduct unless one were determined to provide a better political education. In 99 out of 100 cases, the results of our present history teaching are deplorable. A few dates, birthdates, and names are retained, while the primary trends are completely lacking. The essentials that are of real significance are not taught, and it's left to the more- or less-gifted intelligence of the individual to discover the inner motives amid the mass of dates and sequence of events.

One may object as strongly as one likes to this unpleasant statement; but read with attention the speeches that our parliamentarians make during one session alone on political

problems and on questions of foreign policy in particular; remember that these men are–or claim to be–the elite of the German nation, and that many, at least, have attended secondary schools and even universities. Then you'll realize how defective the historical education of these people has been. If they had never studied history at all but had possessed a sound instinct, things would have been better and more profitable for the nation.

2.16 GENERAL EDUCATION–SPECIALIZED EDUCATION

The subject matter of our historical teaching must be curtailed. The chief value of that teaching is to understand the principal lines of development. The more our historical teaching is limited to this task, the more we may hope that it will turn out to be advantageous to the individual and, subsequently, to the community. History must be studied not merely with a view to knowing the past but as a guide for the future, and for the preservation of our own people. That's the goal, and the teaching of history is only a means to it. But today the means has become the end, and the real end is completely lost. Don't reply that a proper study of history demands a detailed knowledge of all these dates because otherwise we couldn't establish the great lines of development. That task belongs to the specialist. But the average man is not a history professor. For him, history exists only to provide the historical knowledge necessary to form an independent opinion on the political affairs of his nation. The man who wants to become a history professor can devote himself to the details later on. Naturally he will have to occupy himself with even the smallest details. But for this, our present teaching of history is insufficient; its scope is too vast for the average student and too limited for the specialized expert.

Finally, it's a folkish State's task to arrange for the writing of a world history in which the race question occupies a dominant position.

To sum up: The folkish State must restrict our system of general instruction in order to embrace only the essentials. Beyond this, it

must make possible a more advanced, specialized teaching. It suffices for the average person to be acquainted with the fundamentals of the various subjects as a foundation, and he should undertake exhaustive and detailed study only in a field in which he intends to work for the rest of his life. General instruction in all subjects should be obligatory, and specialization should be left to individual choice.

This shortening of the curriculum would free up many hours for development of the body, character, will-power, and decisiveness.

The fact that men who are destined for the same calling in life are educated in three different kinds of schools demonstrates how irrelevant our school training is today, especially in the high schools.

In reality, only a general education is of decisive importance, and not specialized knowledge. And when special knowledge is needed, it cannot–as already stated–be achieved in the curriculum of our present-day high schools.

Therefore the folkish State must someday abolish such half-measures.

2.17 THE VALUE OF HUMANISTIC EDUCATION

(2) The second change in curriculum that the folkish State must make is the following: It's a characteristic of our materialistic age that our scientific education is turning ever-more towards practical subjects, such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, etc. These are necessary in an age dominated by technology and chemistry, and where everyday life shows at least the external manifestations of such fields. But it's dangerous to base a nation's general education on these subjects. On the contrary, it should always to be directed toward ideals. It should be founded on humanistic subjects, and offer only the foundation for further education in a specialized field. Otherwise we would sacrifice those forces that are more important for the preservation of the nation than any technical knowledge.

In historical education, we must not omit the study of ancient history. Roman history, along general lines, is and will remain the

best teacher, not only for today but also for all times. And the ideal of Hellenistic culture should be preserved for us, in all its marvelous beauty. We mustn't allow the larger racial society to be torn apart by differences between the various peoples. The struggle of our times is being waged for great objectives: A civilization is fighting for its existence–a civilization combining Greek and German elements, and millennia in the making.

A sharp division must be made between general education and specialized knowledge. Today the latter threatens more and more to devote itself exclusively to the service of Mammon. To counterbalance this tendency, general education should be preserved, at least in its ideal forms. It must be repeatedly emphasized that industry and technology, trade and commerce, can flourish only as long as an idealistic folkish society provides the necessary preconditions. These lie not in materialistic egoism but in a spirit of self-sacrifice and joyful renunciation.

2.18 PREVAILING 'PATRIOTIC' EDUCATION

Present-day education, by and large, sees its principal goal as pumping knowledge into young people that will be useful later in life. It's expressed as follows: "The young man must one day become a useful member of society." By this they mean the ability to earn one's daily bread with dignity. Superficial civic training, which one acquires merely by accident, has very weak foundations. In itself, the State represents only a form, and it's very difficult to educate people about it, let alone develop a sense of responsibility. A form can too easily be broken. But as we have seen, the idea of 'the State' has no clear meaning today. Therefore we have nothing but the current 'patriotic' education.

In the old Germany, great emphasis was placed on the divine right of the small and even smallest potentates–and in ways that were never very clever and often very stupid. Due to their large numbers, it was impossible to adequately appreciate our nation's truly great men. As a result, the broad masses received a very inadequate knowledge of German history. Here, too, the great lines of development were missing.

It’s obvious that no real national enthusiasm could be aroused in such a way. Our educational system lacked the art of selecting from the general mass of history a few names that our people could be proud to look upon as their common heritage, and thus to unite the whole nation in a common bond. They didn’t understand how to make the really important figures appear as outstanding heroes, to focus attention on them, and thus to create a unified mood. They were incapable of selecting among the various subjects that were taught, to raise them above the common objective level, in order to inflame our national pride through such shining examples. At that time, this would have been looked upon as rank chauvinism, which didn’t then meet with much approval. Comfortable dynastic patriotism was more acceptable and more easily tolerated than the glowing passion of a supreme national pride. The former was always ready to serve, whereas the latter might one day become master. Monarchist patriotism culminated in veterans’ associations, whereas passionate national patriotism might have been hard to control. It’s like a thoroughbred horse that is fussy about whom he'll tolerate in the saddle. No wonder that most people preferred to shirk such a danger!

No one seemed to think it possible that one day a war might come that would put this kind of patriotism to the test, in artillery fire and clouds of gas. But when it came, our lack of patriotic passion was avenged in a terrible way. People had no enthusiasm about dying for their imperial and royal lords, and the 'nation' was unknown to most of them.

Since the German Revolution and the death of the monarchy, the purpose of teaching history has been nothing more than merely acquiring knowledge. The State has no use for patriotic enthusiasm, but it will never obtain what it really wants. If dynastic patriotism failed to produce a supreme power of resistance at a time of heightened nationalism, still less will it arouse republican enthusiasm. There can be no doubt that the German people would not have stood on the battlefield for four and a half years to fight under the slogan ‘For the Republic’; and least of all those who created this grand institution.

Actually, this Republic has been allowed to exist only by its

willingness and promise to all, to pay reparations and to sign every territorial renunciation. The rest of the world finds it sympathetic; just as a weakling is always more pleasing to those who need him than a tough man. But the fact that the enemy likes this form of government is the most destructive criticism. They love the German Republic and tolerate its existence because they could find no better instrument for enslaving our people. This magnificent institution owes its existence to this fact alone. And that's why it can renounce any real system of national education and content itself with cries of 'hurrah' from their Reich banner heroes, when in reality they would scamper away like rabbits if called upon to defend that banner with their blood.

The folkish State will have to fight for its existence. It won't gain or secure this existence by signing documents like the Dawes Plan.[134] For its existence and defense, it will need precisely those things that our present system believes it can do without. The more worthy its form and content, the greater will be the envy and opposition of its opponents. Its best defense lies not in its arms but in its citizens; fortress walls won't save it, but only the living walls of its men and women, filled with the highest love for their country and a passionate national patriotism.

2.19 AWAKENING OF NATIONAL PRIDE

(3) Therefore, the third point to be considered in our educational system is the following:

The folkish State must realize that science too can be a means of promoting national pride. Not only world history but the whole history of civilization must be taught from this standpoint. An inventor must appear great not only as an inventor but also, and even more so, as a member of the nation. The admiration for every great achievement must be transformed into a feeling of pride about a member of one's own people. Out of the abundance of great names in German history, the greatest must be selected and

[134] The Dawes Plan was named after Charles Dawes, vice president under Calvin Coolidge. It was essentially a repayment plan for debt forced on Germany after World War One. See also *Mein Kampf*, vol. 1 (chap. 10, sec. 10.7).

presented to the youth in such a way as to become pillars of an unshakable national spirit.

The subject matter must be systematically organized along these lines, such that, when the young man leaves school, he won't be a semi-pacifist, democrat, or some such thing, but a whole-hearted German.

In order to ensure that this national feeling be sincere from the very beginning, and not a mere pretence, one iron principle should be hammered into the heads of those capable of learning: The man who loves his people can prove it only by a readiness to sacrifice for it. There's no such thing as a national sentiment that is directed towards personal gain. And there's no nationalism that embraces only certain classes. Shouts of 'hurrah' prove nothing and do not confer the right to call oneself national if, behind it, there's no great, loving concern for the preservation of national well-being. One can be proud of one's people only if we are unashamed of every class. When half a nation is sunk in misery and woe, or even depraved, it presents such a sorry picture that no one can feel proud of it. Only when a nation is healthy in all its members, in body and soul, can a joy of belonging be properly raised to the level of national pride. And this highest pride can be felt only by those who know the greatness of their nation.

The spirit of nationalism and a sense of social justice must be fused and implanted in the hearts of the young. Then some day a nation of citizens will arise, bound and forged together, in a common love and a common pride, invincible and indestructible forever.

Our present-day fear of chauvinism is a sign of impotence. Lacking an exuberant energy, and even finding such a thing distasteful, fate will never select our nation for any great deed. The greatest revolutions on this earth would have been inconceivable if they had been inspired, not by ardent and even hysterical passions, but only by the bourgeois virtues of law and order.

This world is certainly facing a great revolution. The only question is whether it will be to the benefit of Aryan humanity or to the profit of the eternal Jew.

The folkish State must ensure that, through a suitable education

of the youth, it will someday create a people adequate for the final and greatest decisions on this Earth.

The nation that is first to take this path will be victorious.

2.20 INSTILLING A SENSE OF RACE

The crowning task of the whole organization of education and training in the folkish State is to instill a racial instinct and a racial feeling into the hearts and brains of the youth entrusted to it. No boy or girl must leave school without attaining a clear insight into the necessity and essence of blood purity. This creates the groundwork for preserving the racial foundation of our nation, and it thereby secures the basis for future cultural development.

In the last analysis, all physical and intellectual training would be in vain unless it benefitted something that was ready and determined to preserve its own existence and special qualities.

Otherwise, something would result that we Germans already have cause to regret, without perhaps realizing the full extent of the tragic calamity: We would be doomed in the future to remain only cultural manure. And not in the banal sense of the contemporary bourgeois view–which sees the loss of a fellow member of our people only as a lost citizen–but in the painful realization that, despite our knowledge and ability, our blood will decline. By continually mixing with other races, we might lift them up from a lower cultural level to a higher grade, but we would descend forever from the heights we had attained.

Finally, from a racial standpoint, this training also must find its culmination in military service. Military service is to be the final stage of the average Germans' normal training.

2.21 STATE SELECTION OF THE FIT

While the folkish State attaches the greatest importance to physical and mental training, it also has to consider the equally-important task of selecting people. This matter is taken lightly at present. Generally, only the children of well-situated parents are considered worthy of higher education. Questions of talent play a subordinate part. But talent can be evaluated only relatively.

Though in terms of general knowledge he may be inferior to the bourgeois child, a peasant boy may be more talented than the son of a family with upper-class status for many generations. But this greater knowledge in itself has nothing to do with a greater or lesser degree of talent, but rather is rooted in the greater stimulation arising from a more varied education and richer conditions of life. If the talented peasant-boy were educated in similar surroundings, his intellectual accomplishments would be quite different.

Today there's only one sphere where the person's family of birth means less than his innate gifts : the sphere of art. Here, where one cannot just 'learn' but must have skills that later on may undergo a more or less successful development–in the sense of a wise progression of what's already there–money and parental standing are almost irrelevant. This is good proof that genius is not necessarily connected with higher social standing or wealth. Not rarely, the greatest artists come from poorest households. And many a small-town boy has eventually become a celebrated master.

It doesn't say much for the mental acumen of our time that no one employs this truth for the sake of our whole intellectual life. Some think that this principle, though undoubtedly valid in the field of art, is inapplicable to the so-called applied sciences. It's true that a man can be trained to a certain amount of mechanical dexterity, just as a poodle can be taught incredible tricks. But such training doesn't cause the animal to use his intelligence in order to act, and the same is true for man. It's possible to teach men, regardless of talent, to go through certain technical exercises, but in such cases the results are as unthinking as for the animal. In principle, one could even force an average man, by means of intellectual drilling, to acquire a more-than-average amount of knowledge; but that knowledge, in the final analysis, would be sterile. The result would be a man who might be a walking dictionary but would fail miserably on every critical occasion in life and at every decisive juncture; such people must be specially trained for every new and insignificant task, and are incapable of contributing at all to the general progress of mankind. Those with

such mechanically-drilled knowledge can, at best, qualify for a government job in our present regime.

It goes without saying that, among the sum total of individuals who make up a nation, talented people can always be found in every sphere of life. It's also obvious that the value of knowledge will be all the greater, the more that dead knowledge is animated by an individual's innate talent. Creative work can be done only through a marriage of knowledge and ability.

One example will suffice to show the boundless sin of present-day humanity. From time to time, our illustrated papers publish, for the edification of the German slacker, news that somewhere, for the first time, a Negro has become a lawyer, teacher, pastor, even a grand opera tenor or some such thing. While the pathetic bourgeois stares with amazement at the marvelous achievements of our modern educational technique, the clever Jew sees in this fact new evidence for the theory that he wants to infect the public with, namely that all men are equal.

It doesn’t dawn on the murky bourgeois world that this published fact is a sin against reason itself; that it's an act of criminal insanity to train someone who is born half-ape to become a lawyer while, on the other hand, millions from the most civilized races have to remain in positions unworthy of their cultural standing; that it's a sin against the will of the eternal Creator to allow hundreds of thousands of the most gifted people to remain floundering in the proletarian swamp while Hottentots and Zulus are trained for the intellectual professions. Here we have the product only of a scientific ‘training,’ just like a poodle. If the same amount of effort and care were applied to the intelligent races, each individual would become a thousand times more capable.

This state of affairs would become intolerable if a day came when such cases were no longer exceptional, but it's already intolerable where talent and natural gifts are not decisive factors in qualifying for a higher education. Indeed, it’s intolerable to think that, year after year, hundreds of thousands of talentless people are deemed worthy of a higher education, while other hundreds of thousands of more talented ones go without any sort

of higher schooling at all. The practical loss to the nation is incalculable. If, in recent decades, the number of important discoveries has increased, especially in North America, one reason is that more talented people from the lowest classes there have the possibility of a higher education than is the case in Europe.

Drilled-in knowledge won't suffice for the making of discoveries, but only that knowledge animated by talent. But with us at present, no value is placed on such gifts; only good grades matter.

Here too is another educational task awaiting the folkish State. Its task won't be to assure a dominant influence to an existing social class, but to select the most competent heads from the mass of the nation and promote them to place and honor. The duty of the State isn't only to give the average child a certain definite education in public school, but also to put talent on the proper track. Above all, it must open the doors of higher State education to talent of every sort, no matter from what social class it may come. It must fulfill this task, since only in this way can representatives of dead knowledge be transformed into brilliant national leaders.

There is still another reason why the State should provide for this situation: Our intellectual classes, particularly in Germany, are so segregated and fossilized that they lack a living connection with those beneath them. We suffer two consequences from this: First, the intellectual classes neither understand nor sympathize with the broad masses. They have been disconnected for so long that they no longer possess the necessary psychological understanding of the people. They have become estranged from the people. Secondly, the intellectual classes lack the necessary willpower. This is always weaker in secluded intellectual circles than in the mass of simple people. God knows we Germans have never lacked in scientific education, but we've always been lacking in willpower and decisiveness. For example, the more 'intellectual' our statesmen have been, the generally weaker was their practical achievement. Our political preparation and our technical armaments for the World War were defective, certainly

not because the brains governing the nation were insufficiently educated, but rather because they were over-educated-filled with knowledge and intelligence, yet without any sound instinct and bereft of energy and daring.

It was a tragic fate that our people had to fight for its existence under a chancellor who was a philosophical weakling. If instead of a Bethmann-Hollweg,[135] we had had a rugged man of the people as our leader, the heroic blood of the common soldier wouldn't have been shed in vain. Likewise, our leaders' exaggerated intellectual material proved to be the best ally of the scoundrels of the November Revolution. These intellectuals hoarded the national wealth instead of risking it fully, and thus they created the conditions for the success of others.

Here the Catholic Church offers an instructive example. Clerical celibacy forces the Church to recruit its priests not from their own ranks but increasingly from the masses of the people. Yet there aren't many who recognize the significance of this celibacy. It's the cause of the inexhaustible strength that characterizes that ancient institution. By thus unceasingly recruiting its spiritual dignitaries from the lower classes of the people, the Church not only maintains an instinctive bond with them but also assures itself of a sum of energy and active force that only exists in the broad masses. Hence the surprising youthfulness of this gigantic organism, its spiritual flexibility, and its iron willpower.

2.22 EVALUATION OF WORK

The folkish State's task is to organize and administer its educational system such that the existing intellectual class will be constantly resupplied with fresh blood from below. From the bulk of the nation, the State must sift out and carefully assess those persons who are endowed with natural talents, and employ them in community service. The State and statesmen don't exist to provide a living for members of a special class, but to fulfill their

[135] Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg (1856-1921), German Chancellor during World War One.

allotted tasks. This will only be possible if the State trains capable and strong-willed individuals for these offices. This applies not only to official positions but also to the intellectual leadership of the nation in all fields. The greatness of a people is also partly dependent on training the best heads for those fields suited to them, and then placing them in national public service. If two nations of equal strength compete, that nation will come out victorious that has entrusted its total intellectual leadership to its best talents; and that nation will lose whose government represents only a common feeding trough for privileged groups or classes, without regard to the in-born talents of its individual members.

Of course, this seems impossible in the present world. The objection will immediately be raised that it's too much to expect the son of a higher civil servant, for instance, to work with his hands simply because some child of working-class parents seems more capable of a civil service job. This argument may be valid in the present estimation of manual work. Therefore the folkish State will have to take up a fundamentally different attitude towards the concept of manual labor. It will have to abolish this view of physical activity, even if a system of long-term education if needed. The individual must be valued, not by the class of work he does, but by the form and quality of his achievement. This statement may sound monstrous in an age when the most brainless columnist is more esteemed than the most expert mechanic, merely because he pushes a pen. But, as stated, this false evaluation doesn't correspond to the nature of things, but rather was artificially introduced, and at one time didn't exist at all. The present unnatural condition is based on the generally diseased phenomena of our materialistic age.

Fundamentally, every kind of work has a double value: purely material, and ideal. The material value depends on the practical importance of the work to community life. The more people who benefit from the work, directly or indirectly, the higher will be its material value. This evaluation is expressed in the material reward that the individual receives for his labor. Contrasted to material value is the ideal. Here the work is judged not by its material importance but its necessity. Certainly the material utility of an

invention may be greater than the service of an everyday workman, but it's also certain that the community needs each of those small services just as much as the greater. From the material point of view, a distinction can be made in the evaluation of different kinds of work according to their utility to the community, and is expressed by corresponding reward; but in an ideal sense, all workmen become equal the moment each strives to do his best– whatever that may be–in his own field. A man's value must be based on this, and not on his reward.

In a rational State, care must be taken that each individual is given the kind of work that corresponds to his capabilities. In other words, people will be trained for the work best suited to their natural abilities. But these abilities or faculties are innate and cannot be learned, being as they are a gift from nature and not earned by men. Therefore, men's general civic value must not be given according to the kind of work they do, because that has been more or less fated to the individual.

Since the individual's job is based on his inborn gifts and the resultant public training, he will have to be judged by the way that he performs this work entrusted to him by the community. The work that the individual performs is not the goal of his existence, but only a means. It's more important that he develops and ennobles himself, but he can only do this within his cultural community, which in turn rests on the foundation of the State. He must contribute to the preservation of this foundation. Nature determines the form of this contribution; it's the individual's duty to return to the community, zealously and honestly, what the community has given him. He who does this deserves the highest respect and esteem. Material reward may be given to him whose work has a corresponding benefit to the community; but ideal reward must lie in the public esteem granted to all those who serve the people with the powers that nature gave them, and which were developed by the national community. Then it will no longer be a disgrace to be an honest craftsman, but it will be disgraceful to be an incompetent bureaucrat, stealing God's daylight and one's daily bread from an honest public. Then it will be obvious that men shouldn't be given tasks that they are incapable of doing.

Furthermore, this activity will be the sole criterion of the right to participate, on an equal standing, in general civil affairs.

The present age is destroying itself; it introduces universal suffrage, and chatters about equal rights, but can find no basis for this. It considers material reward as the expression of a man's value, and thus shatters the foundation of the noblest kind of equality that can exist. Equality cannot and does not depend on the work a man does, but only on the manner in which each one fulfills his special obligations. Thus, mere accident of nature is set aside as determining a man's worth, and the individual alone becomes the creator of his own importance.

In the present age, when whole groups of people estimate each other's value only by their salaries, there is–as already said–no comprehension of all this. But that's no reason why we should stop fighting for our ideas. Quite the opposite: In an age that's inwardly diseased and decaying, anyone who would heal it must have the courage to expose the root causes of the disease. And this should be the concern of the National Socialist movement: to put aside petty bourgeoisie thinking, and to join together and coordinate all those popular forces ready to become the vanguard of a new worldview.

2.23 IDEAL AND REALITY

Of course, the objection will be made that, in general, it's hard to differentiate between the material and ideal values of work, and that the lower prestige attached to physical labor is shown by its lower wages. And that these lower wages are in turn the reason why the manual worker has less chance to participate in the national culture. And that the ideal side of human culture is less open to him because it has nothing to do with his daily activities. And that the disgust with physical labor is justified by the fact that, because of the small income, the cultural level of manual laborers must necessarily be low, and that this in turn is a justification for the lower evaluation.

There's much truth in all this. But that's the very reason why we must see that, in the future, there shouldn't be such a wide

difference in wages. Don't say that this will result in poorer achievement. It would be the saddest sign of decadence if higher intellectual work could be obtained only through higher pay. If this viewpoint had dominated the world up to now, humanity would never have acquired its greatest scientific and cultural treasures. All the greatest inventions, the greatest discoveries, the most revolutionary scientific work, and the most magnificent monuments of human culture were never given to the world under the drive for money. On the contrary, not rarely was their birth associated with a renunciation of worldly pleasures.

It may be that gold has become the lone ruler of life today, but a time will come when men will again bow to higher gods. Much that we have today owes its existence to the desire for money and wealth, but there is very little among all this that would leave humanity poorer by its absence.

It's also one of our movement's tasks to bring about a day when the individual will receive what he needs to live, while upholding the principle that man doesn't live for material pleasure alone. This principle will find expression in a wiser scale of wages that will enable everyone, down to the humblest worker, to have an honest and decent life, both as a citizen and a person.

Let it not be said that this is merely an ideal vision that the world would never tolerate in practice, and is in itself unachievable.

We aren't so simple as to believe that there will ever be a perfect age. But that doesn't absolve us from the duty to combat recognized defects, to overcome weaknesses, and to strive for the ideal. Harsh reality will always impose all-too-many limitations. But that's precisely why man must strive to serve the ultimate goal, and why failures mustn't deter him–just as we cannot abandon justice because mistakes creep in, and just as we cannot discard medical arts because there will always be illness, despite it.

Care must be taken not to underestimate the power of an idea. For those faint-hearted ones today in this respect, I would remind them, if they ever were soldiers, of the time when heroism was the most convincing proof of the power inherent in idealistic motives. It wasn't concern for their daily bread that led men to die, but love of Fatherland, faith in its greatness, and an all-round feeling for

national honor. Only after the German people became estranged from these ideals and followed the material promises of the Revolution, only after they exchanged arms for rucksacks, only then-instead of entering an earthly paradise–did they sink into the purgatory of universal contempt and universal want.

That's why we must confront the calculators of the present materialist republic with a faith in an ideal Reich.

CHAPTER 3
SUBJECTS AND CITIZENS

The institution that is today erroneously called the State generally classifies people only into two groups: citizens and foreigners. Citizens are all those who possess full civic rights, either by reason of birth or by later naturalization; foreigners are those who enjoy the same rights in another State. Between these two categories, there are comet-like apparitions–the so-called stateless. They are people who have no citizenship in any present-day State and consequently no civic rights anywhere.

Today the right of citizenship, as noted above, is acquired primarily by being born within the borders of a State. Race or nationality plays no role whatsoever. A Negro who once lived in one of the German protectorates and now takes up residence in Germany, has a child that automatically becomes a 'German citizen' in the eyes of the world. Similarly, the child of any Jew, Pole, African, or Asian may automatically become a German citizen.

Apart from birthright citizenship, there is the possibility of later naturalization. This is subject to various requirements-for example that the applicant is not a burglar or pimp; that his political attitude is unobjectionable, or in other words, he must be a harmless simpleton; and that he won't be a burden to the State that grants him citizenship. In our realistic age, this means, of course, a financial burden. Yes–it's even a good recommendation if he's likely to be a good future taxpayer, and this will hasten his application for citizenship.

Racial matters play no part at all.

3.1 CITIZENS–SUBJECTS–FOREIGNERS

The whole process of acquiring citizenship isn't that different from being admitted into an automobile club, for instance. A

person files his application, it's examined and sanctioned, and one day he receives a card informing him that he has become a citizen. The whole process is amusing. A former Zulu Kaffir is told: "You are hereby a German citizen!"

This magic trick is performed by the president. What the heavens couldn't do is achieved by some Theophrastus Paracelsus of a civil servant, with a wave of the hand.[136] With a stroke of the pen, a Mongolian slave is suddenly turned into a real 'German.'

Not only is there no concern with the new citizen's race, even his physical health is unexamined. His flesh may be corrupted with syphilis, but he is still welcome in the present-day State, so long as he doesn't become a financial burden or political danger.

In this way, every year, those organizations that we call States take in poisonous material that they can hardly ever overcome.

The citizen is only distinguished from the foreigner by the fact that he's open to all public offices, that he may eventually have to do military service, and that, in return, he's permitted to take a passive or active part in elections. By and large, that's all. Regarding personal rights and personal freedom, the foreigner enjoys the same amount of protection as the citizen, and frequently even more; anyway, that's how it happens in our present German Republic.

I know that no one likes to hear these things; but it would be difficult to find anything more thoughtless or more insane than our contemporary citizenship laws. At present there is one state that's making at least some modest attempts at a better conception. Naturally it's not our model German Republic, but the American union that attempts to at least partly conform to reason. By refusing immigration of those with bad health, and by excluding certain races from naturalization, the American union has begun to introduce principles that are particular to the folkish State.

The folkish State divides its inhabitants into three classes: citizens, subjects, and foreigners.

It's a basic principle that birth within the State gives only the status of a subject. It carries no right to fill any office in the State,

[136] Paracelsus (1493-1541) was a well-known Swiss philosopher and alchemist.

or to conduct political activity, such as taking an active or passive part in elections. Another basic principle is that the race and nationality of every subject must be proven. A subject is always free to cease being a subject, and to become a citizen of the country of his own nationality. The only difference between a foreigner and a subject is that the former is a citizen of another country.

The young subject of German nationality is bound to complete the schooling that's obligatory for every German. He thus submits to the system of training that will make him conscious of his race and a member of the national community. He then must fulfill all those physical training requirements laid down by the State, and finally he enters the army. The training in the army is of a general kind; it must be given to each individual German, and will allow him to fulfill the physical and mental requirements of military service.

Then, upon completion of military service, the rights of citizenship shall be solemnly conferred on every healthy young man. This is the most precious testimonial of his whole earthly life. It entitles him to all the rights of a citizen and to enjoy all the privileges. The State must draw a sharp distinction between those who, as members of the nation, are the foundation and support of its existence and greatness, and those who only reside in the State as 'earners' of a livelihood.

3.2 THE CITIZEN AS MASTER OF THE REICH

The bestowal of a diploma of citizenship must coincide with a solemn oath of loyalty to the national community and the State. This diploma must be a common bond that unites all. It must be a greater honor, even as a street sweeper, to be a citizen of this Reich than to be the king of a foreign State.

The citizen has privileges not given to the foreigner. He's a master of the Reich. But this high honor also has its obligations. Those without personal honor or character, or common criminals, or traitors to the Fatherland, can be deprived of this right at any time. He becomes once again merely a subject.

The German girl is a subject, and becomes a citizen only when she marries. But those female German subjects who earn an independent livelihood can also become citizens.

CHAPTER 4
PERSONALITY AND THE FOLKISH STATE-CONCEPT

If the principal task of the National Socialist folkish State is to educate and preserve the bearers of the State, it won't suffice to promote those racial elements per se, educate them, and finally train them for practical life. Rather, the State must also adapt its own organization to meet this task.

It would be absurd to appraise a man's worth by his race, and at the same time to make war against the Marxist principle that all men are equal, while being unwilling to draw the ultimate consequences. The ultimate consequence of the significance of blood, which is to say, of a racial foundation in general, is that we must apply this principle to the individual. In general, I must evaluate the worth of peoples differently on the basis of their race, and the same applies to individual men within their national community. The realization that people are not equal transfers to the individual man in the sense that one head is not equal to another because, here too, the constituent elements of the same blood vary in a thousand subtle details, though they are equal in broad outline.

The first consequence of this fact is, I should say, also the cruder one–namely, the attempt to promote the best racial elements within the national community, and ·especially that they should be encouraged to increase.

This task is cruder because it can be recognized and carried out almost mechanically. It's much more difficult to select from among a whole multitude of people those who are intellectually and spiritually the most valuable, and to assign them influence that not only corresponds to their superior minds, but above all is beneficial to the nation. This sifting according to capacity and

ability cannot be effected mechanically, but rather is a task that can be accomplished only through the ongoing struggle of daily life.

4.1 BUILDING ON AN ARISTOCRATIC PRINCIPLE

A worldview that rejects the democratic mass ideal and aims at giving this world to the best people–that is, to the highest humanity–must also apply that same aristocratic principle to the individuals within the nation. It must ensure that positions of leadership and highest influence are given to the best minds. Hence it's based not on the idea of the majority, but on that of personality.

Anyone who believes today that a folkish National Socialist State should distinguish itself from other states only mechanically, through the better construction of its economic life–thanks to a better balance between rich and poor, or by extending economic power to the broader masses, or by a fairer wage through elimination of large differences in pay-understands only the most superficial features of the matter, and hasn't the faintest idea of what we mean by our worldview. All these features just mentioned couldn't in the least guarantee us a lasting existence, and certainly would be no claim to greatness. A nation that could content itself with superficial reforms wouldn't have the slightest chance of success in the general struggle among nations.

A movement that would confine its mission to such adjustments, which are certainly right, would bring about no far-reaching or profound reform in the existing order. Such activity would be limited to externals. They wouldn't give the nation the inner armament that alone would enable it to effectively overcome, I might say, the weaknesses from which we suffer today.

4.2 PERSONALITY AND CULTURAL PROGRESS

In order to understand this more easily, it may be worthwhile to glance once again at the real origins and causes of human cultural

evolution.

The first step that visibly brought mankind away from the animal world was that of invention. Invention itself owes its origin to the ruses and stratagems that assisted man in the life-struggle with other creatures, and that often provided him with the only means to success. Those first crude inventions cannot be attributed to the person; for the subsequent–or better, current–observer recognizes them only as mass phenomena. Certain tricks and skillful tactics that can be seen in animals catch the eye as established facts, and man is no longer in a position to discover or explain their origin; he contents himself with calling such phenomena 'instinctive.'

In our case, this last term has no meaning. Everyone who believes in the higher development of living organisms must admit that every manifestation of the life-urge and life-struggle must have had a definite beginning; and that one subject alone must have started it. It was then repeated again and again, and it spread over a widening area, until finally it passed into the subconscious of every member of the species, where it manifested itself as instinct.

This is more easily understood and believed in the case of man. His first skilled tactics in the struggle with other animals undoubtedly originated in individual and specially-capable subjects. Undoubtedly, personality was then the sole factor in all decisions and achievements, which were later taken over by the whole of humanity as a matter of course. An example of this may be found in those fundamental military principles that have now become the basis of all strategy. Originally they arose from the brain of a distinct individual, and in the course of many years–maybe even thousands–they were accepted as a matter of course and thus gained universal validity.

Man complemented his first discovery by a second: He learned how to master other things and other living beings, and to make them serve him in his struggle for existence; and thus began the real inventive activity of mankind, as is now apparent. Those material inventions–beginning with the use of stones as weapons, the domestication of animals, the production of fire by artificial

means, and the marvelous inventions of our own days–show clearly that an individual was the creator. The nearer we come to our own time, and the more important and revolutionary the inventions, the more clearly we see this. In any case, we know: All the material inventions that we see around us have been produced by the creative powers and abilities of individuals. And all these inventions help man to raise himself higher and higher above the animal world, and to separate himself from it in a definitive way. Hence they serve to elevate the human species and to continually promote its progress.

But what the most primitive artifice once did for man in his struggle for existence, as he went hunting through the primeval forest, such assistance is given him today in the form of marvelous scientific inventions that help him in the present-day life-struggle, and to forge weapons for future struggles. In their final effects, all human thought and invention help man in his life-struggle on this planet, even though the so-called practical use of an invention, discovery, or profound scientific theory may not be evident at first sight. Everything contributes to raise man higher and higher above the level of all surrounding creatures, thereby strengthening and consolidating his position, so that in every way he develops into the dominant being on this Earth.

Hence all inventions are the result of an individual's effort. And all such individuals, willfully or not, are benefactors of mankind, both great and small. Through their work, millions and indeed billions of human beings have received the means and resources to facilitate their life-struggle.

If, in the origin of today's material culture, we always find individual persons whose work supplements and builds upon one another, then we find the same thing in regard to the practical application of those inventions and discoveries. All the various methods of production are, in turn, inventions as well, and consequently dependent on the individual. Even purely theoretical work, which cannot be measured by a definite rule and which is prior to all subsequent technical inventions, is exclusively a product of the individual. The masses do not invent, nor does the majority organize or think–but always and in every case the

individual man, the person.

A human community is well-organized only when it facilitates individual creative forces in a helpful way, and utilizes them for the community's benefit. The most valuable factor of an invention, whether in the material field or in the world of ideas, is the personality of the inventor himself. The first and supreme duty of an organized folk community is to make the inventor useful to all. Indeed, the very purpose of the organization is to realize this principle. Only by so doing can it ward off the curse of mechanization and remain a living thing. In itself it must personify the effort to place thinking individuals above the masses, and to make the latter obey the former.

Therefore, not only does the organization possess no right to prevent thinking individuals from rising above the masses but, on the contrary, it must use, enable, and promote that ascension as far as possible.

It must begin with the principle that the blessings of mankind never came from the masses but from creative minds, who are therefore the real benefactors of humanity. It’s in the interest of all to ensure that such people are a decisive influence, and to facilitate their work. This common interest is surely not served by allowing the unintelligent and incompetent masses to rule, and who are, in any case, uninspired. Only those who have the natural gifts of leadership should rule.

Such minds are selected mainly, as already stated, through the harsh life-struggle. Many breakdown and collapse, thereby showing that they aren’t destined for the highest positions; in the end, only a few appear chosen. In the realms of thought, artistic creation, and even in economics, this same process of selection takes place, although-especially in economics–this faces a severe obstacle. The same ideas dominate in State administration and in the organized power of the national military. The idea of personality rules everywhere–in authority over one's subordinates and toward those higher personalities above.

It’s only in political life that this very natural principle has been completely excluded. Though all human culture has resulted exclusively from the individual's creative activity, it's only in the

administration of the national community that the principle of the value of the majority becomes decisive, and from that high place it allows all life to be gradually poisoned; that is, in reality: dissolved. The destructive effects of the Jew's activity in other national bodies can be fundamentally ascribed to his persistent efforts at undermining the importance of personality among the host nations, and replacing it with the mass. The constructive principle of Aryan humanity is thus displaced by the destructive principle of the Jews. They become the 'ferment of decomposition' among nations and races and, in a broad sense, the dissolvers of human culture.[137]

4.3 MARXISM NEGATES THE VALUE OF PERSONALITY

Marxism represents the most striking phase of the Jewish attempt to eliminate the dominant significance of personality in every sphere of human life, and to replace it by the numbers of the

[137] "Ferment of decomposition" is a paraphrase of the prominent German historian Theodor Mommsen (1817-1903). ln his monumental work *The History of Rome* (1856), he wrote: "Also in the ancient world, Judaism was an effective ferment of cosmopolitanism and of national decomposition" (1856/1871:643). In original German: "*Auch in der a/ten Welt war das Judenthum ein wirksames Ferment des Kosmopolitismus und der nationalen Decomposition . . .* " This sentiment was endorsed by another major historian, Heinrich von Treitschke (1834-1896). In his Die Politik (1898; vol 1, sec. 8), he wrote: "The Jews have always been 'an element of national decomposition.' They have always worked toward this" *(Immer waren die Juden 'ein Element der nationalen Decomposition', auf ehrlich Deutsch: der nationalen Zersetzung. Hieran haben sie immer gearbeitet*). Later he added, "And now, all that's dangerous in this people comes to the fore, the decomposing power of a nation that assumes the mask of different nationalities" (*Und nun tritt alles Gefährliche dieses Volkes hervor, die zersetzende Kraft eines Volksthums, das die Maske verschiedener Nationalitiiten annimmt*). In the same section, Treitschke also refers to the Jews' "enormous racial conceit" *(ungeheuerer Rassendünkel*) and "deadly hatred toward the Christians" (*tödtlicher Hass gegen die Christen*).

mass. In politics, this corresponds to the parliamentary form of government. We can observe its disastrous effects everywhere, from the smallest municipalities up to the highest leadership of the Reich. And in economics, we see the trade union movement, which doesn't serve the real interests of the employees but rather the destructive aims of international world Jewry.

To the same degree that the principle of personality is excluded from the economy and replaced with the influence and activities of the masses, that which should be for the service and benefit of the entire community will gradually deteriorate. All shop committees–which, instead of caring for the interests of the employees, strive to influence production–serve the same destructive purpose. They damage the general productive system and consequently, in reality, injure the individual. In the long run, it's impossible to satisfy needs merely by theoretical phrases; this happens only through the goods of daily life. Ultimately, the system must create the conviction that the national community serves the interests of the individual.

It's irrelevant whether or not Marxism, on the basis of its mass theory, can prove itself capable of taking over and developing the present economic system. Criticism regarding the correctness or incorrectness of this principle can't be tested by asking if it can administer the existing order, but only by proving that it can create a higher culture. Even if Marxism were a thousand-times capable of taking over the present economy and guiding its operation, this activity would prove nothing. This is because, on the basis of its own principles, it could never create something like that which it overtakes today.

And Marxism itself has supplied practical proof of this. Not only has it been unable anywhere to create a culture of its own, but it hasn't even been able to sustain existing ones, according to its own principles. Rather, after a short time, it has had to make compromises and return to the principle of personality; even in its own organization, it can't dispense with it.

The folkish worldview is fundamentally distinguished from the Marxist by the fact that the former recognizes the value of race and therefore also of personality, and thus has made the individual

a pillar of its structure. These are the factors that support its world-conception.

If the National Socialist movement failed to understand the fundamental importance of this essential principle, and if instead it merely adjusted the external appearance of the present State and adopted the mass principle, then it would really do nothing more than compete with Marxism; for that reason, it wouldn't have the right to call itself a worldview. If the movement's social program consisted only in eliminating personality and putting the masses in its place, then National Socialism would be corrupted with the poison of Marxism, just as our bourgeois parties are.

The folkish State must ensure its citizens' welfare by recognizing the importance of the value of personality under all circumstances, and thus secure the highest possible individual participation by maximizing productive efficiency in all fields.

Hence the folkish State must mercilessly expunge the parliamentarian principle of majority rule–that is, of mass rule–from all leading political circles, and in its place, guarantee the right of personality.

4.4 THE BEST FORM OF STATE

The following conclusion results from this: The best constitution and form of State is that which naturally allows the best minds to reach positions of dominant importance and influence in the community.

Just as in economic life, where able men cannot be designated from above, but must struggle forward themselves; and just as life itself is the school whereby the real lessons–from the smallest business to the largest corporation–are taught, so is it impossible for political talent to be suddenly 'discovered.' Extraordinary geniuses can't be judged by the standards of normal men.

In its organization, the State must be established on the principle of personality, from the smallest village up to the highest leadership of the Reich.

There must be no decisions made by the majority, but only by responsible persons. And the word 'council' must be once more

restored to its original meaning. Every man of responsibility will have advisors at his side, but the decision will be made by one man.

The principle that made the former Prussian army an admirable instrument of the German nation must become the basis of our state conception: authority of every leader directed downward, and responsibility directed upward.

Even then, we won't be able to do without those corporate bodies that today we call parliaments. But then they will really have to give counsel; responsibility, however, can and must be carried by one man, and therefore he alone will be vested with authority and the right to command.

Parliaments per se are necessary because they alone furnish the opportunity for leaders to gradually arise who will be subsequently entrusted with positions of special responsibility.

This gives the following picture: From the township up to the Reich leadership, the folkish State won't have any representative body that makes its decisions through the majority, but only advisory bodies to assist the elected leader; he will distribute various duties to them. In certain fields, they may, if necessary, assume full responsibility, just as each corporate leader or president possesses on a larger scale.

On principle, the folkish State must forbid the practice of taking advice on certain political problems–economics, for instance–from persons who are entirely incompetent because they lack special training and practical experience. Consequently, the State must divide its representative bodies into political chambers and professional chambers.

To ensure effective cooperation between those two bodies, a special Senate will be placed over them.

No vote will ever be taken in the chambers or Senate. They are to be working organizations and not voting machines. The individual members will have advisory roles but no right of decision. This right is the exclusive privilege of the responsible chairman.

This principle of combining absolute authority with absolute responsibility will gradually cause a selected group of leaders to

emerge, such as is unthinkable in our present era of irresponsible parliamentarianism.

The political conception of the nation will thereby be brought into harmony with that law to which it owes its greatness in the cultural and economic spheres.

4.5 NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND THE COMING STATE

Regarding the possibility of putting these ideas into practice, I would like to recall the fact that the parliamentarian principle of democratic majority rule has not always dominated. On the contrary, it’s found only during short periods of history, and always during the decline of nations and states.

One mustn't believe, however, that such a transformation could be effected by purely theoretical measures, operating from above; it couldn't be limited to the State constitution but would have to include the various fields of legislation, and even civic life as a whole. Such a revolution can occur only by means of a movement that is itself organized under the spirit of these principles and thus bears the future State within itself.

Thus the National Socialist movement should familiarize itself completely with those principles today and actually put them into practice within its own organization, so that not only will it be in a position to serve as a guide for the future State, but it will have its own organization that can be placed at the disposal of the State itself.

CHAPTER 5
WORLDVIEW AND ORGANIZATION

The folkish State, which I have tried to sketch in general outline, won't become a reality simply due to the fact that we know what's necessary for it. It's not enough to know how such a State should appear. The problem of its foundation is far more important. The existing parties benefit from the State, and they cannot be expected to bring about a change in the regime or to willingly modify their attitude. This is rendered all the more impossible because the leading elements are always Jews and yet more Jews. The present trend of development would, if allowed to go on unhampered, lead to the realization of the pan-Jewish prophecy-that the Jews will one day devour the other nations of the Earth and become their master.[138]

In contrast to the millions of 'bourgeois' and 'proletarian' Germans–who are stumbling to their ruin, mostly through timidity and stupidity– the Jew persistently pursues his way and keeps his mind fixed on his future goal. Any party that's led by him can fight for no other interests than his, and his interests certainly have nothing in common with those of the Aryan nations.

If we wish to transform our ideal picture of the folkish State into reality, we must stay independent of the forces that now

[138] In fact there has been some suggestion in recent years that Jews have become de facto masters of other nations. In late 2003 , after the initiation of the second Iraq war that was heavily promoted by the American Jewish Lobby, Malaysian president Mahathir Mohamad said this in a public address: "Today Jews rule the world by proxy. They get others to fight and die for them" (AP, 16 Oct 2003). American foreign policy is almost entirely oriented toward the promotion of Jewish and Israeli interests, due to the overwhelming–and primarily monetary–influence of Jews on the US government. Unfortunately, this influence goes unquestioned and unexamined, thanks to dominant Jewish influence in American media. Through their decisive influence on the lone global superpower, Jews effectively are the masters of other nations.

control public life, and seek out new forces that will be ready and capable of taking up the fight for such an ideal. It will be a struggle, insofar as the first objective isn't the creation of a folkish State–conception, but rather, above all: the elimination of the Jewish one. As so often happens in history, the main difficulty isn't establishing a new order but clearing the ground for it. Prejudices and special interests join together in forming a common front, attempting by all means to prevent the victory of any new idea that's disagreeable or threatening to them.

That's why the fighter for a new idea is unfortunately, and despite his desire for positive work, compelled to wage a negative battle first-in order to abolish the existing state of affairs.

5.1 STRUGGLE AND CRITICISM

As displeasing as it may be to the individual, a young doctrine of great and essential importance must adopt the sharp probe of criticism as its weapon.

It displays a very superficial insight into historical development when the so-called folkists emphasize again and again that they won't adopt the use of negative criticism, but will engage only in constructive work; this absurd, childish stammering is 'folkish' in the worst sense of the word. It's further proof that the history of our own times has made no impression on these minds.

Marxism too has had its aims to pursue constructive work (if only the establishment of despotic rule by international Jewish world-finance!); nevertheless, for the prior 70 years, its principal work was criticism–destructive, disintegrating criticism, over and over, until this corrosive acid ate into the old State so thoroughly that it finally collapsed. Only then did the so-called 'construction' begin. And that was natural, right, and logical.

An existing order isn't abolished merely by proclaiming and insisting on a new one. It mustn't be presumed that adherents or beneficiaries of the existing order will be converted and won over to the new movement simply by demonstrating its necessity. On the contrary, it may easily happen that two different situations exist side by side, and that a so-called worldview is transformed

into a party, unable to rise above its limitations. A worldview is intolerant and cannot exist as 'one party among many.' It imperiously demands its own recognition as unique and exclusive, and also a complete transformation of all public life in accordance with its views. It can never allow the previous condition to continue in existence. The same holds true of religions.

Christianity was not content with erecting an altar of its own, but rather first had to destroy the pagan altars. It was only from this passionate intolerance that an apodictic faith could take form; intolerance is an indispensable precondition.

It may be objected here that such phenomena in world history arise from mostly a specifically Jewish mode of thought; indeed, that such fanaticism and intolerance embody the specifically Jewish mentality. This may be a thousand-times true, and it's a deeply regrettable fact. The appearance of fanatical intolerance in human history may be both deeply regrettable and foreign to human nature-but this doesn't change the fact it exists today. The men who want to liberate our German nation from its present condition shouldn't worry their heads with thinking how wonderful it would be if this or that had never arisen; rather, they must find ways to eliminate it. A worldview that's inspired by infernal intolerance can only be broken by the same spirit, by a doctrine driven by the same determined will, and which is itself a pure and absolutely true new idea.

One may today regret the fact that the advent of Christianity marked the appearance of the first spiritual terror into the much freer ancient world.[139] But the fact cannot be denied that, ever since then, the world has been pervaded and dominated by this kind of coercion, and that violence has been broken only by violence, and terror only by terror. Only then can a new condition be constructively created.

Political parties are prone to compromises, but worldviews

[139] There is good reason to view Christianity as a specifically Jewish form of religious "terror." This was certainly Nietzsche's view; see Dalton (2010) or (2011) for details.

never. Political parties tend to reckon with their opponents, but worldviews proclaim their own infallibility.

5.2 COMMUNITY AS BASIS FOR A NEW WORLDVIEW

In the beginning, political parties also almost always have the intention of securing an exclusive and despotic domination; they almost always show a slight tendency to become worldviews. But the limited nature of their program robs them of the heroism that a worldview demands. The conciliatory nature of their will attracts those petty and weak-hearted people who aren't fit for any crusade. And so they soon become stuck in their miserable pettiness. They give up fighting for their worldview and, by way of so-called 'positive collaboration,' they try as quickly as possible to wedge themselves into some tiny place at the feeding trough, and to stay there as long as possible. That's their whole effort.

And if they should get shoved away from the common feeding crib by a competitor with more brutal manners, then their only idea is to force themselves in again, by force or trickery, among the hungry herd, in order to get back to the front row. And finally–even at the cost of their most sacred convictions–they refresh themselves at the beloved swill bucket. They're the jackals of politics!

But a worldview will never share with another. It can never agree to collaborate with any system that it condemns, but rather it feels obliged to employ every means in fighting against the old order and the whole world of ideas; that is, to prepare for its downfall.

This purely destructive battle–the danger of which is so readily perceived by the enemy that he forms a united front for his common defense–and also the constructive battle–which must be aggressive in order to promote the new world of ideas…both of these call for a body of resolute fighters. Any new worldview will bring its ideas to victory only if the most courageous and active elements of its time and its people are formed together in a

powerful fighting organization. For this, it's absolutely necessary to select from the general world-picture a certain number of ideas that, once they are expressed in a precise and clear-cut form, will serve as articles of faith for a new human community. While the program of the solely political party is nothing but a recipe for favorable results in the next general election, a worldview's program represents a declaration of war against an existing order of things, against present conditions–in short, against the established world-conception.

It's unnecessary, however, for every individual fighter for this worldview to have a full grasp of the ultimate ideas and plans of the leaders of the movement. It's only necessary that each should have a clear notion of the fundamental ideas, and that the most fundamental principles be burned into him, so that he'll be convinced of the necessity of victory for the movement and its doctrine.

Also, the individual soldier isn't initiated into knowledge of higher strategic plans. But he is trained to submit to a rigid discipline and fanatical faith in the justice and power of his cause, and to devote himself to it unreservedly. In the same way, the individual follower must be attached to a movement of great scope, great future, and the greatest will.

If each soldier in an army were a general, and had the training and capacity for such leadership, that army would be useless. Similarly, a political movement would be useless in fighting for a worldview if it were made up exclusively of 'intellectual' people. No, we also need the simple soldier, because without him an inner discipline is unattainable.

5.3 LEADERSHIP AND FOLLOWING

By its very nature, an organization can exist only if leaders of high intellectual ability are served by a large and emotionally-devoted mass. A company of 200 men of equal ability would, in the long run, be harder to discipline than a company of 190 less-capable men and 10 with a higher education.

The Social Democrats have profited very much from this fact.

They took the broad masses of our people who had just completed military service and thus were trained in discipline, and drew them into its equally-rigid party discipline. Its organization also consisted of an army of officers and soldiers. The German worker became the soldier, and the Jewish intellectual was the officer; the German trade union officials can be compared to non-commissioned officers.

The fact that only the so-called uneducated classes joined Marxism was the very basis on which this party achieved its success–something that was always greeted with head-shaking by our bourgeoisie. Because they mostly consisted of intellectuals, the bourgeois parties were only a feckless band of undisciplined individuals; whereas the Marxists, from non-intellectual human material, formed an army of party soldiers who obeyed their Jewish masters just as blindly as they formerly obeyed their German officers. The German bourgeoisie never worried about psychological problems because they felt themselves superior to such matters, and thought it unnecessary to reflect on the profound significance of this fact and the secret danger involved in it. On the contrary, they believed that a political movement that draws its followers exclusively from 'intellectual' circles must, for that very reason, be of greater importance and have better chances for success, and even a greater probability of taking over the government, than the uneducated masses. They never understood that the strength of a political party never lies in the intelligence and independence of its members but rather in the disciplined obedience with which they follow their intellectual leaders.

The decisive factor is the leadership itself. When two bodies of troops engage in combat, victory will fall not to that side in which every soldier has expert strategic training, but rather to that which has the best leaders and at the same time the best-disciplined, blindly-obedient, and best-drilled troops.

This is the basic knowledge that we must always bear in mind when we examine the possibility of transforming a worldview into action.

If we agree that, in order to carry a worldview to victory, it must be transformed into a fighting movement, then logically the

movement's program must take account of the human material at its disposal. Just as the ultimate aims and leading ideas must be absolutely definite and unmistakable, so the recruiting program must be adapted to those minds, without whom the most beautiful ideas would eternally remain only ideas.

5.4 GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF THE MOVEMENT

If the folkish idea, which is at present an obscure wish, is one day to attain a clear success, it must draw forth certain definite principles from its broad world of ideas–principles which, of their essence and content, are calculated to attract a broad mass of men. This mass can alone guarantee that the worldview will be fought for. This is the group of German workers.

Therefore, the new movement's program was condensed into a few guiding principles, 25 in all.[140] They are meant, first of all, to give the ordinary man a rough sketch of the movement's goals. They are, so to say, a political faith that, on the one hand, is meant to win recruits for the movement and, on the other, to unite such recruits together in a commonly-recognized covenant.

Hence we must never lose sight of the following: What we call the movement's program is absolutely right in its ultimate aims, but regarding the manner in which that program is formulated, certain psychological considerations had to be taken into account. In the course of time, the opinion may well arise that certain principles should be expressed differently and might be better formulated. But any attempt at a different formulation usually has a disastrous effect. Something that should be fixed and unshakable thereby becomes the subject of discussion. As soon as a single point is removed from the sphere of dogmatic certainty, discussion won't simply result in a new, better, and more consistent formulation, but may easily lead to endless debates and general confusion. In such cases, it remains to consider which is better: a new and more adequate formulation, though it may cause a controversy within the movement, or to retain the old formula that,

[140] See Appendix A.

though probably not the best, represents a solid, unshakeable, internally-unified organism.

All experience shows that the second alternative is preferable. Since one is dealing only with external change in form, such corrections will always appear desirable and possible. In the end, given that most people think superficially, there's a great danger that the merely external formulation of the program will be taken as essential to the movement. Then the will and power to fight for these ideas are weakened, and activities that ought to be directed outward are dissipated in internal programmatic squabbles.

For a doctrine that's essentially right in its main features, it's less dangerous to retain a formulation that may no longer be quite adequate, than to try to improve it–thereby allowing that which had hitherto been considered as a granite principle of the movement to become the subject of general discussion, with all its evil consequences. This is particularly impossible as long as the movement is still fighting for victory. How could we inspire people with blind faith in a doctrine's truth, if doubt and uncertainty are spread by constant changes in its external form?

The essentials of a teaching must never be sought in external formulas, but always in an inner meaning. And this is unchangeable; and in its interest, one can only wish that a movement should exclude everything that tends towards disintegration and uncertainty, in order to preserve the necessary force.

Here again we can learn from the Catholic Church. Though sometimes, and often quite unnecessarily, its dogmatic system is in conflict with the exact sciences and research, it's unwilling to sacrifice even a single syllable of its teachings. It has rightly recognized that its powers of resistance would be weakened by introducing greater or lesser adaptations to meet the temporary conclusions of science, which in reality are always fluctuating. Thus it holds to its fixed dogmas, which alone can give to the whole system the character of a faith. That's why it stands firmer today than ever. We may prophesy that, as a fixed pole amid fleeting phenomena, it will attract ever-more blind support as the

phenomena rapidly change.[141]

Therefore whoever really and seriously desires the victory of a folkish worldview must realize, firstly, that this can be assured only through a militant movement, and secondly that this movement must ground its strength only on the firmness of an impregnable and coherent program. It must never make concessions in form to the spirit of the time, but rather must retain its form forever, once it's found to be favorable–or in any case, until crowned by victory. Before that, any attempt to open a discussion on the expediency of this or that program point might tend to disintegrate the solidity and fighting strength of the movement, according to the degree to which its followers partake in such an internal dispute. Don't say that an 'improvement' made today will be subjected to a critical examination tomorrow, only to substitute it with something better the day after. Once the barrier has been tom down, a road is opened–the start of which is known, but the end is lost in the infinite.

This important realization had to be applied to the young National Socialist movement. In its 25-point program, the National Socialist German Workers' Party attained a foundation that must remain unshakable. The task of present and future members of the movement must never be to undertake a critical revision of these principles, but rather to be bound to them. Otherwise the next generation would, in its turn and with equal right, expend its energy in such purely formal work within the party, instead of winning new recruits and thus new power for the movement. For most of our followers, the essence of the movement will consist not so much in the letter of our principles but in the meaning that we attribute to them.

[141] The phrase 'fixed pole amid fleeting phenomena' is drawn from Schiller's poem *Der Spaziergang* (line 134).

5.5 NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND THE FOLKISH IDEA

The new movement owes its name to these considerations, and later on its program was drawn up in conformity with them; and in them lay its manner of dissemination. In order to carry the folkish ideal to victory, a popular party had to be founded–a party that didn't consist only of intellectual leaders but also of manual workers!

Any attempt to realize these theories without a militant organization would be doomed to failure today, as it has in the past, and would again in the future. That's why the movement not only has the right but the duty to consider itself as the champion and representative of these ideas. Just as the fundamental principles of the National Socialist movement are folkish, so folkish ideas are National Socialist. If National Socialism wants to triumph, it will have to hold firm to this fact unreservedly and exclusively. Here again, it not only has the right but also the duty to sharply emphasize that any attempt to represent folkish idea outside of the National Socialist German Workers' Party is impossible, and in most cases fraudulent.

If anyone today reproaches our movement because it has 'monopolized' the folkish idea, there's only one answer to give: Not only monopolized, but we practically created it.

For what previously existed under this name was utterly incapable of influencing the destiny of our people, since all those ideas lacked a clear and coherent formulation. In most cases, they were nothing but isolated and disconnected notions of greater or lesser soundness, quite frequently contradictory, and in no case was there any internal cohesion among them. And even if this cohesion existed, it would have been much too weak to orient and build any movement.

Only the National Socialist movement has accomplished this. All kinds of associations and groups, big and little, and even the 'big parties' now claim the title 'folkish,' and this is one result of the influence of the National Socialist movement. Without this work, none of these parties would even have thought of

mentioning the word ‘folkish’ at all; that word would have meant nothing to them, and especially their leaders would have had nothing to do with it. Only the work of the NSDAP gave this idea meaning, and only then was it adopted by all kinds of people. Above all, our party has shown the force of the folkish idea by our successful activity, so that the others, in order to keep up, must seek out similar ends.

Just as before, when they exploited everything to serve their petty electoral purposes, today they use the folkish concept only as an external and empty phrase for the purpose of counteracting the attractive force of the National Socialist movement. Only the desire to maintain their existence and the fear that our new worldview-based movement may prevail, and because they feel that its universal and exclusive character poses a danger for them– only for these reasons do they use words that they repudiated eight years ago, derided seven years ago, branded as absurd six years ago, combated five years ago, hated four years ago, persecuted three years ago, and finally, two years ago, annexed and incorporated into their present political vocabulary, as war slogans in their struggle.

And so it’s necessary, even now, to call attention to the fact that not one of those parties has the slightest idea of what the German nation needs. The most striking proof of this is the superficial way in which they use the word ‘folkish’!

Not less dangerous are those who run about as semi-folkish, formulating fantastic schemes based mostly on nothing other than a fixed idea that, in itself, might be right but which, because it's an isolated concept, is useless in the formation of a great unified fighting community. And in any case, it’s unsuited to building one. These people who concoct a program partly from their own ideas and partly from that which they have read, are often more dangerous than the open enemies of the folkish idea. At best they are sterile theorists, but mostly they are mischievous braggarts. They believe that they can mask their intellectual and mental emptiness with flowing beards and ancient German gestures.

In the face of all those futile attempts, it’s therefore worthwhile

to recall the time when the young National Socialist movement began its fight.

CHAPTER 6
STRUGGLE IN EARLY TIMES: SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SPOKEN WORD

Memories of our first great meeting, in the banquet hall of the Hofbräuhaus on 24 February 1920, had not yet died away when we began preparations for our next meeting.[142] Up to that time, we had carefully considered the holding of a small meeting every month, or at most every two weeks, in a city like Munich, but now it was decided that we should hold a mass meeting every week. I needn't say that, assuredly, we faced one fear over and over again: Will the people come, and will they listen?–though I was personally convinced that, once they came, they would stay and listen.

6.1 FIGHT AGAINST POISONOUS PROPAGANDA

During that time, the hall of the Munich Hofbräuhaus acquired an almost sacred significance for us National Socialists. There was a meeting every week, almost always in that hall, and each time it was fuller than before, and the people more attentive!

Starting with 'War Guilt'–which no one at that time cared about-and the peace treaties, we addressed almost everything that either stirred up the audience or seemed ideologically necessary. We gave greatest attention to the peace treaties. Again and again, the young movement made prophecies to those great masses, and now nearly all of them have been fulfilled! Today it's easy to speak and write about these things. But in those days, a public

[142] See volume 1 of *Mein Kampf*, end of chapter 12 (12. 19-12.22).

mass meeting–not of petty bourgeoisie but agitated proletarians-with the topic 'The Peace Treaty of Versailles' meant an attack on the Republic and evidence of reactionary or monarchist tendencies.[143] The moment someone uttered the first criticism of the Versailles Treaty, one could expect an immediate and almost stereotyped reply: 'And Brest-Litovsk?' 'Brest-Litovsk?'[144] Again and again the crowd would murmur this, gradually swelling into a roar, until the speaker would have to give up his attempt to persuade them. One wanted to pound one's head against a wall in despair over these people! They would neither listen nor understand that Versailles was a scandal and a disgrace, a dictate that marked an unprecedented thievery of our people. The destructive work of the Marxists and the enemy's poisonous propaganda had robbed these people of their reason.

And we had no right to complain. The guilt on the other side was enormous! But what had our bourgeoisie done to call a halt to this terrible disintegration, to oppose it, and to open a way to the truth by giving a better and more thorough explanation? Nothing, and again nothing! At that time, the great folkish apostles of today were not to be seen. Perhaps they spoke to select groups at tea parties, or in their own little circles, but they never appeared where they should have been, namely, among the wolves; that is, unless there was a chance to howl with the pack.

As for myself, I then saw clearly that the question of war guilt had to be cleared up for the small kernel of our movement–and cleared up in light of historical truth. A pre-condition for future success of our movement was that it should impart knowledge of the peace treaty to the broadest masses. At the time, the masses viewed this peace as a success of democracy. Therefore we had to form a united front against it, and engrave ourselves into men's minds as an enemy of this treaty. Then, later on, when the harsh reality of this despicable swindle would be disclosed in all its

[143] The Treaty of Versailles was signed on 28 June 1919, and signaled the formal end of World War One. It imposed humiliating and onerous conditions on Germany, and was a source of never-ending disdain by many Germans.

[144] The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed on 3 March 1918. It marked Russia's withdrawal from World War One, and was cast in very favorable terms for Germany.

naked hatred, a recollection of our earlier position would earn us their confidence.

6.2 AGAINST THE TIDE

Even then I took my stand on those important fundamental questions where public opinion had gone completely wrong, and I opposed these wrong notions without regard for popularity, hatred, or struggle. The NSDAP shouldn't be the servant of public opinion, but rather must dominate it. It shouldn't become a slave of the masses, but rather master!

Especially for a weak movement, there's a natural temptation to conform to the tactics of a more powerful enemy, particularly when his tactics have succeeded in leading the people to insane conclusions or to adopt mistaken attitudes. This is particularly strong when reasons can be found–though they may be entirely illusory–that seem, to the young movement, to point towards the same ends. Human cowardice will then all the more readily adopt those arguments that give it a semblance of justification, from 'its own viewpoint,' for participating in such a crime.

On several occasions I have experienced such cases, in which the greatest energy was required to keep the ship of our movement from being swept into an artificial public tide, and indeed from being driven by it. The last time was when our infernal press-the Hecuba of the existence of the German nation[145]–succeeded in bringing the question of South Tyrol into a prominent position that was catastrophic for the German people. Without considering what interests they were serving, several so-called 'national' men, parties, and organizations joined in the general outcry, simply for fear of Jew-incited public opinion, and foolishly helped to support the struggle against a system that we Germans should, particularly in these days, consider as the sole ray of light in this degenerating world.

[145] Hecuba was the wife of Trojan King Priam in Homer's *The Iliad*. Hitler's phraseology here is unclear; perhaps it refers to the fact that Hecuba pleaded with her son Hector not to fight Achilles, thus mirroring the press' support for German capitulation. Both cases ended in disaster.

While the international world-Jew slowly but surely strangles us, our so-called patriots shout against a man and his system with the courage to free themselves from the shackles of Jewish Freemasonry, at least in one corner of the Earth, and to oppose nationalist resistance against this international world-poison. But weak characters were too tempted to sail with the wind and capitulate to the clamor of public opinion. And a capitulation it was! These men are such base liars that they won't even admit it to themselves, but it remains true that only cowardice and fear of public sentiment, aroused by the Jews, induced them to join in. All other reasons are only miserable excuses of little sinners who are conscious of their own guilt.

Thus it was necessary to grasp the movement with an iron hand, in order to save it from a path of ruin. Certainly an attempt at such change wasn't popular at the time, because the great flame of public opinion was burning in only one direction; and such a decision could sometimes be fatal. Not a few men in the course of history have been stoned for an act that posterity would later kneel down and thank them for.

It's on this posterity that a movement must depend, and not on the praises of the moment. It may well be that, in such hours, individuals have to endure anguish; but they shouldn't forget that, after such hours, salvation will come, and that a movement that wants to renew the world must serve the future and not the present.

6.3 POLITICS OF THE WIDE VIEW

On this point, it may be asserted that the greatest and most enduring successes in history are mostly those that were least understood at the beginning, because they were in strongest contrast to public opinion, to its views and will.

We experienced this when we made our own first public appearance. It can truthfully be said that we didn't 'court the favor of the masses' but rather always opposed the nonsense of these people. In those years, it nearly always happened that I faced an assembly of men who believed the oppose of what I wanted to say, and who wanted the opposite of what I believed. Then it took a

couple hours to persuade two or three thousand people to give up their former opinions–to shatter, blow by blow, the foundation of their views, and to eventually lead them over to our convictions and our worldview.

I quickly learned something important, namely, to snatch the enemy's weapons of reply from his own hands. One could soon see that our adversaries–especially the discussion leaders–were furnished with a definite ‘repertoire’ of arguments that were being constantly repeated. The uniform character of this procedure pointed to a deliberate and unified training. And so it was. We were thus able to recognize the incredible discipline of the enemy’s propaganda, and I’m proud to this day that I discovered a means, not only of making this propaganda ineffective, but of beating its makers with it. Two years later I was a master of this art.

In every speech that I made, it was important to clearly anticipate the probable form and matter of the counter-arguments to be expected in the discussion, and to dismantle them in the speech. It was thereby necessary to mention all the possible objections and show their inconsistency; this made it easier to win over an honest listener by disposing of all the doubts that had been imprinted on his memory. That which he had learned was automatically refuted, and this made him all the more attentive to the speech.

6.4 ENLIGHTENMENT ABOUT THE PEACE TREATIES

That was the reason why-after my first lecture on the ‘Peace Treaty of Versailles’ that I delivered to the troops while still a so-called ‘instructor’– I changed the lecture and henceforth spoke of the 'Treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Versailles.’ In the discussion after my first lecture, I quickly determined that people really knew nothing about the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and that clever party propaganda had succeeded in presenting it as one of the most scandalous acts of violence in the world. The persistent repetition of this lie to the broad masses caused millions of Germans to see

the Treaty of Versailles as a just retribution for the crime that we had committed at Brest-Litovsk. They considered all opposition to Versailles as unjust, and in many cases there was honest moral indignation. And this was also the reason why the shameless and monstrous word 'reparations' came into common use in Germany. This hypocritical lie appeared to millions of our exasperated fellow countrymen as the fulfillment of a higher justice. Terrible, but true.

The best proof of this was the propaganda that I initiated against Versailles by my enlightenment on the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. I compared the two treaties with one another, point by point, showing the immense humanity of the one treaty and the inhuman barbarity of the other–and the result was striking. When I spoke on this theme at meetings of 2,000 persons, I often saw 3,600 hostile eyes fixed on me. And yet, three hours later, I had in front of me a swaying mass of righteous indignation and fury. A great lie had once again been torn from the hearts and minds of a crowd of thousands, and a truth implanted in its place.

I considered the two lectures–'The True Causes of the World War' and 'The Peace Treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Versailles'–to be the most important of all. I therefore repeated them dozens of times, always giving them a new form until, at least on those points, a definitely clear and unanimous opinion emerged among those from whom our movement recruited its first members.

Furthermore, these gatherings gave me the benefit of gradually transforming myself into a speaker at mass meetings, and I became skilled in the pathos and gesture demanded by large halls with thousands of people.

Outside of the small circles that I mentioned, at that time I found no party engaged in explaining things to the people in this way. And yet today they speak as if *they* were the ones to bring about the change in public opinion. If a so-called nationalist politician spoke somewhere or other on this theme, it was only to circles of those who were already of the same conviction, and for whom his words were, at best, only a confirmation of their opinions. What was really needed was not this, but rather, by enlightenment and propaganda, to win over those whose education and opinion

placed them firmly in the enemy camp.

The leaflet was also put to use in this enlightenment. While still a soldier, I had written a leaflet in which I contrasted the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with that of Versailles, and it was distributed in large numbers. Later on I used it for the party, again with good success. The first meetings were distinguished by the tables covered with leaflets, newspapers, and pamphlets of every kind. But we relied mainly on the spoken word. And in fact, this is the only means of producing really great changes, for fundamental psychological reasons.

6.5 SPEECH MORE EFFECTIVE THAN WRITING

In the first volume, I have already stated that all the world-changing events were carried through, not by written text but rather the spoken word.[146] This prompted a long discussion in certain sections of the press, in which it was sharply attacked, especially by our clever bourgeoisie. But the reason for this confounded the skeptics. The bourgeois intellectuals protested against my view simply because they themselves did not have the power or ability to influence the masses through the spoken word; they always relied exclusively on literary activity, and renounced the real work of agitation through speech. In time, such habits led to that which distinguishes the bourgeoisie today, namely, the loss of the psychological instinct for mass effect and mass influence.

A speaker receives continuous feedback from the people he speaks to. He can always gauge, by the faces of his listeners, how far they follow and understand him, and whether his words are producing the desired effect. But the writer doesn't know his reader at all. Therefore, from the outset he must write in a general way, and cannot address a definite group before his eyes. Hence he must fail, to some extent, in psychological subtlety and flexibility. Therefore, in general, a brilliant speaker writes better than a brilliant writer can speak, unless he continually practices his art.

[146] See section 3.33.

One must also realize that the mass in itself is mentally inert, that it remains attached to its old habits and isn't naturally inclined to read something that doesn't conform to its own beliefs, especially when it doesn't contain what they hoped for. Therefore, an essay with a particular tendency is for the most part read only by those who are sympathetic. Only a leaflet or poster, by its brevity, can hope to arouse a momentary interest in those who think differently. The visual image, in all its forms, has better prospects–including films. Here there's even less need of intelligence; it suffices to simply look, or at most to read a short text, and hence many are quicker to accept a pictorial presentation than to read a lengthy essay. In a much shorter time–even in one stroke, I might say–people will understand a visual image, compared with the laborious effort required to read something.

The most important point, however, is that one never knows into whose hands a piece of literature will fall, and yet it must retain the same form.[147] In general, the effect is greater when the form corresponds to the reader's mental level and nature. A book that's meant for the broad masses must try, from the very start, to have an effect, both in style and level, quite different from a work intended for higher intellectual classes.

Only through its capacity for adaptability does writing approach speech. The speaker can deal with the same subject as a book, but if he is a brilliant popular orator, he will rarely repeat the same argument or the same material twice in the same form. He will always follow the lead of the broad masses in such a way that he will instinctively speak the words necessary to reach his audience's heart. Should he ever-so-slightly err, he has the living correction before him. As already said, he can read the facial expression of the audience to see, first, if they understand what he says, second, if they grasp the whole of his speech, and third, to what extent they are convinced of the correctness of what was said.

[147] This recalls Plato's critique of writing in *Phaedrus*: "And every word, when once it is written, is bandied about, alike among those who understand and those who have no interest in it, and it knows not to whom to speak, or not to speak" (275e).

If he sees–first–that they don't understand him, he will make his explanation so elementary and clear that even the last individual will understand; if–second–he feels that they cannot follow him, he will compose his ideas so carefully and slowly that even the weakest isn't left behind. And–third–if he feels that they aren't convinced by the soundness of his argument, he'll repeat it over and over again, always using new examples. He himself will state their unspoken objection. He'll repeat these objections, dissecting and refuting them, until the last oppositional group shows him, by their behavior and expression, that they have capitulated to his arguments.

Not infrequently, it's a case of overcoming ingrained prejudices that are mostly unconscious and are supported by emotion rather than reason. It's a thousand times harder to overcome this barrier of instinctive aversion, emotional hatred, and prejudiced dissent than to correct a faulty or erroneous scientific opinion. False ideas and ignorance may be removed by instruction. Emotional resistance, never. Only an appeal to these hidden forces themselves will be effective; and the writer can scarcely ever achieve this, but rather almost exclusively the speaker.

A very striking proof of this is found in the fact that, although we had a bourgeois press that, in many cases, was well-produced and had a circulation of millions, it couldn't prevent the broad masses from becoming the sharpest enemy of the bourgeois world. The deluge of newspapers and books produced annually by the intellectuals slide over the lower-class millions like water over oiled leather. This proves one of two things: either that the content offered in the bourgeois press was worthless, or that it's impossible to reach the heart of the broad masses solely by the written word. Especially so, where the written word shows such little psychological insight as is the case here.

6.6 MARXISM'S SUCCESS THROUGH SPEECH

It's useless to object here (as a large German-national paper in Berlin tried to do) that this statement is refuted by the fact that Marxism has exercised its greatest influence through its writings,

and especially through the fundamental work of Karl Marx. Seldom has a more superficial attempt been made for an erroneous view. What gave Marxism its amazing influence over the broad masses was not the formal writings of the Jewish system of ideas, but the tremendous oral propaganda carried on for years among the broad masses. Out of 100,000 German workers, scarcely 100 know of this work. It has been studied a thousand times more by intellectuals, and especially by Jews, than by the genuine followers of the movement from the lower classes. That work wasn't written for the broad masses, but exclusively for the intellectual leadership of the Jewish world-conquering machine; and it was fueled by quite a different stuff: the press.

This is what differentiates the Marxist press from the bourgeois. The Marxist press is written by agitators, whereas the bourgeois press would like to carry on agitation by means of writers. The Social-Democrat journalist, who almost always went directly from the meeting hall to the newspaper office, knows his public like no one else. But the bourgeois writer who leaves his desk to appear before the broad masses becomes ill by the very odor of the crowd, and helplessly confronts them with the written word.

What won over millions of workers to Marxism was not the literary style of the Marxist church fathers but the formidable and truly powerful propaganda work of tens of thousands of indefatigable agitators, beginning with the great agitator and on down to the smallest trade-union official, shop steward, and platform speaker. The hundreds of thousands of meetings where these speakers, standing on tables in smoky taverns, hammered their ideas into the heads of the masses, led to an admirable knowledge of the human material they had to win over. In this way, they were able to select the best weapons for their assault on the citadel of public opinion. Furthermore, there were the gigantic mass-demonstrations, with their hundred-thousand-man processions, that impressed upon the small-hearted individual the proud conviction that, though a small worm, he was at the same time a cell of the great dragon, before whose devastating breath the hated bourgeois world would one day be consumed in fire and flame, and the dictatorship of the proletariat would celebrate its

final victory.

Such propaganda influenced men so as to make them prepared and ready to read the Social Democratic press–a press, however, that's a vehicle for the spoken rather than written word. Whereas in the bourgeois camp, professors and scholars, theorists and authors of all kinds, attempt to speak, in the Marxist movement speakers sometimes try to write. And it's precisely the Jew who, because of his lying dialectical skill and subtlety in general, is an effective writer, but in reality his role is that of an agitational speaker rather than a creative writer.

That's the reason why the journalistic bourgeois world (aside from the fact that it also is, in large part, Jewified, and therefore has no interest in instructing the broad masses) is unable to exert even the slightest influence over the opinions of the broadest section of our people.

6.7 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONDITIONS OF EFFECTIVE SPEECH

It's difficult to remove emotional prejudices, psychological bias, feelings, etc., and to put others in their place. Success depends on imponderable conditions and influences. The sensitive speaker recognizes that even the time of day at which the speech is delivered has a decisive influence on its results. The same speech, made by the same speaker and on the same theme, will have an entirely different effect at 10:00 in the morning, 3:00 in the afternoon, or in the evening.

As a beginner, I myself first arranged meetings in the morning, and I particularly remember a rally that we held in the Munich Kindl-Keller[148] as a protest 'against the oppression of German territories.' It was then the largest hall in Munich, and our audacity was great. I set the time for 10:00 on a Sunday morning, in order to make it easy for the members of our movement and others to

[148] The Kindl-Keller was located roughly at #15 Rosenheimer Strasse, just across the lsar River from central Munich, and the present site of a Hilton hotel. It could hold up to 5,000 people. The building was demolished in the late 1960s. The meeting in question was probably held in late 1920.

attend. The result was depressing, but very instructive: The hall was full, and the impression was profound, but the general feeling was ice cold; no one warmed up, and I myself, as the speaker, felt profoundly unhappy at being unable to establish the slightest contact with my audience. I don't think I spoke worse than before; but the effect was practically zero. I left the hall wholly dissatisfied, but also richer by experience. Later on I tried the same kind of experiment, but with the same result.

This was no surprise. If one goes to a theater to see a performance at 3:00 in the afternoon, and then attends an evening performance of the same play, one is astounded at the difference in the impressions and effect. A person with sensitive feelings and the capacity to see things clearly will recognize at once the fact that the performance's impression in the afternoon isn't nearly as great as in the evening. The same is true of motion pictures. This is important because one may say of the theater that perhaps the actor makes less of an effort in the afternoon than in the evening. But a film is no different in the afternoon than at 9:00 in the evening. No, the time itself exercises a distinct influence, just as the hall does on me. There are rooms that leave one cold, for reasons that are difficult to explain, and that somehow refuse to allow a favorable atmosphere. Also, traditional memories and images that exist in someone can have a determining influence on the impression. Thus, a presentation of *Parsifal* at Bayreuth will have an effect quite different than anywhere else in the world. The mysterious charm of that House on the Festspielhügel in the old city of the margraves cannot be equaled or substituted anywhere else.

In all these cases we are dealingwith the problem of influencing man's freedom of will. And this mostly applies to meetings where there are those whose wills are opposed to the speaker, and who must be won over to a new will. In the morning and during the day, it seems that human willpower rebels most energetically against any attempt to impose the will or opinion of another upon it. On the other hand, in the evening it more easily succumbs to the domination of a stronger will. Truly, such assemblies are a wrestling match between two opposing forces. The superior

rhetorical art of a masterly preacher will succeed better in winning over to a new will those who have naturally been subjected to a weakening of their forces of resistance, than those who are in full possession of their intellectual and volitional energies

The same goal is served by the mysterious artificial dimness of the Catholic churches, in the burning candles, the incense, the censers, etc.

In this wrestling match between the speaker and the opponent whom he wants to convert, he attains this marvelous sensitivity to the psychological influences of propaganda that the writer almost always lacks. Generally speaking, the effect of writing helps more to conserve, reinforce, and deepen the foundations of a pre-existing viewpoint. All really great historical changes weren't produced by the written word, but rather, at most, were accompanied by it.

Let no one believe that the French Revolution could have been carried out by philosophizing theories if they hadn't found an army of agitators led by demagogues of the grand style, who inflamed popular passions that had been already aroused, until that terrible volcanic eruption finally broke out and convulsed the whole of Europe. And the same happened in the greatest revolutionary upheaval of recent times–the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia–which wasn't due to Lenin's writings but rather to the hate-filled speeches of innumerable lesser and greater apostles of agitation.[149]

The illiterate masses weren't aroused to Communist revolutionary enthusiasm by the theoretical writings of Karl Marx but rather by the promises of paradise made to the people by thousands of agitators in the service of an idea.

Thus it has always been, and so it will remain.

[149] The Bolshevik Revolution occurred during 7-8 November 1917. It brought Lenin, Stalin, and Trotsky to power in Russia. The Revolution led directly to the creation of the Soviet Union some five years later.

6.8 BETHMANN AND LLOYD GEORGE AS SPEAKERS

It's typical of our stubborn German intellectuals, who live in another world, to think that a writer must necessarily be smarter than a speaker. This viewpoint was once exquisitely illustrated by a criticism published in the above-mentioned national newspaper, where it was stated that one is often disillusioned by reading the speech of an acknowledged great speaker in print. This reminded me of another article that came into my hands during the War; it dealt with the speeches of Lloyd George, who was then Minister of Munitions, and painstakingly examined them under a microscope.[150] It made the brilliant statement that these speeches showed inferior intelligence and learning, and that they were banal and commonplace productions. I myself procured a small booklet of these speeches, and had to laugh at the fact that an ordinary German pencil-pusher didn't understand in the least these psychological masterpieces in the art of influencing the masses. This man criticized these speeches exclusively according to the impression they made on his own blasé mind, whereas the great English demagogue had produced an immense effect on his audience through them, and in the widest sense on the whole of the English commoners. Seen from this viewpoint, this Englishman's speeches were the most wonderful achievements precisely because they showed an astounding knowledge of the soul of the broad masses of people. Their effect was truly stunning.

Compare them to the futile stammerings of a Bethmann-Hollweg. On the surface his speeches were apparently wittier, but they just proved this man's inability to speak to the people, whom he really didn't know. Nevertheless, the average bird-brained German writer–who is equipped, of course, with a lot of formal

[150] David Lloyd George (1863-1945) was Minister of Munitions from May 1915 until June 1916, when he was promoted to Secretary of War. He would go on to serve as Prime Minister from December 1916 until October 1922.

training–judges the intelligence of the English minister's speeches for influencing the masses by the impression they made on his own calcified mind. And he compares them to the brilliant chatter of the German statesman, which naturally finds more receptive soil in him. That the genius of Lloyd George was not only equal but a thousand-times superior to that of a Bethmann-Hollweg is proven by the fact that he found a form and expression for his speeches that opened his peoples' hearts to him, and made them carry out his will absolutely. It was precisely the primitive quality of those speeches, the originality of his expressions, and his choice of clear and simple examples that proved the superior political ability of this Englishman. One must never judge a statesman's speech to his people by the impression it leaves on some university professor, but by the effect it produces on the people. And this is the sole criterion of the speaker's genius.

6.9 NECESSITY OF MASS MEETINGS

The astonishing development of our movement–which was created from nothing a few years ago and is today singled out for persecution by all internal and external enemies of our nation–must be attributed to the constant recognition and application of these principles.

A movement's literature is also important, but even more important is an equal and uniform training for the higher–and lower-level leaders, rather than converting the adversarial masses. Only in the rarest cases will a convinced Social Democrat or fanatical communist be induced to acquire an understanding of our world-conception, or to study it critically on his own, by procuring and reading one of our pamphlets or even one of our books. Even a newspaper is rarely read if it doesn't bear the party stamp. Moreover, the reading of newspapers is of little use, because the general picture given by a single newspaper is so confused and fragmentary in its effect that it really doesn't influence the reader. And when one has to count his pennies, it cannot be assumed that he will become a regular subscriber of an opposing paper simply to be objectively informed. Hardly one in ten thousand will do so.

Only one who has already joined a movement will regularly read the party organ, and then only to keep up on the news of the movement.

It's totally different with the 'spoken' leaflet! Especially if given for free, it will be taken up by one person or another, and all the more if the headline is a topic on everyone's lips. Perhaps the reader, after having perused such a leaflet more or less thoughtfully, will have new viewpoints and attitudes, even toward a new movement. But these, even in the best case, will only provide the slightest impulse, and nothing definitive. The leaflet can do nothing more than draw attention to something, and can become effective only by subsequently causing the reader to become more fundamentally informed and educated. This is, and will always be, the mass meeting.

Mass meetings are also necessary for the reason that, in attending them, the individual who formerly felt ambiguous about joining the new movement, and began to feel isolated and lonely, now for the first time acquires a picture of a great community; this has a strengthening and encouraging effect on most people. The same man, in a company or battalion, surrounded by his companions, will march to battle with a lighter heart than if he had to march alone. In the crowd, he feels himself in some way thus sheltered, though in reality there are a thousand arguments against it.

Mass demonstration communities not only reinforce the individual but they also bind him and help to create an esprit de corps. The man who appears as the first advocate of a new doctrine in his workplace or factory needs that reinforcement which comes from the conviction that he's a member of a great community. And only a mass demonstration can impress this upon him. If, upon leaving the small workshop or the big factory, in which he feels very small, he enters a vast assembly for the first time and sees around him thousands and thousands of men who hold the same opinions; if, while still a seeker, he's gripped by the force of suggestive intoxication that comes from the excitement and enthusiasm of three or four thousand other men; if the visible success and consensus of thousands confirm the correctness of the

new teaching and for the first time raise doubts about the truth of his prior opinions-then he submits himself to the magic influence of what we call mass-suggestion. The will, the yearning, and indeed the power of thousands are accumulated in each individual. A man who enters such a meeting in doubt and hesitation, leaves it inwardly fortified: he has become a member of a community.

The National Socialist movement should never forget this, and it should never allow itself to be influenced by these bourgeois simpletons who think they know everything but who have foolishly gambled away a great State–along with their own existence and the rule of their own class. Yes, they are enormously skilled, they know everything, they understand everything–except how to prevent the German people from falling into the arms of Marxism. In this they failed most miserably and wretchedly, such that their present conceit is mere arrogance; pride and stupidity are fruits of the same tree.

If today these people try to disparage the importance of the spoken word, they do it only because they now realize–thank God–the futility of all their own speechmaking.

CHAPTER 7
CONFLICT WITH THE RED FRONT

In 1919-20, and also in 1921, I attended some of the so-called bourgeois meetings. It invariably had the same effect on me as the compulsory dose of castor oil in my youth. It has to be taken because it's supposed to be good for you, but it tastes terrible! If it were possible to rope together the German people and forcibly drag them to these bourgeois 'demonstrations,' keeping them there behind locked doors and allowing no one to leave, then it might prove successful in a few hundred years. Of course, I must frankly admit that, in such a case, life wouldn't be worth living, and I'd rather not be a German at all. But since–thank God–all this is impossible, it's no wonder that the healthy, unspoiled people shun these 'bourgeois mass meetings' as the devil shuns holy water.

7.1 BOURGEOIS 'MASS MEETINGS'

I came to know these prophets of the bourgeois worldview, and I wasn't surprised, as I knew why they attached such little importance to the spoken word. At that time, I attended meetings of the Democrats, the German Nationalists, the German People's Party, and the Bavarian People's Party (the Bavarian Center). The homogeneous uniformity of the audience was striking. Nearly always they were made up exclusively of party members. The whole thing was more like a yawning card game than an assembly of people who had just gone through a great revolution.

The speakers did all they could to maintain this peaceful mood. They spoke–or rather, read out–their speeches in the style of an intellectual newspaper article or a learned treatise, avoiding all

strong expressions. Here and there, they threw in a feeble professorial joke, whereupon the honorable ones felt themselves obliged to laugh; not loudly or provocatively, but encouragingly and with subdued reserve.

What a committee!

I once saw a meeting in Munich's Wagner Hall; it was a demonstration to celebrate the anniversary of the Battle of Nations at Leipzig.[151] The speech was delivered or read by a venerable old professor from one of the universities. The committee sat on the platform. One monocle on the left, another monocle on the right, and in the center, one with no monocle. All three were scrupulously attired, and one had the impression of attending a judge's panel deliberating on a death penalty, or some baptism; in any case, it was more like a religious ceremony.

The so-called speech, which might have read well in printed form, had a disastrous effect. After 45 minutes the audience fell into a sort of hypnotic trance, which was interrupted only when some man or woman left the hall, or by the clatter of the waitresses, or by the increasing yawns. I posted myself behind three workmen who were present either out of curiosity or because they were working there. From time to time, they glanced at one another with an ill-concealed grin, nudged one another with the elbow, and then silently left the hall. One could see that they had no intention whatsoever of interrupting the event. And in this company, it really wasn't necessary.

Finally the meeting seemed to be drawing to a close. After the professor, whose voice had meanwhile become more and more inaudible, finally ended his speech, the chairman-the one between the two monocle-wearers–delivered a rousing address to the assembled 'German sisters' and 'brothers.' He expressed his gratitude for the magnificent lecture that they had just heard from

[151] Known simply as the Battle of Leipzig, this conflict, of October 1813, resulted in a Prussian-Russian alliance defeat of Napoleon and his allied forces (which included Rhineland Germans). It was Napoleon's first major military defeat, setting the stage for his initial exile to Elba the following year. The date was celebrated for decades afterward as a victory of German sovereignty and self-determination. The precise location of the "Wagner Hall" on Sonnenstrasse is uncertain, but the meeting in question apparently occurred sometime around October 1921.

Professor X, and emphasized how it was in the truest sense an ‘inner experience’ and even an ‘achievement.’ Any further discussion on the lecture would be tantamount to profanity, and therefore, speaking for all present, he would dispense with it. Instead, he would ask the assembly to rise from their seats and call out: “We are all united in our brotherhood,” etc. Finally he closed the meeting by asking everyone to sing the *Deutschland* song.

And then they sang, and it seemed to me that when the second verse came, the voices were fewer, and that they only swelled loudly with the refrain. By the third verse, my belief strengthened that most of those present weren’t very familiar with the text.

But what does this matter, if such a song is sung wholeheartedly and fervidly by an assembly of German nationals!

Thereupon the meeting broke up, and everyone hurried to get outside–some to their beer, some to a cafe, and others simply into the fresh air.

Yes indeed, out into the fresh air! That was also my feeling. And was this the way to honor a heroic struggle in which hundreds of thousands of Prussians and Germans had fought? To the devil with it all!

Such a thing might find favor with the government. It was merely a ‘peaceful’ meeting. The minister for law and order need not fear that enthusiasm might suddenly get the better of public decorum; that suddenly, in a frenzy, these people might pour out of the room and, instead of heading to beer halls and cafes, march in rows of four through the streets, singing *Deutschland hoch in Ehren* and causing some unpleasantness to a police force in need of rest.[152]

No, they are quite satisfied with that kind of citizen.

7.2 DESPICABLE RED POSTERS

On the other hand, National Socialist meetings were by no means ‘peaceful.’ Two distinct worldviews raged in bitter opposition to one another, and these meetings didn't close with the

[152] “Germany High in Honor”; a patriotic song written by Ludwig Bauer in 1859.

insipid rendering of a patriotic song but rather with a passionate outbreak of folkish national feeling.

It was imperative from the start to introduce rigid discipline into our meetings and establish the absolute authority of the committee. Our speeches weren't the weak dishwater of some bourgeois 'speaker,' but rather, in content and form, intended to arouse our opponents! And there were opponents in our meetings! How often they came in masses, with a few individual agitators among them and, judging by their expressions, with the conviction: Today we'll finish you off!

Yes, how often did they show up, literally in columns, our Red friends, with instructions to smash up everything once and for all and put an end to these meetings! And how often did everything hang by a thread, with only the committee's ruthless determination and rough handling by our guards to thwart our opponents' intentions.

And they had every reason to be irritated.

Merely the red color of our posters drew them to our meeting halls. The ordinary bourgeoisie were shocked to see that we had also chosen the red of Bolshevism, and they regarded this as something dubiously ambiguous. The suspicion was whispered among German nationalist souls that we also were merely another variety of Marxism, perhaps even Marxists, or better still, socialists in disguise. The actual difference between socialism and Marxism still remains a mystery to these people. The specter of Marxism was conclusively 'proven' when it was discovered that we deliberately substituted the words 'national country-men and–women' for 'ladies and gentlemen' at our meetings, and addressed each other as party comrade. How often we roared with laughter at these silly faint-hearted bourgeoisie and their efforts to figure out our origin, intentions, and aims.

We chose red for our posters after thorough and careful deliberation, our intention being to irritate the Left, so as to arouse their attention and drive them to our meetings–if only to break them up–so that we had a chance to talk to the people.

7.3 VACILLATING TACTICS OF THE MARXISTS

In those years, it was indeed a delight to follow the vacillating tactics of our perplexed and helpless adversaries. First they appealed to their followers to ignore us and keep away from our meetings.

Generally speaking, they heeded this appeal.

But as time went on, more and more of their followers gradually found their way to us and accepted our doctrine. Then the leaders became nervous and uneasy; they clung to their belief that such a development shouldn't be ignored forever, and that it must be ended through terror.

Appeals were then made to the 'class-conscious proletariat' to attend our meetings in masses, and to strike at the representatives of a 'monarchist and reactionary agitation' with the clenched fist of the proletarian.

Our meetings suddenly became packed with workers, fully threequarters of an hour in advance. These resembled a powder keg ready to explode at any moment, with a burning fuse at hand. But it always turned out differently. People came as enemies and, when they left, if not ready to join us, were at least in a reflective mood and thinking critically about the correctness of their own doctrine. Gradually over time, my three-hour lectures resulted in supporters and opponents united into a single mass. Any signal to break up the meeting failed. The result was that the opposition leaders became frightened and once again looked for help to those who had formerly disallowed these tactics and, with some justification, had been of the opinion that workers should be forbidden to attend our meetings, on principle.

Then they stopped coming, or only in small numbers. But after awhile, the whole game started over again.

The prohibition was ignored, and comrades came in steadily increasing numbers, until finally the advocates of the radical tactic won the day. We had to be broken up.

Then, after two, three, and often eight or ten meetings, it was realized that breaking them up was easier said than done. Every meeting resulted in a decisive weakening of the Red fighting

forces, and then suddenly the other catchword was reintroduced: ‘Proletarians, comrades! Avoid meetings of the National Socialist agitators!’

The same eternally alternating tactics were also found in the Red press. Soon they tried to silence us, but discovered the uselessness of this effort, and then they tried the opposite. Daily ‘reference’ was made to us solely for the purpose of absolutely ridiculing us in the eyes of the workers. After a while these gentlemen must have figured out that no harm was being done to us, and that, on the contrary, we were reaping an advantage in that people were asking themselves why so much space was being devoted to this supposedly–absurd phenomenon. People became curious. Suddenly there was a change of tactics, and for a time we were treated as veritable criminals against mankind. In article after article, our criminal intentions were explained and proved over and over, and scandalous tales–all of them fabricated from A to Z–were expected to do the rest. But after a short time even these attacks proved ineffective; and in fact they assisted us because they concentrated public attention on us.

At that time I took up the standpoint: It’s immaterial whether they laugh at us or revile us, whether they depict us as fools or criminals; the main thing is that they take notice of us. Thus, that they concern themselves with us again and again, and that we come to be regarded by the workers as the only force to be reckoned with. What we really are, and what we really want, we'll show the Jewish press hounds when the time is right.

One reason why they never got so far as to break up our meetings was undoubtedly the incredible cowardice displayed by the opposition leaders. On every critical occasion, they left the dirty work to the small-timers while they waited outside for the results of the break-up.

We were exceptionally well-informed in regard to these gentlemen’s intentions. Not only because we allowed several of our party colleagues to remain members of the Red organizations for reasons of expediency, but also because the Red wire-pullers, fortunately for us, were afflicted with a degree of talkativeness that is still unfortunately very prevalent among Germans. They

couldn't keep their mouths shut, and more often than not started cackling before the egg was laid. Hence, time and again our precautions were such that the Red agitators had no idea of how near they were to being thrown out.

7.4 ILLEGAL POLICE ACTIVITY

The times compelled us to take the defense of our meetings into our own hands; one can never depend on the protection of the authorities; on the contrary, experience shows that it always favors only the disturbers. The only real outcome of police intervention was that the meeting would be dissolved, that is, closed. And that was the sole aim and purpose of the opposing agitators.

Generally speaking, this led the police to adopt a procedure that was the most monstrous form of official injustice conceivable. The moment they were informed of a threat that a meeting was to be broken up, instead of arresting the would-be disturbers, they promptly advised the innocent parties that the meeting was forbidden. What's more, the mediocre police mind was proud of such wisdom. This step they called a 'precautionary measure for the prevention of illegality.'

The political work and activities of decent people could therefore always be hindered by desperate gangsters. In the name of law and order, State authority bows down to these gangsters and demands that others shouldn't provoke them. When National Socialists wanted to hold meetings in certain places and the labor unions declared that their members would resist, the police didn't jail these blackmailers but rather forbade our meeting. Yes, this organ of the law had the unbelievable impudence to inform us of this in writing, on innumerable occasions.

To avoid such eventualities, it was therefore necessary to see to it that every attempt at disturbance was nipped in the bud.

Another feature had to be considered: All meetings that rely on police protection must necessarily discredit their promoters in the eyes of the broad masses. Meetings that are only possible with the protective assistance of a strong police force convert no one, because in order to win over the lower strata of the people, there

must be a visible display of one's own strength.

In the same way that a courageous man will win a woman's heart more easily than a coward, so a heroic movement will be more successful in winning over the hearts of a people than a weak movement that's kept alive only by police protection.

7.5 PSYCHOLOGICALLY CORRECT MEETING MANAGEMENT

It's for this latter reason in particular that our young party was charged with the responsibility of assuring its own existence, of defending itself, and of smashing the enemy terror.

Meeting protection was based on the following: (1) An energetic and psychologically judicious way of conducting the meeting; (2) organized troops to maintain order.

If we National Socialists held a meeting in those days, we were its masters and no one else. And we emphasized this master right every minute. Our opponents fully realized that anyone creating a provocation would be ruthlessly thrown out, even if we were only a dozen against half a thousand.

At meetings, particularly outside Munich, we had in those days 15 or 16 National Socialists against five-, six-, seven-, or eight-hundred opponents. But we tolerated no interference, and the attendees knew that we would rather be beaten to death than capitulate. More than once, a handful of party colleagues offered heroic resistance to a raging and violent Red mob.

Those 15 or 20 men would certainly have been overwhelmed in the end. But the others knew that three or four times as many of them would have had their heads bashed, and they weren't willing to chance it.

We had done our best to learn from Marxist and bourgeois meeting techniques, and learn we did.

7.6 MARXIST AND BOURGEOIS MEETING TECHNIQUES

The Marxists always exercised the most rigid discipline, and thus the question of breaking up a Marxist meeting could never have originated in the bourgeoisie. This gave the Reds all the more reason for acting on this plan. In time they not only became virtuosos in this art, but in certain large districts of the Reich they went so far as to declare that non-Marxist meetings were nothing less than a proletarian provocation; especially so, when the wire-pullers suspected that a meeting might call attention to their own sins and thus expose their own treachery and lies.

Therefore the moment a bourgeois meeting was announced, a howl of rage went up from the Red press. These detractors of the law nearly always turned first to the authorities and requested, in urgent and threatening language, that this 'provocation of the proletariat' be stopped forthwith in the 'interests of law and order.' Their language was chosen to fit the official blockhead that they were dealing with, and thus success was assured. If by chance the official happened to be a true German-and not a mere dolt–and he declined the impudent request, then a widely–circulated appeal to stop the 'provocation of the proletariat' was issued, together with instructions to attend such and such a meeting on a certain date, in full strength, for the purpose of 'putting a stop to the disgraceful bourgeois activity by means of the proletarian fist.'

One simply had to witness such a bourgeois meeting, and see its leaders in all their miserable fear! Very often, such threats were sufficient to call off a meeting at once. The fear was always so great that the meeting, instead of commencing at 8:00 pm, very seldom was opened before 8:45 or 9 :00. The chairman thereupon did his best, by showering 29 compliments on the 'gentleman of the opposition,' to prove how he and all others present were pleased (a bald lie!) to welcome a visit from men who as yet were not in sympathy with them, for the reason that only by mutual discussion (immediately agreed to) could they be brought closer together in mutual understanding. He incidentally also assured them that the meeting had no intention whatsoever of interfering

with anyone's professed convictions. No indeed, everyone had the right to form and hold his own political views, as long as others were allowed to do likewise. He therefore requested that the speaker be allowed to deliver his speech without interruption-the speech wouldn't be long, in any case. Thus the world wouldn't come to regard this meeting as another shameful example of the internal raging hatred among German brothers… Brrr.

The brothers on the Left had little if any appreciation for that; before the speaker had even begun, he was shouted down, and not seldom, one had the impression that such speakers were grateful to Fate for quickly ending the painful procedure. These bourgeois toreadors left the arena amidst a monstrous uproar, or they were thrown down the stairs with cracked heads, which was very often the case.

Therefore, it was something quite new to the Marxists when we National Socialists organized our first meetings–and especially how we organized them. They came to our meetings in the belief that the little game they had so often played could be also repeated on us. "Today we'll finish you off!" How often did they boast this to each other upon entering our meeting, only to be thrown out with lightning speed before they had time to repeat it.

In the first place, our meeting committee was entirely different. No one courteously begged the audience for the right to speak, and we refused to give anyone the right to hold endless discussions. We simply stated that we were masters of the meeting, that we would do as we pleased, and that anyone who dared to interrupt would be unceremoniously thrown out. We further stated our refusal to accept responsibility for any such person; and if time permitted and if it suited us, we would allow a discussion; if not, then none, and Mr. Speaker So-and-so would now give his speech.

This in itself astonished them.

7.7 NATIONAL SOCIALIST SECURITY TROOP

Secondly, we had at our disposal a well-organized hall guard. With the bourgeois parties, the hall guard–or better, security service-were mostly gentlemen who, by virtue of their age,

thought they were entitled to authority and respect. But as the Marxist–incited masses have little respect for age or authority, these bourgeois hall-guards were all but non-existent.

When our large meetings first began, I made a special point to organize a suitable hall guard in the form of a security service, composed chiefly of young men. Some of them were comrades who I knew from military service, and others were new party members who, right from the start, had been trained and instructed to realize that only terror is capable of smashing terror–that only courageous and determined men had succeeded in this world, and that we were fighting for an idea so great and noble that it was worth the last drop of our blood. They were trained to realize that when force replaced common sense, the best means of defense was attack, and that the reputation of our security troops marked us as a combat group and not a debating club.

And how eagerly did this youth yearn for such an order!

How disillusioned and outraged was this war generation, how full of disgust and revulsion at bourgeois cowardice!

Thus it became clear to everyone that the Revolution had only been possible thanks to the disastrous bourgeois leadership of our people. At that time, there was certainly no lack of fists to suppress the Revolution, but unfortunately there was an entire lack of effective brain power. How often did the eyes of my young men light up with enthusiasm when I explained to them the vital nature of their mission, and assured them time and again that all earthly wisdom is useless unless it's supported by a measure of strength, that the gentle Goddess of Peace can only walk in company with the God of War, and that every great act of peace must be protected and assisted by force! How much more vital did the idea of military service now become! Not in the calcified sense of decrepit officials serving the dead authority of a dead State, but in the living realization of the duty of each man to sacrifice his life, to fight for the existence of his people, forever and always, at all times and in all places.

How those young men did their job!

Like a swarm of hornets they tackled the disrupters at our meetings, regardless of superiority of numbers, however great,

indifferent to wounds and bloodshed, inspired with the great idea of creating a free path for the sacred mission of our movement.

Already in midsummer of 1920, the organization of security troops was gradually assuming a definite shape, and by the spring of 1921 they were partitioned by hundreds, which in turn were sub-divided into smaller groups.

This was urgently necessary because our meeting activity had steadily increased. We still frequently met in the Festsaal of the Munich Hofbräuhaus, but more often in the larger city halls. In the autumn and winter of 1920- 21, our meetings in the Bürgerbräu and Munich Kindl-Keller had become more massive, and the picture was always the same: NSDAP demonstrations were always overcrowded, so that the police had to close the doors before they even began.

7.8 OLD AND NEW BLACK-RED-GOLD

The organization of our security troop cleared up a very difficult question. Until then the movement possessed no party symbol and also no party flag. The lack of these symbols was not only a disadvantage at the time but was intolerable for the future. The disadvantages were chiefly that party members possessed no outward sign of their common bond, and it was absolutely unthinkable for the future that they should remain without a symbol of the movement that could be opposed to the International.

More than once in my youth, I recognized the psychological importance of such a symbol, and it was emotionally advisable as well. After the War, I was at a Marxist mass-demonstration in Berlin, in front of the Royal Palace and the Lustgarten. A sea of red flags, red scarves, and red flowers was in itself sufficient to give that huge assembly of about 120,000 persons an outward appearance of strength. I could feel and understand how easily the man in the street succumbs to the hypnotic magic of such a grandiose spectacle.

The bourgeoisie–which, as a party, neither represents nor advocates any worldview–had therefore no flag of its own. Their

party consisted of ‘patriots’ who went around in the Reich colors. If these colors were the symbol of a definite worldview, then one could understand the rulers of the State regarding this flag as expressive of it, seeing that, through their efforts, the official Reich flag came to symbolize their own worldview.

But this wasn’t the case.

The Reich was formed without the aid of the German bourgeoisie, and the flag itself was born of the War. Hence it was merely a State flag, possessing no importance in the sense of any particular philosophical mission.

Only in one part of the German-speaking territory–in German-Austria–was there anything like a bourgeois party flag in evidence. Here a section of the national bourgeoisie selected the 1848 colors–black, red, and gold–for their party flag, and thereby created a symbol that, though of no importance from a philosophical viewpoint, nevertheless had a revolutionary political character. The sharpest opponents of this black-red-gold flag at that time-and this shouldn't be forgotten today-were the Social Democrats and the Christian Socialists or Clericals. It was those in particular who degraded and besmirched these colors, in the same way that they dragged the black-white-red into the gutter in 1918.[153]

In any case, the black-red-gold of the German parties in the old Austria were the colors of 1848–that’s to say, of a period likely to be regarded as somewhat idealistic, but it was represented by honest German souls. Although even then, the Jew was lurking in the background as an invisible wire-puller. It was thus high treason and a shameful sell-out of the German people and German treasure that initially made these colors so attractive to the Marxists and the Center; so much so that today they revere them as their most cherished possession, and use them as a protection

[153] The black-red-gold colors were originally adopted by the Frankfurt Parliament in 1848–essentially identical to the present-day flag. When Bismarck became Chancellor of the German Reich in 1871, he adopted the North German Confederation colors of black-red-white. The Weimar regime reverted to the black-red-gold in 1919, following defeat in WWI. Hitler restored the black-red-white scheme, in the form of the swastika insignia, from 1933 until Germany's defeat in 1945 . The post-war German government then switched back, yet again, to the black-red-gold.

of the flag they once spat on.

Until 1920, then, there was no flag to confront Marxism that would have represented its philosophical polar opposite. After 1918, even the best parties of the German bourgeoisie were loath to accept the suddenly-discovered black-red-gold colors as their symbol. They themselves were incapable of counteracting this with a future program of their own that would oppose this new development. At best, they had in mind a reconstruction of the old Reich.

The black-white-red banner of the old Reich is indebted to this idea for its resurrection, as the flag of our so-called national bourgeois parties.

It's obvious that the symbol of a State that was overthrown by the Marxists under inglorious circumstances is now unworthy to serve as a banner under which this same Marxism is to be destroyed in turn. As sacred and beloved as these old colors must be, in their youthful freshness, to every decent German who has fought under them and witnessed the sacrifice of so many lives, that flag is worthless as a symbol for a struggle for the future.

Unlike our bourgeois politicians, I've always adopted the standpoint in our movement that it was true good fortune for the German nation to have lost its old flag. It doesn't matter to us what the Republic does under its flag. But let us be deeply grateful to Fate for having so graciously spared the most glorious war flag for all time from becoming a bed sheet for prostitution. The [Weimar] Reich of today, which sells-out itself and its people, must never be allowed to adopt the honorable and heroic black-white-red colors.

As long as the November outrage endures, let it continue to bear its own external sign and not steal that of an honorable past. Our bourgeois politicians should awaken their consciences to the fact that whoever desires this black-white-red flag for the State is pilfering from the past. The old flag was suitable only for the old Reich, just as–thank God–the Republic chose the colors best suited to itself.

7.9 THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST FLAG

This was also the reason why we National Socialists recognized that hoisting the old flag would not symbolize our own activity. We had no wish to resurrect the old Reich from the dead, which had been ruined through its own blunders, but to build up a new State.

The movement that's fighting Marxism today along these lines must display the symbol of the new State on its banner.

The question of the new flag–that's to say, its appearance–kept us very busy in those days. Suggestions poured in from all sides, which, although well-meant, were more or less impractical. The new banner not only had to symbolize our own struggle, but on the other hand it had to prove effective as a poster. Anyone who concerns himself with the masses will recognize the great importance of these apparently petty matters. In thousands of cases, a striking emblem may be the first cause of awakening interest in a movement.

For this reason, we declined all suggestions, by means of a white flag, for identifying our movement with the old State; or rather, with those decrepit parties whose sole political objective is the restoration of past conditions. Besides, white is not a stirring color. It's suitable only for young women's associations and not for ground-breaking movements in a revolutionary time.

Black was also suggested: certainly well-suited to the times, but nothing to embody the will of our movement. In the end, this color is also not stirring enough.

White and blue were discarded, despite their admirable aesthetic appeal as the colors of an individual German State, because of their orientation toward a particularist narrow-mindedness that had a bad reputation. And here too, it would have been hard to attract attention to our movement. The same applies to black and white.

Black-red-gold were completely out of the question.

So were black-white-red, for reasons already stated-at least, in the form previously used. But the effectiveness of these colors is far superior to all the others. They are the most strikingly

harmonious combination to be found.

I myself was always for keeping the old colors, not only because I, as a soldier, regarded them as my most sacred possession, but because in their aesthetic effect, they are the most compatible with my own feeling. Accordingly I had to discard all the innumerable designs that had been proposed for the new movement, including many that had incorporated the swastika into the old banner. I, as leader, was unwilling to make public my own design, as it was possible that someone else could come forward with one that was just as good, if not better, than my own. As a matter of fact, a dentist from Starnberg submitted a good design, very similar to mine, with only one mistake, in that his swastika with curved arms was set upon a white background.

After innumerable trials, I myself decided upon a final form: a banner of red material with a white disc, and a black swastika in the middle. After many trials, I found the correct proportions between the dimensions of the flag and the white disc, as well as the shape and thickness of the swastika.

And this is how it has remained.

Along the same lines, we immediately ordered armbands for our security squad: similar red material with a white disc and black swastika.

The party emblem was also designed along the same lines: a white disk on a red field, and a swastika in the middle. Herr Füss, a Munich goldsmith, supplied the first practical and permanent design.

The new flag appeared in public for the first time in midsummer 1920. It suited our young movement admirably. It was young and new, like the movement itself. No one had seen it before; it had the effect of a blazing torch. We ourselves experienced an almost childlike delight when one of the party women made the flag and handed it over to us. Just a few months later, we had half a dozen of them in Munich, and the new symbol of the movement was spread by the growing strength of the security troops.

And what a symbol it truly is! Not only because of those revered colors that express our glorious past and which once brought so much honor to the German people, but this symbol was also an

embodiment of the movement's will. As National Socialists, we see our program in our flag. In *red*, we see the social ideal of the movement; in *white*, nationalism; in the *swastika*, the mission of Aryan humanity to fight for victory, and at the same time, for the victory of the idea of creative work, which has always been anti-Semitic and always will be anti-Semitic.

Two years later, when our security troops had long since grown into storm troops,[154] incorporating many thousands of men, it seemed necessary to give this defensive organization of a young worldview a special symbol of victory: the Standard. I also designed this, and entrusted it to an old party comrade, master goldsmith Herr Gahr. Since then, this Standard has been the distinctive symbol and battle sign of the National Socialist struggle.

7.10 FIRST MEETING IN THE CIRCUS

Meeting activity increased, particularly during 1920, compelling us at times to hold two meetings a week. Crowds gathered around our posters, the largest meeting halls in town were always filled, and tens of thousands of misled Marxists found their way to us and became warriors for the liberation of the German Reich. The Munich public got to know us. We were being spoken about, and the words 'National Socialist' became familiar to many, and already implied a program. Our host of supporters and members was constantly growing, so that by the winter of 1920-21 we could already be regarded as a strong party in Munich.

Apart from the Marxist parties, there was at that time no party in Munich–certainly no nationalist party–that could hold such mass demonstrations as ours. The Munich Kindl Keller, which held 5,000 people, was more than once overcrowded, and there was only one other hall that we hadn't yet used; this was the Circus

[154] The *Sturmabteilung*, or SA, literally means 'storm detachment,' but was more commonly referred to as storm troops or, informally, as 'brown shirts.'

Krone.[155]

At the end of January 1921 there was again great cause for anxiety in Germany. The Paris Agreement, at which Germany pledged to pay the insane sum of a hundred billion gold marks, was to be confirmed in the form of the London Dictate.[156]

Thereupon a long-established Munich working committee, representing so-called folkish groups, wanted to call a public meeting of protest. I became nervous when I saw that time was being wasted and nothing undertaken. At first, a demonstration was suggested in the Königsplatz, but this was rejected for fear of being broken up by the Reds. Another demonstration was proposed in front of the Feldherrn Hall, but this too came to nothing. Finally a combined demonstration in the Munich Kindl Keller was suggested. Meanwhile, day after day went by, the big parties entirely ignored the terrible event, and the working committee couldn't decide on a definite date for holding the intended demonstration.

On Tuesday, 1 February 1921, I urgently demanded a final decision. I was put off until Wednesday. On Wednesday I demanded a clear determination regarding if and when the meeting was to take place. The reply was again uncertain and evasive; they said they 'intended' to arrange a demonstration the following Wednesday.

With that, I lost all patience and decided to conduct a protest demonstration of my own. At noon on Wednesday I dictated in ten minutes, by typewriter, the text of the poster, and at the same time hired the Circus Krone for the next day, Thursday, 3 February.

In those days, this was a tremendous venture. Not only because of the uncertainty of filling that vast hall, but also because of the

[155] The Circus Krone is an actual circus, founded in Munich in 1905. Since 1919, it has also owned the Circus Krone building–a large open-space hall in central Munich, not far from the main train station.

[156] The London Dictate, also known as the London Ultimatum or the London Schedule of Payments, reconfirmed the overall liability of the Central Powers (primarily Germany) at 132 billion marks, based on their defeat and alleged culpability for World War One. It was an absurd and utterly unrealistic figure, designed to give the impression of a severe punishment for the losers, and to hold as a perpetual threat over Germany.

risk of the meeting being wrecked.

Our security troops weren't adequate for this vast hall. I was also uncertain about what to do in case the meeting was broken up. At the time, I felt that it would be much harder for us in the Circus building than in a normal hall. But as it turned out, the opposite was the case. In that vast space, it was much easier to control a group of disturbers than in a cramped hall.

One thing was certain: A failure would throw us back for a long time to come. If one meeting was wrecked, our prestige would be seriously injured and our opponents would be encouraged to repeat their success. That would lead to sabotage of our future meeting work, and would have required months of difficult struggle to overcome.

We had only one day in which to display our posters, Thursday. Unfortunately it rained in the morning and there was reason to fear that many people would prefer to remain at home rather than hurry to a meeting through rain and snow, especially when there was likely to be violence and bloodshed.

And indeed on that Thursday morning, I was suddenly struck with fear that the hall might not be filled, (which would have made me look ridiculous in the eyes of the working committee). So I therefore immediately dictated a few leaflets, and had them printed and distributed in the afternoon. Naturally they contained an appeal to attend the meeting.

I hired two trucks, which were decorated as much as possible in red, and each had our new flag hoisted on it and was filled with 15 or 20 party members; orders were given to canvas the streets thoroughly-in short, to conduct propaganda for the mass meeting that evening. It was the first time that trucks had driven through the streets with banners but without Marxists. The bourgeoisie stared open-mouthed at these red-draped cars with fluttering swastika banners, and in the outlying districts, clenched fists were angrily raised at this new evidence of 'provocation of the proletariat.' Only the Marxists had the right to hold meetings and to drive around in trucks.

At 7:00 pm, the Circus was not yet full. I was informed by telephone every ten minutes and was becoming uneasy; usually at

7:00 or 7:15 our meeting halls were already half-filled, sometimes even nearly full. But I soon found out why. I had entirely forgotten to take into account the huge dimensions of this new hall: a thousand people in the Hofbräuhaus made it impressively full, but the same number in the Circus Krone was simply swallowed up. You could hardly see them. Shortly afterwards, though, I received more hopeful reports, and at 7:45 I was informed that the hall was three-quarters filled, with huge crowds still lined up at the box offices. I then left for the meeting.

I arrived at the Circus at 8:02. There was still a crowd of people outside, some just curious, and many opponents who preferred to wait outside for developments.

When I entered the great hall, I felt the same joy I had felt a year earlier at the first meeting in the Munich Hofbräuhaus Hall. But it wasn't until I had forced my way through the solid wall of people and reached the platform that I saw the full measure of our success. The hall was before me, like a huge shell, packed with thousands and thousands of people. Even the arena was packed solid. More than 5,600 tickets had been sold and, allowing for the unemployed, poor students, and our own security men, there must have been 6,500 present.

My theme was 'Future or Downfall,' and I was filled with joy at the thought that the future lay there before me.

I began, and spoke for about two and a half hours. After the first half hour, I felt that the meeting was going to be a big success. Contact had been established with all those thousands of individuals. After the first hour, the speech was already being interrupted by spontaneous outbreaks of applause, but after the second hour, this died down to a solemn stillness that I was to experience so often later on, in this same hall, and which will forever be remembered by all those present. Nothing broke this impressive silence, and only when the last word had been spoken did the applause thunder forth, culminating in the "Deutschland" song, sung with the greatest fervor.

I watched the scene for almost 20 minutes, as the vast hall slowly drained a sea of humanity. Only then did I leave the platform, overjoyed, and made my way home.

Pictures were taken of this first meeting in the Circus Krone in Munich. They speak louder than words about the magnitude of the demonstration. The bourgeois papers ran pictures, but reported the meeting as having been merely a 'nationalist' demonstration, and in their usual modest fashion they omitted all mention of its organizers.

Thus for the first time, we had developed far beyond the bound of an ordinary party. We could no longer be ignored. And to dispel all doubt that the meeting was merely an isolated success, I immediately arranged for another at the Circus for the following week, and again we had the same success. Once more the vast hall was overflowing with masses of people, such that I decided to hold a third meeting in the same style. And for a third time, the giant Circus was packed full of people, bottom to top.

After this introduction to the year 1921, I further increased our activity in Munich. I not only held meetings once a week, but during some weeks even two mass meetings; yes, and in midsummer and autumn, it was sometimes three. We met regularly at the Circus and it gave us great satisfaction to see that every meeting brought us the same success.

The result was an ever-increasing number of supporters and members for our movement.

7.11 AN ATTEMPTED DISRUPTION

Naturally, such success did not leave our opponents inactive. At first their tactics fluctuated between the use of terror and silence in our regard, but they soon recognized that neither could hinder the progress of our movement. So they had recourse to a final act of terror that was intended to put a definite end to our meeting activity.

As a pretext for this action, they used a very mysterious attack on one of the governmental deputies, named Erhard Auer.[157] It was declared that someone had shot at said Erhard Auer one

[157] Auer (1874-1945) was a Bavarian politician. He was complicit with Jewish revolutionaries like Ernst Toller and Kurt Eisner, and played a leading role in the hated Weimar government.

evening. This meant that he was not actually shot, but that an attempt had been made to shoot him. A fabulous presence of mind and heroic courage on the part of Social Democratic leaders not only prevented the insidious attack, but also put the would-be assassins to flight. They fled so quickly and so far that subsequently the police couldn't find even the slightest trace of them. This mysterious episode was used by the organ of the Social Democratic Party in Munich to agitate against our movement, and while doing so it delivered its old hints about the tactics that were to come. Their purpose was to see to it that our movement not get out of hand, and that proletarian fists would intervene.

A few days later came the day of the disruption.

It was eventually decided to interrupt one of our meetings planned for the Munich Hofbräuhaus Festsaal, and at which I myself was to speak.

On 4 November 1921, between 6:00 and 7:00 pm, I received the first precise news that the meeting would definitely be broken up, and that to carry out this action, they decided to send in great masses of workers from certain Red factories.

It was due to an unfortunate accident that we didn't receive this news sooner. On that day, we had given up our old business office in the Sternecker Gasse in Munich[158] and moved into other quarters–or rather, we had given up the old offices, and our new quarters weren't yet in working order. The telephone had been cut off by the former tenants and had not yet been reinstalled, and several attempts that day to inform us by telephone of the intended break-up didn't reach us.

Consequently our security troops were very weak at that meeting. Only one squad was present, which consisted only of about 46 men. And our warning apparatus wasn't yet sufficiently organized to be able to bring enough reinforcements within an hour or so. It must also be added that on several previous occasions we had been forewarned, but nothing special happened.

[158] Today, known as the Sternecker Strasse. The original DAP office was in a side room of the Sterneckerbräu, a brewery on the corner of Sternecker and Tai. The building still stands, although it now is a residential and commercial unit.

The old saying, that announced revolutions rarely come off, had hitherto been proven true in our experience.

Perhaps for this reason as well, we hadn't taken sufficiently strong precautions on that day to counter the brutal determination of our opponents to break up our meeting.

Finally, we didn't believe that the Hofbräuhaus Festsaal in Munich was suitable for an attempted break-up. We were more afraid with the bigger halls, especially the Circus. But on this point, we learned a valuable lesson that day. Later, we studied this whole question according to a scientific method and arrived at results–both interesting and incredible–and which subsequently were an essential factor in our organization's leadership and in the tactics of our storm troops.

When I arrived in the entrance hall of the Hofbräuhaus at 7:45 pm, there was no doubt of the intentions. The hall was filled, and therefore the police had it closed. Our opponents, who had arrived very early, were in the hall, and our followers were for the most part outside. The small SA guard awaited me at the entrance. I had the doors leading to the main hall closed, and then asked the 45 or 46 men to come forward. I made it clear to the boys that perhaps on that evening, for the first time, they would have to show their unyielding loyalty to the movement, and that not one of us should leave the hall unless carried out dead; I myself would remain in the hall and I didn't believe that one of them would abandon me ; and if I saw any one of them acting the coward, I myself would personally tear off his armband and badge. Then I demanded that they should step forward if the slightest attempt were made to disrupt the meeting, and that they must remember that the best defense is always attack.

I was greeted with a triple *Heil*, which sounded more robust and violent than usual.

I then went into the hall and assessed the situation with my own eyes. Our opponents sat closely huddled together, piercing me with their eyes. Innumerable faces glowing with hatred were fixed on me, while others with sneering grimaces shouted at me in no uncertain terms. Today they would 'finish us off,' we must look out for our guts, they would smash our mouths…. and other such

lovely phrases. They knew that they had superior numbers and acted accordingly.

Yet we were able to open the meeting, and I began to speak. In the Hofbräuhaus Festsaal, I always stood on one of the long sides of the room, and my podium was a beer table. I was actually right in the midst of the people. Perhaps this circumstance was responsible for creating a certain mood that I never found elsewhere.

Before me, and especially to my left, there were only opponents seated or standing. They were mostly robust youths and men from the Maffei factory, from Kustermann's, from the factories of the Isaria Meter Works, etc. Along the left wall, they were thickly massed quite close to my table, and began to collect beer mugs–that is, they were ordering beer and stashing the mugs under the table. Thus, whole batteries were collected, and it would have been a miracle if the meeting ended peacefully.

After about an hour and a half–I was able to speak that long, amidst interruptions–it almost seemed as if I was going to master the situation. The leaders of the disrupters appeared to sense this themselves; they steadily became more uneasy, often left the hall, returned, and spoke to their men with obvious nervousness.

I then committed a small psychological error in replying to an interruption, which I myself realized the moment the words left my mouth, and this gave the sign for the outbreak.

There were a few angry shouts, and suddenly a man jumped on a chair and shouted: "Freedom!" At that signal, the freedom-fighters began their work.

In a few seconds, the entire hall was filled with a yelling and shrieking mob, above which flew-like howitzers-innumerable beer mugs; amid this uproar, one heard the smash of chair legs, the crashing of mugs, groans, and yells, and screams.

It was a crazy spectacle.

I stood my ground and observed my boys thoroughly doing their duty.

I would have liked to have seen a bourgeois meeting like this!

The dance had hardly begun when my storm troops-as they were called from that day forward–attacked. Like wolves they

threw themselves on the enemy again and again, in packs of eight or ten, and began to steadily thrash them out of the hall. Even after five minutes, I saw hardly one of them that wasn't streaming with blood. I really came to know those men that day; first of all, my brave Maurice;[159] my current private secretary Hess;[160] and many others who, even though seriously wounded, attacked again and again, as long as their legs held out. The pandemonium continued for 20 minutes, but then the opponents, who numbered 700 or 800, were mostly driven from the hall or thrown out headlong by my men, who numbered not even 50. Only in the left corner, a big crowd still held out against our men and put up a bitter fight. Then two pistol shots suddenly rang out from the hall entrance, toward the platform, and now a wild din of shooting broke out. One's heart almost rejoiced at this spectacle that recalled old war memories.

At that moment it was impossible to identify who had fired the shots; but at any rate I could see that my boys renewed the attack with increased fury, until finally the last disturbers were overcome and driven out of the hall.

About 25 minutes had passed; the hall looked as if a bomb had exploded. Many of my comrades had to be bandaged, and others carried away, but we remained masters of the situation. Hermann Essen, who was chairman this evening, declared: "The meeting will continue. The speaker has the floor." And so I went on with my speech.

When we ourselves closed the meeting, an excited police officer rushed in, waved his hands and declared to the hall: "The

[159] Emil Maurice (1879-1972) was a watchmaker by trade, and an early leader of the SA, and eventually of the SS. Interestingly, Maurice was later revealed to have had partial Jewish ancestry; Himmler wanted him expelled from the SS, but Hitler intervened, making an exception for him.

[160] Rudolf Hess (1894-1987) was another leader of the SA, and among Hitler's closest personal confidantes. Eventually he would become Deputy Führer of the NSDAP, one of its highest-ranking members. It was Hess who took dictation for most of *Mein Kampf* from Hitler during their time together in the Landsberg Prison. (Professor Dalton is incorrect here. Hitler did not dictate *Mein Kampf* to Hess, this is a widely believed myth. In truth, Hitler wrote the book himself and would read and discuss each chapter with Hess as he wrote. See: Volker Ullrich, *Hitler: Ascent 1889-1939* (London: The Bodley Head, 2016), Pp. 174. – Nigel Winters, editor.)

meeting is dismissed."

Unintentionally, I had to laugh at this late-comer to the event; real police arrogance. The smaller they are, the greater they must always appear.

That evening we learned a lot, and our opponents never forgot the lesson they received.

As of the autumn of 1923, the *Münchener Post* never again mentioned the fists of the proletariat.

CHAPTER 8
THE STRONG MAN IS MIGHTIEST ALONE

In the above, I mentioned the existence of a cooperative union between the German patriotic associations. Here I will briefly address the problem of these federations.

In speaking of a cooperative union, we generally mean a group of associations that, for the purpose of facilitating their work, establish mutual relations, appoint a common directorate with varying powers, and thenceforth carrying out common actions. This alone suggests that we are dealing with clubs, associations, or parties whose goals and methods are not too far apart. It's claimed that this is always the case. The average citizen is pleased and reassured when he hears that these associations, by establishing a 'cooperative union' among themselves, have at long last discovered a 'common bond' and have 'set aside all differences.' Here arises a general conviction that such a union is an immense gain in strength, and that previously weak, small groups have now suddenly become strong.

This, however, is mostly false!

It's interesting and, in my eyes, important for a better understanding of this question, to get a clear notion of how these associations, clubs, and the like are established, when all claim to have the same goal.

In itself, it would be logical to expect that one goal should be fought for by only one association, and it would be more reasonable if several associations weren't fighting for the same goal. At first, there was undoubtedly only one association that had this goal in view. One man proclaimed a truth somewhere and, calling for the solution of a definite problem, fixed his goal and founded a movement to realize his view.

That's how an association or a party is founded–the scope of whose program is either the abolition of existing evils or the establishment of a certain state of affairs in the future.

8.1 A MOVEMENT'S RIGHT OF PRIORITY

Once such a movement has come to life, it possesses a certain practical right of priority. It would now be obvious that all those who wish to fight for the same objective should join such a movement and thus increase its strength, to better serve the common purpose. Especially those of intelligence must feel that such conditions are necessary for practical success in the common struggle. Accordingly, it's reasonable and, in a certain sense, honest (on which much depends, as I will show) that there should be only one movement for one goal.

The fact that this doesn't happen can be attributed to two causes. The first may almost be described as tragic, while the second is pitiful and is found in human weakness. Most fundamentally, I see in both causes only facts that give still further ground for strengthening our will, energy, and intensity. Finally, through the higher development of human faculties, a solution to the problem in question becomes possible.

The tragic reason why the solution of one definite task is usually not left to one association alone is as follows: In general, every action carried out on a grand style on this Earth is the expression of a longstanding desire in millions of people, a longing silently harbored by many. Yes, it may happen that, for centuries, men may have been yearning for the solution to a definite problem because they have been suffering an intolerable burden without seeing the coming amelioration of this universal longing. Nations that are incapable of finding a heroic deliverance from such distress may be viewed as impotent. But on the other hand, nothing gives better proof of a people's vitality and the consequent guarantee of its right to exist than that, one day, Fate bestows on them a man capable of liberating his people from some great oppression, or of wiping out some bitter distress, or of calming the

national soul that had been tormented by insecurity, and thus bringing the long-yearned-for fulfillment.

8.2 THE STRUGGLE FOR LEADERSHIP

An essential characteristic of the so-called great questions of our time is that thousands undertake the task of solving them, and many feel themselves called to this task–yes, even that Fate itself has proposed many for the choice, so that, through the free play of forces, the stronger and bolder shall finally be victorious, and will become entrusted with the task of solving the problem.

Thus it may happen that, for centuries, many are discontented with the form of their religious life, and yearn for its renovation. And so it may happen that, through this psychic impulse, some dozens of men may arise who believe that, by virtue of their understanding and their knowledge, they are called to solve the religious distress. Accordingly, they present themselves as the prophets of a new teaching, or at least as warriors against standing beliefs.

Here too, it's certain that natural law will take its course, inasmuch as the strongest man is destined to fulfill his great mission; but usually the others are slow to acknowledge that only one is called. On the contrary, they all believe that they have been selected, and have equal right to a solution of the task at hand. Such contemporaries are generally unable to decide which among them–alone endowed with the highest ability–deserves unconditional support.

So in the course of centuries, or indeed often within the same era, different men establish different movements to struggle towards the same end–or at least, that appear the same to the great masses. The people hold vague desires and have only general opinions, without having any precise notion of their own ideals and desires or how they will be fulfilled. The tragedy lies in the fact that many men struggle to reach the same objective by different roads, without knowing one another; each holds himself dutybound to follow his own road without any regard for the others.

These movements, parties, and religious groups, originate entirely independently of one another out of the general will of the time, and all in the same direction. It may seem a tragic thing, at least at first sight, that this should be so, because people are too often inclined to think that forces that are dispersed in different directions would succeed far more quickly and surely if they were united. This, however, is not the case. Nature herself decides according to the rules of her inexorable logic. She leaves these diverse groups to compete with one another and dispute the palm of victory, thus choosing the clearest, shortest, and surest way by which a movement attains its goal.

How could the correctness or incorrectness of a path be determined from without, if the forces at hand weren't given free play? Unless, that is, the final decision is withheld from the doctrinaire judgment of human know-it-alls, and entrusted to indisputable logic of visible success–which, in the end, always confirms the ultimate correctness of a course of action!

Hence, though diverse groups march along different paths towards the same goal, as soon as they come to know of similar efforts, they will more carefully examine their own way. Where possible, they will shorten it, and by exerting their energy they will strive to reach the goal more quickly.

This rivalry helps each individual fighter develop his faculties, and humanity frequently owes its progress to the lessons learned from the misfortunes of previous attempts.

Therefore we come to know the best ways of reaching an end through a condition that, at first sight, appeared tragic–namely, an initial, unconscious splintering of individual efforts.

8.3 AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA

In studying history with a view to finding a solution of the German question, the prevailing opinion is that there were two possible paths, and that these two paths should have united from the very beginning.

The chief representatives and champions of these two paths were Austria and Prussia, Habsburg and Hohenzollern; in the

common view, people should have entrusted themselves, with united force, to one path or the other. But then the path of the most prominent representative–the Habsburg–would have been taken, though Austrian policy would never have led to a German Reich.

Finally, a strong and united German Reich arose out of that which many millions of Germans deplored in their hearts as the last and most terrible sign of our fratricidal strife: in truth, the German imperial crown was won on the battlefield of Königgrätz and not in the battles for Paris, as people later came to believe.[161]

Thus the foundation of the German Reich was not the consequence of any common will working along common lines, but it was much more of a conscious–and sometimes unconscious–struggle for hegemony, from which Prussia emerged victorious. Anyone who isn't so blinded by partisan politics as to deny this truth must agree that the so-called wisdom of men would never have come to the same wise decision as the wisdom of life itself–that's to say, of the free play of forces, finally brought to realization. For in the German lands of 200 years ago, who would seriously have believed that Hohenzollern Prussia, and not Habsburg, would become the germ cell, founder, and tutor of the new Reich?! And on the other hand, who would deny today that Destiny acted wiser; in fact, who could now imagine a German Reich based on the foundations of a rotten and degenerate dynasty?

No–natural development, even though it took centuries of struggle, placed the best where it belonged.

Thus it will always be, and so it will remain, as it always has been.

Therefore it mustn't be regretted if different men set out to attain the same goal: In this way, the strongest and swiftest become acknowledged, and become victorious.

[161] The Battle of Königgrätz occurred on 3 July 1866, and ended in Prussian victory over the Austrian Empire.

8.4 CAUSES OF FOLKISH SPLINTERING

Now, there's a second cause for the fact that, often in the lives of nations, movements of the same characteristics strive along different paths to reach the same goal. This cause is not merely tragic, but is positively miserable. It arises from a sad mixture of envy, jealousy, ambition, and a thievish mentality, which are often found united in single specimens of humanity.

The moment a man arises who profoundly understands the distress of his people and, having diagnosed the disease with perfect accuracy, takes measures to cure it; when he fixes his goal and chooses the means to reach it–then small and petty minds take notice and eagerly follow the activity of this man who has attracted public attention. As with sparrows who are apparently indifferent, but in reality are firmly on the watch for a fortunate companion who has found a piece of bread, hoping to snatch it from him in an unguarded moment, so too it is with humanity. All that's needed is for one man to strike out on a new road, and then a crowd of lazy loiterers will prick up their ears and begin to sniff around for whatever little morsel may lie at the end of that road. The moment they think they have found it, they hurry to find another, quicker way of reaching that goal.

When a new movement is founded and has formulated a definite program, people of that sort come and proclaim that they are fighting for the same goal; not by honestly joining the ranks of such a movement and thus recognizing its priority, but rather by stealing the program and founding a new party on it. In doing this, they are shameless enough to assure the unthinking public that they had long intended to take the same line of action as the other has now taken-and frequently they succeed in placing themselves in a favorable light, instead of arousing the general contempt that they deserve. Is it not a piece of gross impudence to take what has already been inscribed on another's banner and display it on one's own, to steal another's program, and then to form a separate group, as though newly-created? This impudence is particularly demonstrated when those who first caused the split by their new foundation are those who, as experience shows, are the most

emphatic in proclaiming the need for unity as soon as they realize they cannot catch up with their opponent.

The so-called 'folkish splintering' is due to just such a process.

Certainly the founding of a multitude of new groups, parties, etc. in 1918-19, calling themselves folkish, was a natural development of things, for which the founders were not at fault. By 1920 the NSDAP had slowly crystallized from all these parties and become victorious. There could be no better proof of the sterling honesty of certain individual founders than that many of them decided, in an admirable way, to sacrifice their obviously less-successful movements to the stronger–that is, by joining it unconditionally or dissolving their own.

This is especially true in regard to Julius Streicher, who at that time was the chief fighter for the German Socialist Party (DSP) in Nuremberg.[162] The NSDAP and DSP had been founded with similar aims, but quite independently of each other. As mentioned, Streicher, then a teacher in Nuremberg, was the main fighter for the DSP. Initially he had a sacred conviction of the mission and future of his movement. As soon, however, as the superior strength and stronger growth of the NSDAP became clear and obvious to him, he gave up his work in the DSP and the working federation, and called upon his followers to fall into line with the NSDAP–which had come out victorious from the mutual contest–and carry on the fight within its ranks for the common cause. The decision was as personally difficult as it was profoundly decent.

From that first period of the movement, there remained no further splintering, but rather an almost completely honorable, straight, and correct conclusion, due to the honest intentions of those men. What we now call 'folkish splintering' owes its existence exclusively to the second of the two causes that I mentioned: Ambitious men who at first had no ideas–much less any goals–of their own, and felt themselves 'called' exactly at that moment that they saw the undeniable success of the NSDAP.

[162] Streicher (1885-1946) was a leading operative of the NSDAP, publisher of the notorious journal Der Stürmer, and close confidante of Hitler. Streicher was captured after the war, tried at Nuremberg, and executed in 1946.

Suddenly programs appeared that were mere copies of ours, ideas were proclaimed that had been taken from us, goals were established that we had been defending for years, and paths were chosen that the NSDAP had long traveled. All means were attempted to explain why, although the NSADP had long been in existence, it was necessary to establish these new parties; but the nobler the motives, the falser the phrases.

In truth, a single basis was determinative : the personal ambition of the founders, who wished to play a part in which their own dwarfish talents contributed nothing but a boldness in appropriating the ideas of others–a boldness that, in ordinary life, is designated as thievery.

At that time, there wasn't a concept or idea of others that these political kleptomaniacs didn't quickly seize upon for their own new business. Those who did this were the same people who subsequently, with tears in their eyes, profoundly deplored the 'folkish splintering' and spoke unceasingly about the 'need for unity'–in the silent hope that they might so deceive the others that, owing to the eternal clamor, they would toss the stolen ideas and movements to the thieves.

8.5 'WORKING FEDERATIONS'

When that didn't succeed, and the new enterprises–thanks to the paltry mentality of their owners–weren't as profitable as promised, then they became more modest in their pretenses and were happy if they could land in one of the so-called working federations.

At that time, everyone who couldn't stand on their own feet joined one such working federation; believing that eight cripples hanging on to each other could surely form one gladiator.

And if, among all these cripples, there were one healthy man, he used all his strength to sustain the others and thus was himself crippled.

We should see the joining of these so-called working federations as a question of tactics; but in this, we must never forget the following fundamental realization:

Through the formation of a working federation, weak organizations can never be made strong, whereas a strong organization can and does often become weak. It's a mistake to believe that a factor of strength results from a coalition of weak groups, because experience shows that, under all forms and conditions, the majority represents stupidity and cowardice. Hence a multiplicity of organizations, under a self-chosen directorate of many heads, is abandoned to cowardice and weakness. Also, through such a coalition, the free play of forces is paralyzed, the struggle for the selection of the best is abolished, and thus the necessary and final victory of the healthier and stronger is always impeded. Such coalitions are inimical to natural development because, for the most part, they hinder rather than advance the solution of the problem being fought for.

It may happen that, for purely tactical considerations, a movement's top leaders, if they are future-oriented, will enter into a coalition with such associations for a short time, on the treatment of special questions and perhaps on a common platform. But such a coalition won't be permanent unless the movement wishes to renounce its liberating mission. If it becomes indefinitely tied up in such a union, it loses the capacity and the right to allow a natural development and the working-out of its own forces, so as to overcome rivals and, as victor, to achieve its own objective.

One must never forget that nothing really great in this world has ever been achieved through coalitions, but that it has always been due to the success of a single victor. Coalition successes, due to the very nature of their source, carry the germs of future disintegration–yes, even the loss of what has been achieved. Great, truly world-changing revolutions of a spiritual sort are inconceivable and impossible without titanic struggles between individual natures, but never as coalitional undertakings.

And above all, the folkish State will never be created by the compromising will of folkish working federations, but only by the steely will of a single movement that has successfully struggled with all others.

CHAPTER 9

BASIC IDEAS REGARDING THE MEANING AND ORGANIZATION OF THE S.A.

The strength of the old State rested on three pillars: the monarchical State form, the civil service, and the army. The 1918 Revolution abolished the state form, dissolved the army, and abandoned the civil service to party corruption. Thus the essential supports of the so-called State authority were shattered. This authority nearly always depends on the three elements, which lie at the basis of all authority.

9.1 THREE BASES OF AUTHORITY

Popularity is always the first basis for the creation of authority. But an authority resting on that basis alone is quite frail, uncertain, and shaky. Hence everyone who finds himself vested with an authority based only on popularity must improve and consolidate the foundation of that authority by the creation of power. Accordingly we must look upon *power*–that is, force–as the second basis of all authority. This is more stable and secure, but not always stronger, than the first. If popularity and force are united together and can endure for a certain time, then an authority may arise that's based on a still stronger foundation, namely, the authority of *tradition*. And finally, if popularity, force, and tradition are united together, then the authority may be seen as invincible.

The Revolution totally abolished this last case. There was no longer even an authority of tradition. With the collapse of the old Reich, the elimination of the old State form, and the destruction of the old sovereign emblems and Reich symbols, tradition was

shattered. The result was the harshest shaking of State authority.

The second pillar of State authority, force, also ceased to exist. In order to carry out the Revolution, it was necessary to dissolve that which embodied the organized force and power of the State, namely, the army; indeed, some fragments of the army itself had to be used as revolutionary fighting elements. The armies at the Front weren't subjected in the same degree to this disintegration, but as they gradually receded from the fields of glory on which they had heroically fought for four-and-half years, they were attacked by the homeland's acid of disintegration. And when they arrived at the demobilizing centers, they fell into that confusion of the so-called voluntary obedience, in the time of the Soldiers' Councils.

Of course, no authority could be based on this crowd of mutinous soldiers, who looked upon military service as an eight-hour work day. Therefore the second element–that which guarantees the stability of authority–was also abolished and the Revolution had only the original element, popularity, on which to build its authority. But this basis was extraordinarily insecure. The Revolution shattered the old State structure with a single blow, but only because the normal balance within the social structure of the nation had already been eliminated by the war.

9.2 THREE CLASSES OF NATIONAL BODIES

Every national body is made up of three main classes: At one extreme we have the best of the people, meaning those who possess all virtues, particularly courage and self-sacrifice. At the other extreme are the worst dregs of humanity, in whom vice and selfishness prevail. Between these two extremes stands the third class, made up of the broad middle stratum who embody neither radiant heroism nor vulgar criminality.

The times of a nation's rise are marked exclusively, and only exist, by the absolute leadership of the extreme best.

Times of normal and balanced development, or of stable conditions, owe their existence to the dominating influence of the middle elements. Here the two extreme classes are balanced

against one another, cancelling each other out.

Times of national collapse are determined by the dominant influence of the worst elements.

It must be noted here, however, that the broad masses–that which I have called the middle class–come forward and make their influence felt only when the two extreme sections are engaged in mutual struggle.

In case of victory for one of the extremes, they readily submit to the victor. If the best dominate, the broad masses will follow them; and if the worst triumph, then they will at least offer no opposition; the middle masses never fight their own battles.

9.3 SACRIFICE OF THE BEST

Now, the outpouring of blood for four-and-a-half years during the war destroyed the inner balance between these three classes, insofar as it can be said that–admitting the sacrifices of the middle–the class of the extreme best of humanity was almost completely bled out. The truly enormous amount of heroic German blood that was shed during those four-and-a-half years was irreplaceable. In hundreds of thousands of cases, it was always, again and again, a call for: 'volunteers to the Front', 'volunteers for patrol,' 'volunteer dispatch carriers,' 'volunteers for telephone squads,' 'volunteers for bridge-building,' 'volunteers for the U-boats,' 'volunteers for the airplanes,' 'volunteers for the storm battalions,' and so on. Again and again, during four-and-a-half years, and on thousands of occasions, there was always the call for volunteers and again for volunteers–and always the same result: Beardless youths or mature men, all filled with an ardent love for their Fatherland, with great personal courage or the highest sense of duty, *they* came forth. Tens of thousands–indeed, hundreds of thousands–of such cases occurred, and gradually this kind of humanity grew scarcer and scarcer. Those not actually felled were either maimed in the fight or crippled, and thus they crumbled away, due to their declining numbers.

In 1914 whole armies were composed of so-called volunteers

who, owing to a criminal lack of conscience on the part of our feckless parliamentarians, had received no proper training in peacetime, and so were thrown as defenseless cannon-fodder to the enemy. The 400,000 who thus fell or were maimed on the battlefields of Flanders couldn't be replaced. Their loss was something far more than merely numerical. With their death, the scales, which were already too light on the good side, now shot upwards, toward baseness, treachery, and cowardice; in short, toward the mass of the extreme bad.

And there was something more:

While, for four-and-a-half years, our extreme best were being horrendously thinned on the battlefields, our extreme worst succeeded wonderfully in saving themselves. For each hero who made the supreme sacrifice and ascended the steps of Valhalla, there was a slacker who cunningly dodged death in order to engage in business that was more or less useful at home.

And so the end of the war gave us the following picture : The broad middle stratum of the nation gave its share of blood-sacrifice. The extreme best, with outstanding heroism, sacrificed themselves almost completely. The extreme bad preserved themselves almost completely, by taking advantage of absurd laws and because of the non-application of articles of war.

This well-preserved scum of our nation then made the Revolution, and could do so only because the extreme best elements were no longer there to oppose it:–they were no longer alive.

9.4 THE RESULTING DISORGANIZATION

Hence the German Revolution, from the very start, was only conditionally popular. This act of Cain wasn't committed by the German people per se, but by an obscure rabble of deserters, hooligans, and so on.

The man at the Front welcomed the end of the bloody struggle, and was happy to return home and see his wife and children once again. But he had no inner connection with the Revolution; he didn't like it, nor did he like its instigators and organizers. During

the four-and-a-half years of that bitter struggle, he forgot the party hyenas, and all their wrangling became foreign to him.

The Revolution was really popular only with a small part of the German people: namely, that class of accomplices who had selected the backpack as the hallmark of all honorable citizens in this new State. They didn't like the Revolution for its own sake–as many still erroneously believe today–but because of its consequences.

But it was very difficult to establish any authority on the popularity of these Marxist gangsters. And yet the young Republic needed authority at any cost, unless it was ready to be overthrown after a brief chaos by a retributive force assembled from the last elements among the best of our people.

Those responsible for the Revolution feared nothing more than to lose a foothold amidst the turmoil that they created, and to be suddenly seized by an iron fist-as has happened more than once at such junctures in the life of peoples. The Republic had to be consolidated at any price.

Hence it was almost immediately forced to erect, alongside its wavering pillar of popularity, an organization of force, in order to secure a firmer authority.

In those days of December, January, and February 1918-1919, the matadors of the Revolution felt the ground trembling beneath their feet, and they looked around them for men who, through love of their people, would strengthen them–by force of arms. The 'anti-militaristic' Republic needed soldiers. But the first and only pillar of their State authority–namely, their popularity–was grounded only on a society of hooligans, thieves, burglars, deserters, slackers, etc. Therefore it was useless to look within that extreme worst portion of the nation for men willing to sacrifice their lives in the service of a new ideal. The class supporting the revolutionary idea and carrying out the Revolution was neither able nor willing to call on the soldiers to protect it. This class had no wish whatsoever to organize a republican State, but to disorganize what already existed in order to better satisfy their own instincts. Their watchword was not: the organization and construction of the German Republic, but rather: the plundering

of it.

Hence the cry for help sent out by the public representatives, in agony, went unheard–indeed, on the contrary, it aroused bitterness and resistance. The revolutionaries looked upon this as a breach of faith and trust. In the building up of an authority no longer based on popularity but on force, they saw the beginning of a hostile move against what the Revolution essentially meant for those elements: against the right to rob, and against unconditional rule by a horde of thieves and plunderers–in short, the worst rabble–who had broken out of prison and left their chains behind.

The public representatives could cry out as much as they liked, but no one stepped forward. Only the counter-cry, 'traitor,' came from those popular supporters.

Then for the first time, large numbers of young Germans appeared who were ready once again to button on the military uniform in the service of 'peace and order,' shouldering the carbine and rifle, and donning the steel helmet to oppose the destroyers of their homeland. As volunteer soldiers, they formed into free corps and, although hating the Revolution, began to defend and thus, in practice, to secure it.

They acted in the best of faith.

The real organizer of the Revolution and its actual wire-puller, the international Jew, had correctly sized up the situation. The German people were not yet ripe to be drawn into the bloody swamp of Bolshevism, as happened in Russia. This was because there was a closer racial union between the German intellectual classes and the manual workers. Also, the broad social strata were permeated with cultured people, such as was the case also in the other Western European countries, but was completely lacking in Russia. There the intelligentsia were mostly of non-Russian nationality, or at least they didn't have Slavic racial characteristics. The thin upper layer of intellectuals that then existed in Russia could have been abolished at any time because there was no intermediate stratum connecting it with the great mass of people. There, the mental and moral level was frightfully low.

In Russia, the moment the agitators were successful in inciting the uneducated hordes of the broad masses–who couldn't read or

write–against the thin upper layer of intellectuals who weren't in contact with the masses or permanently linked with them in any way, at that moment the destiny of the country was decided, and the Revolution succeeded. Then the illiterate Russian became the defenseless slave of his Jewish dictators who, for their part, were shrewd enough to name their dictatorship 'the people's dictatorship.'

9.5 DESERTERS AND REVOLUTION

In Germany there was an additional factor: Just as surely as the Revolution could be carried out only by the gradual disintegration of the army, so too the real conductor of the Revolution wasn't the soldier at the Front but the light–shy rabble who were either quartered in the home garrisons or were working as 'indispensables' somewhere in the business world. The army was reinforced by 10,000 deserters who, without running any particular risk, could turn their backs on the Front. At all times, the real coward fears nothing more than death. But at the Front he faced death every day in a thousand different ways. There has always been only one possible way of making weak or wavering men, or even downright cowards, face their duty: The deserter must understand that his desertion will bring upon him the very thing he's escaping from. At the Front, a man may die, but the deserter *must* die. Only this draconian threat against any attempt at desertion can have a terrifying effect, not merely on the individual but also on the whole.

Therein lay the meaning and purpose of the articles of war.

It was a fine belief to think that the great struggle for national existence could be fought solely on voluntary loyalty, arising from and sustained by a realization of necessity. The voluntary fulfillment of one's duty has always determined the best men, but not the average. Hence special laws are necessary, as, for instance, against stealing, which were not made for men who are fundamentally honest but for those weak and unstable elements. Such laws are meant to hinder the wrong-doer through their deterrent effect and thus prevent a condition from arising in which

the honest man is considered the more stupid, and which would end in the belief that it's better to participate in theft than to stand by with empty hands or allow oneself to be robbed.

It was a mistake to believe that–in a struggle which, according to all human foresight, might last for years to come–it would be possible to dispense with those instruments that the experience of centuries and even millennia have proven to be effective in making weak and unstable men fulfill their duty in difficult times, and at moments of great nervous stress.

For the voluntary war hero, it's obviously unnecessary to have articles of war, but it is for the cowardly egoists who value their own lives more than the whole in the hour of national need. Such spineless weaklings can be deterred from yielding to their cowardice only by the application of the harshest penalty. When men have to struggle with death every day and remain for weeks in mud-filled trenches, often with the worst of food, the wavering soldier cannot be held in line by threats of imprisonment or even penal servitude, but only by a ruthless application of the death penalty. Experience shows that, at such a time, he considers prison a thousand times more preferable than the battlefield. In prison, at least, his precious life is not in danger. The practical abolition of the death penalty during the war, and thus the suspension of the articles of war, was a terrible mistake. An army of deserters poured into the reserve stations or returned home, especially in 1918, and helped to form that huge criminal organization that we suddenly faced after 7 November 1918, and which created the Revolution.

The Front had nothing to do with all this. Naturally, those there were yearning for peace. But it was precisely this fact that presented an exceptional danger for the Revolution. When the German armies drew near to home after the armistice, the anxious revolutionaries and asked the same question again and again: What will the frontline troops do? Will the field-grays stand for it?

During those weeks, the German Revolution was forced to appear moderate, at least outwardly, if it weren't to run the risk of being wrecked in an instant by a few German divisions. At that

time, if even a single divisional commander, with the help of his loyal division, had made up his mind to tear down the red rags and put the ‘councils’ up against the wall, and to break any resistance with trench-mortars and hand grenades, that division would have grown into an army of 60 divisions in less than four weeks. The Jewish wire-pullers were more terrified of this than anything else. And precisely to prevent this, they had to give the Revolution a certain aspect of moderation. They couldn't call it Bolshevism, so they had to put it under a pretense of ‘peace and order.’ Hence many important concessions, the appeal to the old civil service, and to the heads of the old army. They were needed at least for awhile, and only after the Moors had done their duty could they [the Jews] give them the kick they deserved, and take the Republic out of the hands of the old State servants and deliver it to the claws of the revolutionary vultures.

They thought that this was the only plan that would succeed in duping the old generals and civil servants, and disarm any eventual opposition beforehand, through the apparent innocence and mildness of the new regime. Practical experience has shown how far this succeeded.

The Revolution, however, wasn’t made by the elements of peace and order but rather by those of riot, theft, and plunder. And the development of the Revolution didn’t align with their intentions; nor, for tactical reasons, was it possible to explain the course of events to them, nor could it be made acceptable.

9.6 COLLABORATION OF THE LEFTIST PARTIES

As Social Democracy gradually grew, it progressively lost the character of a brutal revolutionary party. Not that it wanted any other goal than revolution, or that its leaders had any other intention; by no means.

But what finally remained was only an intention–and a body no longer suited to carry it out. A revolution cannot be carried out by a party of ten million. In such a movement, one no longer has extreme activity but rather the broad masses of the middle–and

hence, inertia.

Recognizing all this already during the war, the Jews caused the famous split in Social Democracy. That is: While the Social Democratic Party, conforming to the inertia of its mass, hung like a leaden weight on national defense, the radical-activist elements were extracted from it and formed into new aggressive assault columns. The Independent Party and the Spartacus League were the storm battalions of revolutionary Marxism. Their objective was to create a *fait accompli*, upon which the masses of the Social Democratic Party could take their stand, having spent decades preparing for this. The cowardly bourgeoisie were dismissed by the Marxists and treated '*en canaille*.' No one took any notice of them, knowing full well that, in their canine submissiveness, the representatives of an old and worn-out generation wouldn't be able to offer any serious resistance.

When the Revolution had succeeded and the main pillars of the old State had been broken down, the frontline army began to appear as a terrifying sphinx, and thus the natural development of the Revolution had to be slowed; the bulk of the Social Democratic army occupied the conquered positions, and the Independent Socialist and Spartacist storm battalions were pushed aside.

But that didn't happen without a struggle.

The activist assault formations that had started the Revolution were dissatisfied and felt betrayed. They now wanted to continue the fight on their own account, but their unruly hooliganism became odious even to the wire-pullers of the Revolution. It was scarcely over when two camps appeared: the party of peace and order, and the group of bloody terror. Was it not natural that our bourgeoisie should rush with flying colors to the camp of peace and order? Now, for once, their piteous political organizations found it possible to act, inasmuch as the ground had been prepared for them to get a new footing, and thus to a certain extent join in a power coalition that they hated but, even more so, feared. The German political bourgeoisie achieved the high honor of being able to sit at the table with the accursed Marxist leaders, to combat Bolshevism.

9.7 CAPITULATION OF THE BOURGEOISIE

Thus the following state of affairs took shape as early as December 1918 and January 1919:

A minority of the worst elements had made the Revolution, and they were immediately backed by all the Marxist parties. The Revolution itself outwardly appeared moderate, which aroused the anger of the fanatical extremists. They began to launch hand-grenades and fire machine-guns, occupying public buildings, and thus threatening the moderate Revolution. To prevent this terror from developing further, a truce was concluded between the representatives of the new regime and the adherents of the old order, in order to wage a common fight against the extremists. The result was that the enemies of the Republic ceased to oppose the Republic as such, and helped to subjugate those who were also enemies of the Republic, though for quite different reasons. But a further result was that all danger of a fight by the adherents of the old State against the new was now definitely averted.

This fact must always be clearly kept in mind. Only by recalling it can we understand how it was possible that a nation in which nine-tenths of the people hadn't joined in a revolution, where seven-tenths repudiated it and six-tenths hated it–how this Revolution could be imposed upon them by the remaining one-tenth.

Gradually the Spartacist barricade fighters petered out, as did the nationalist patriots and idealists on the other side. As these two groups steadily dwindled, the masses of the middle, as always, triumphed. The bourgeoisie and the Marxists acknowledged the facts on the ground, and the Republic began to be 'consolidated.' At first, however, that didn't prevent the bourgeois parties from propounding their monarchist ideas for a while, especially at the elections, whereby they conjured up spirits of the past to encourage and ensnare their own feeble-hearted followers.

Honesty, it was not. In their hearts they had broken with the monarchy long ago, and the filth of the new regime had begun to extend its corruptive influence to the bourgeois parties. The common bourgeois politician now feels better in the slime of

republican corruption than in the harsh decency of the forgotten State.

9.8 WHY DID THE REVOLUTION SUCCEED?

As already stated, after the destruction of the old army, the Revolution led to the enforced creation of a new power factor to ensure state authority. As things were, it could do this only by winning over the adherents of a worldview that was in direct contradiction. From those elements alone it was possible to slowly create a new army that–limited externally by the peace treaties-was subsequently transformed in spirit into an instrument of the new state conception.

Putting aside the question of how–apart from the defects of the old State, which were the real causes of the Revolution–the Revolution, as a political act, could succeed, we arrive at the following conclusions:

1. It was due to a paralysis of our conceptions of duty and obedience,

and

2. It was due to the cowardly passivity of our so-called state-preserving parties.

To this, the following must be added: The paralysis that attacked our concepts of duty and obedience was fundamentally due to our wholly nonnational and purely State education. From this arises the confusion of means and ends. Consciousness of duty, fulfillment of duty, and obedience are not ends in themselves, any more than the State is an end in itself. They all ought to be employed as means to facilitate and assure the existence on this Earth of a community of spiritually and physically homogeneous people. At an hour when a nation is manifestly collapsing, and when it appears as the victim of ruthless oppression–thanks to the conduct of a few scoundrels–then, to obey these people and fulfill one's duty towards them is mere doctrinaire formalism, and indeed pure folly. On the other hand, the refusal of obedience and ‘fulfillment of duty’ in such a case might save the nation from collapse. According to our current

bourgeois state conception, if a divisional general received an order not to shoot, he acted dutifully and thus rightly in not shooting, because in the bourgeois world, blind formal obedience is more valuable than the life of a nation. But according to the National Socialist conception, it isn't obedience to weak superiors that should prevail at such moments, but obedience to the national community. In such an hour, it's the duty of personal responsibility towards the whole nation that comes to the fore.

The Revolution succeeded because that concept had ceased to be a living concept with our people–or rather, with our government–and gave way to something that was merely formal and doctrinaire.

On the second point, the following must be said: The deeper reason for the cowardice of the 'state-preserving' parties is the fact that the most active and well-intentioned section of our people died in the war. Apart from that, the bourgeois parties, which may be considered as the only political formations that stood by the old State, were convinced that they ought to defend their principles only by intellectual ways and means, since the use of physical force was permitted only by the State. That outlook was a sign of a gradually-developing weakness and decadence. But it was also senseless at a time when there was a political adversary who had long ago abandoned that standpoint and, instead, openly declared that he meant to attain his political ends by force whenever possible. When Marxism emerged in the world of bourgeois democracy, as one of its results, the bourgeois-democratic appeal to fight Marxism with 'intellectual weapons' was an absurdity that would soon bring dire consequences. Marxism always professed the doctrine that the use of arms was purely a matter of expediency, and that success justified their use.

This idea was proven correct in the days from 7 to 11 November 1918. The Marxists did not then bother themselves in the least about parliament or democracy, but they gave the death blow to both through their yelling and shooting mob of criminals. It goes without saying that, at the same time, the bourgeois talking clubs were defenseless.

9.9 CAPITULATION TO MARXISM

After the Revolution, the bourgeois parties changed the name of their firm and suddenly reappeared, with heroic leaders emerging from dark cellars and airy storehouses where they had sought refuge. But, like all representatives of such institutions, they had not forgotten their errors or learned anything new. Their political program lay in the past, even though they became reconciled to the new regime. Their aim was to participate in the new establishment, and their sole weapon continued to be, as always–words.

Also after the Revolution, the bourgeois parties capitulated miserably to the street.

When the Law for the Protection of the Republic was introduced, the majority was not at first in favor of it. But, confronted with 200,000 demonstrating Marxists, the bourgeois 'statesmen' were so terrified that they voted for the law against their wills, because they feared they might get their heads smashed by the enraged masses on leaving the Reichstag. Unfortunately this never took place.

And so the new State developed along its own course, as if there were no national opposition at all.

The only organizations that, at that time, had the strength and courage to face Marxism and its enraged masses were, first of all, the volunteer corps, and later the organizations for self-defense, the civic guards, and finally the tradition leagues.

But their existence didn't appreciably change the course of German history, for the following reasons:

Just as the so-called national parties lacked influence because they had no force that could effectively demonstrate in the street, so too the defense leagues couldn't exercise any influence because they had no political ideal and especially because they had no real political goal.

Marxism's success was due to a perfect combination of political will and ruthless brutality. What excluded nationalist Germany from shaping German development was the lack of a determined cooperation between brute force and a wise political will.

Whatever the will of the 'national' parties may have been, they had no power at all to fight for this will, least of all in the streets.

The defense leagues had power at their disposal, and they were masters of the street and of the State, but they lacked political ideals and goals, for which their forces might have been–or could have been–employed in the interests of the German nation. The cunning Jew was able, in both cases, by his clever persuasion and persistence, to reinforce a pre-existing tendency to make this unfortunate state of affairs permanent.

The Jew succeeded in using his press for promoting the idea that the defense leagues were of a 'non-political character,' just as in politics he was always astute enough to praise and encourage the 'purely intellectual' character of the struggle. Millions of German idiots then repeated this nonsense without having the slightest idea that, by doing so, and for all practical purposes, they were disarming and delivering themselves, defenseless, to the Jew.

9.10 NO FIGHTING POWER WITHOUT AN IDEA

But there's a natural explanation for this as well. The lack of a great, creative, renewing idea has always meant a limitation in fighting power. The conviction of the right to employ even the most brutal weapons is always associated with an ardent faith in the necessity of victory for a revolutionary new order on Earth.

A movement that doesn't fight for such highest aims and ideals will never have recourse to the ultimate weapon.

The appearance of a new and great idea was the secret of success in the French Revolution; the Russian Revolution owes its triumph to an idea. Only the idea enabled fascism to triumphantly subject a whole nation to a process of complete renovation.

Bourgeois parties are incapable of this.

It wasn't only the bourgeois parties that fixed their aim on a restoration of the past, but also the defense leagues as well, insofar as they concerned themselves with political aims at all. The old veterans clubs and Kyffhaüser tendencies lived within them, and thereby helped to politically blunt the sharpest weapons that the

German nation then possessed, and allowed them to languish in the hands of republican serfs. The fact that they had the best of intentions in so doing, and certainly acted in good faith, doesn't alter in the slightest bit the foolishness of their actions.

Marxism gradually acquired the authority to enforce its power over the Reichswehr, and it then proceeded, consistently and logically, to abolish those defense leagues that seemed so dangerous. Some rash leaders who defied orders were summoned to court and sent to prison. But they all got what they deserved.

9.11 ADVOCACY OF THE FOLKISH IDEA

The founding of the NSDAP initiated, for the first time, a movement that sought not a mechanical restoration of the past–as the bourgeois parties did–but to substitute an organic folkish State for the present absurd state mechanism.

From the first day, the young movement took its stand on the principle that its ideas had to be propagated intellectually, but that, if necessary, muscular force would be employed to defend it. Faithful to the enormous importance of the new doctrine, it naturally believed that no sacrifice was too great when it came to attaining its goals.

I have already emphasized that a movement meant to win over the hearts of the people must be ready to defend itself with its own forces against terrorist attempts by its adversaries. As always shown in world history, formal State authority can never break a reign of terror inspired by a worldview; it can only be conquered by a new and different worldview, whose representatives just are as bold and determined. Acknowledging this fact has always been very unpleasant for the bureaucratic protectors of the State, but the fact remains nevertheless. State power can guarantee peace and order only when the State embodies a worldview that's dominant at the time, so that disrupting elements can be treated as isolated criminals, instead of being considered champions of an idea diametrically opposed to official views. In such a case, the State can employ the most violent measures, for centuries, against the oppressing terror, but in the end all these measures will fail, and

the State will succumb.

The German State is strongly overrun by Marxism. In 70 years of struggle, the State has been unable to prevent the triumph of this worldview–even though sentences to penal servitude and imprisonment amounted to thousands of years, and even though the bloodiest methods of repression were, in innumerable cases, applied against the champions of the Marxist worldview. In the end, the State was forced into almost total capitulation. (Ordinary bourgeois political leaders will deny all this, but they are unconvincing.)

Seeing that the State capitulated unconditionally to Marxism on 9 November 1918, it won't suddenly rise up tomorrow as its conqueror. On the contrary: Bourgeois simpletons sitting on ministerial stools babble about the necessity of not governing against the wishes of the workers, and by 'workers' they mean Marxism. By identifying the German worker with Marxism, they are not only guilty of a cowardly falsification of the truth, but they thus try to hide their own collapse before the Marxist idea and organization.

In view of the complete subordination of the present State to Marxism, the National Socialist movement feels all the more bound not only to prepare the way for the triumph of its idea but also to take upon itself a defense against the terror of the International, intoxicated with its victory.

9.12 NECESSITY OF DEFENSE TROOPS

I've already described how practical experience in our young movement led us to slowly organize a defense system for our meetings. This gradually assumed the character of a security troop specially trained for the maintenance of order, and aimed at an organizational form.

This new formation might externally resemble the so-called defense leagues, but in reality there are no grounds for comparison.

As already shown, the German defense organizations had no definite political ideas of their own. They really were only self-

defense leagues, more or less well-trained and organized, so that they were an illegal complement to the State's legal power. Their free-corps character arose only from the way that they were constructed and from the State's situation at that time, but they certainly couldn't claim this title on the grounds that they were free formations in the struggle for their own free conviction. This, despite the fact that some of their leaders, and all associations, were definitely opposed to the Republic. Before speaking of political convictions in the higher sense, we must be more than merely convinced of an existing condition's inferiority. These higher convictions mean that one has the knowledge of a new condition, feels the necessity of establishing it, and sets oneself to carrying it out as life's highest task.

What distinguishes the security troops of the National Socialist movement from all other defense leagues is the fact that our formations weren't meant in any way to defend the conditions created by the Revolution, but rather that they fought exclusively for a new Germany.

In the beginning, this security troop merely had the character of a meeting-hall guard. Its first task was limited: making it possible for us to hold our meetings, which otherwise would have been completely prevented by our opponents. These men were at that time trained purely for attack, but they weren't taught to exclusively honor the truncheon, as was then pretended in stupid German-folkish circles. They used it because they knew that even the greatest spirit can be struck down by a truncheon. As a matter of fact, it has not infrequently happened in history that some of the greatest minds have perished under the blows of the pettiest helots. Our men didn't look at violence as an end in itself, but they did protect the prophets of spiritual goals against violent coercion. They also understood that there was no obligation to undertake a defense of a State that didn't guarantee a defense of the nation, but that, on the contrary, they had to defend the nation against those who threatened to destroy people and State.

After the meeting-hall fight in the Munich Hofbräuhaus, where the small number of our security troops won everlasting fame by their heroic storm-attacks, were called the *Sturmabteilung* (SA).

As the name suggests, they represent only a section of the movement.[163] They are one link, just like propaganda, the press, educational institutes, and other sections of the Party.

We learned how necessary the formation of such a body was, not only from that memorable meeting but also when we sought to gradually spread the movement beyond Munich and into other parts of Germany. Once we began to appear dangerous to Marxism, they lost no opportunity at trying to preempt or break up any National Socialist meeting. It goes without saying that all the Marxist organizations, no matter what orientation, always blindly supported the policy and activities of their representatives. But what can be said of the bourgeois parties who, when reduced to silence by these same Marxists, and in many places didn't dare to send their speakers to appear in public, yet were pleased, in a stupid and incomprehensible manner, at every set-back we had in our fight against Marxism! They were happy that those whom they themselves couldn't defeat, but were beaten by, couldn't be broken by us either. What can be said of those State officials, police chiefs, and even ministers who showed a scandalous lack of principle in presenting themselves publicly as 'national' men, and yet, in the disputes we National Socialists had with the Marxists, acted as their stooges! What can be said of persons who debased themselves so far, for a pitiful word of praise from the Jewish papers, that they persecuted those men to whose heroism they were partly indebted, just a few years ago, for not having their tattered corpses strung up on lampposts by the Red mob!

These lamentable figures once caused the unforgettable late president Pöhner–a man whose unyielding straightforwardness compelled him to hate all low-lifes as only a man with an honest heart can hate-to say: "All my life I wished to be a German first and then an official, and I never wanted to be confused with those creatures who prostituted themselves like official whores before anyone who could play the leader of the moment."[164]

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[163] '*Abteilung*' may be translated as 'section.'

[164] Ernst Pöhner was Munich police chief from 1919 to 1922. See volume one, chapter 12, section 12.20.

It was an especially sad thing that tens of thousands of honest and loyal German civil servants gradually came under the power of [bourgeois] people, and were slowly contaminated by their disloyalty. Such men pursued honest officials with a grim hatred, driving them from their positions, and yet passed themselves off as ‘national’ through their lying hypocrisy.

From such men we could expect no support, and only very rarely was it given. Our movement became secure and attracted public attention and the general respect given to those who can defend themselves when attacked, only when it built up its own defense.

9.13 WHY NO DEFENSE LEAGUES?

As an underlying principle in the SA’s internal development, we decided that not only should it be perfectly trained in physical education but it should be so instructed as to become indomitably convinced champions of the National Socialist idea and, finally, that it should be educated toward the strictest discipline. It would have nothing to do with the bourgeois type of defense organizations, and especially not with any secret organization.

My reason at that time for sharply opposing having the SA of the NSDAP appear as a so-called defense league was as follows:

Purely on practical grounds, it’s impossible to conduct national military training by means of private associations, unless the State makes an enormous contribution to it. Whoever thinks otherwise overestimates his own abilities. It’s now entirely out of the question to form organizations of any military worth on the principle of so-called ‘voluntary discipline.’ Here the chief means for enforcing orders, namely, the power to punish, is lacking. In the autumn, or rather in the spring of 1919, it was still possible to raise so-called ‘free corps,’ not only because most of the men who came forward at that time had been schooled in the old army, but also because that kind of duty constrained the individual to absolute military obedience, at least for a while.

This is entirely lacking in today's volunteer ‘defense organizations.’ The larger the league becomes, the weaker its

discipline, and so much the less can one demand from the individuals. Thus the whole will all the more assume the character of the old non-political soldiers' and veterans' clubs.

It's impossible to carry out a voluntary training in military service for the great masses unless one is assured absolute power of command. There will never be more than a few men who will voluntarily and spontaneously submit to the kind of obedience that is considered obvious and natural in the army.

Moreover, real training cannot be developed where there are such ridiculously scant means as those at the disposal of the so-called defense leagues. Such an institution's principal task should be the best and most reliable kind of training. Eight years have passed since the War, and during that time none of our German youth have received any systematic training at all. The aim of a defense league cannot be to enlist all those who have already been trained, because in that case it could be mathematically calculated when the last member would leave this association. Even the youngest soldier from 1918 will be unable to fight in 20 years, and we are approaching that moment with disturbing speed. Thus every so-called defense league must assume more and more the character of an old soldier's club. But that cannot be the meaning and purpose of an organization that calls itself, not an old soldiers' league, but a defense association–indicating by this name that it considers its task to be not only to preserve the tradition and common bond of the old soldiers, but also to propagate the military ideal and to carry this into practical effect, which means the creation of a military body.

But this implies that those elements will receive a military training that, previously, received none, and this is impossible in practice. Real soldiers cannot be made by one or two hours of training per week. In view of the enormously increasing demands that modem warfare imposes on each individual today, a two year service period is barely sufficient to transform a raw recruit into a trained soldier. All of us in the field saw the fearful consequences when our young recruits lacked a thorough military training. Volunteer formations–which were drilled for 15 or 20 weeks under an iron discipline, and demonstrated boundless devotion–

proved no better than cannon fodder at the Front. Only when distributed among the ranks of the old and experienced soldiers could the young recruits, who were trained for four or six months, become useful members of a regiment; guided by the 'old men,' they gradually adapted to their task.

By contrast, how hopeless must the attempt be to create troops by a so-called training of one or two hours a week, without any definite power of command and without any considerable means! One could perhaps freshen up old soldiers this way, but never turn young men into soldiers.

That such a procedure gives utterly worthless results can also be demonstrated by the fact that, at the same time as these so-called volunteer defense leagues, with great effort and outcry and under difficulties and grief, try to educate and train a few thousand well-intentioned men (the others are totally ignored) for purposes of national defense, the State teaches our young men democratic and pacifist ideas. It thus deprives millions and millions of their natural instincts, poisons their logical sense of patriotism, and gradually turns them into a herd of sheep who will patiently follow any arbitrary command.

Thus they render laughable all those attempts made by the defense leagues to transmit their ideas to the German youth!

Almost more important is the following consideration, which has always made me take a stand against all attempts at a so-called military training on the basis of volunteer associations:

Assuming that, despite the difficulties just mentioned, a league were successful in training a certain number of Germans every year to be efficient soldiers, not only regarding their convictions but also their physical fitness and training in the use of arms, the result would nevertheless be practically zero. In such a State, its whole tendency makes it not only look upon such military education as undesirable but even positively hates it, because it completely contradicts the innermost aims of its leaders–who are the corrupters of this State.

In any case, such a result would be worthless under governments that have demonstrated by their own acts that they don't care about the military power of the nation, and are unwilling

to permit an appeal to that power, except, at best, only for the protection of their own malignant existence.

And this is the case today. Isn't it ridiculous to think of training some tens of thousands of men, surreptitiously, for a government when, just a few years earlier, the State shamefully sacrificed 8,500,000 highly trained soldiers! Not only did it not require their services anymore, but as thanks for their sacrifices, it held them up to public vilification! And now they want to train soldiers for a state regime that besmirched and spat upon our most glorious soldiers, tore the medals from their breasts, trampled on their flags, and derided their achievements? Or has the present regime ever taken one step towards restoring the old army's honor and calling out those who destroyed and reviled it? Not in the least. On the contrary: We see them enthroned in the highest State offices. As it was said at Leipzig: "Might makes right." Since, however, in our Republic today power is in the hands of the very men who conducted the Revolution, and since that Revolution represents a most despicable act of high treason in all of German history, there can surely be no grounds for enhancing the power of these characters by the formation of a young, new army. It's against all sound reason.

The importance that this State attached to the military reinforcement of its position, after the 1918 Revolution, is clearly and unmistakably demonstrated by its attitude towards the large self-defense organizations which then existed. They were not unwelcome as long as they were of use for the personal protection of the cowardly creatures of the Revolution. But the danger to these creatures seemed to disappear as the depravity of our people gradually increased. As the national-political forces strengthened, the defense associations became superfluous. Hence every effort was made to disarm and disintegrate them, wherever possible.

9.14 NO SECRET ORGANIZATIONS

History records only a few examples of gratitude on the part of princes. But there isn't one new bourgeoisie patriot who can count on the gratitude of revolutionary assassins, plunderers of the

people, and national traitors. In any case, in examining the question of the creation of defense leagues, I've not stopped asking: For whom am I training these young people? For what purpose will they be employed when they are called up? The answers to these questions provide the best rule for us to follow.

If the present State ever trained forces of this kind, it would never be for the purpose of defending national interests against outsiders, but rather to protect the internal oppressors of the nation against the danger of a general outbreak of wrath by a people who have been deceived, betrayed, and sold-out.

For this reason, the SA of the NSDAP should be nothing like a military organization. It was an instrument of defense and education for the National Socialist movement, and its duties lie in quite a different sphere from the so-called defense leagues.

It also shouldn't be a secret organization. Secret organizations have only illegal aims. Thus, such an organization's scope is necessarily limited. Considering the talkativeness of the German people, it isn't possible to build up any vast organization while keeping it secret and cloaking its purpose. Every such attempt would fail a thousand times. It's not merely that our police officials today have a staff of eavesdroppers and other such rabble who are ready to play traitor, like Judas, for 30 pieces of silver, or even invent things to betray, but it's impossible to bind even one's own followers to the necessary silence. Only very small groups can become real secret societies, and that only after many years of sifting. But the very smallness of such groups deprives them of value for the National Socialist movement. What we needed then, and need now, is not 100 or 200 reckless conspirators but 1 00,000 fanatical fighters for our worldview. The work mustn't be done through secret groups but through formidable mass demonstrations in public. Dagger, poison, and pistol cannot clear the way for the progress of the movement, but only by conquering the streets. We must show Marxism that National Socialism will be future master of the street, just as it will one day become master of the State.

The present danger with secret organizations lies in the fact that their members often completely misunderstand the greatness of

their task, and are apt to believe that a people's fate could be favorably decided by a single murder. Such a belief may find historical justification by appealing to cases where a nation had been suffering under the tyranny of some oppressor who, at the same time, was a man of genius and whose extraordinary personality guaranteed the internal solidity and fearful oppression of his position. In such cases, a self-sacrificing man may suddenly arise who is ready plunge the deadly steel into the heart of the hated individual. And only the republican sentiment of a petty scoundrel with a bad conscience would view such a deed as abhorrent. But our people's greatest poet of freedom has dared to glorify such an action, in his *Tell*.[165]

During 1919 and 1920 there was danger that members of secret organizations, under the influence of great historical examples and overcome by the immensity of the nation's misfortunes, might attempt to wreak vengeance on the destroyers of their country, believing that this would end the peoples' misery. All such attempts were sheer folly, because Marxism's triumph wasn't due to the superior genius of one remarkable person but rather to immeasurable incompetence and cowardly failure on the part of the bourgeois world. The harshest criticism that can be uttered against our bourgeoisie is the fact that they submitted to the Revolution, even though it didn't produce a single great leader. It's understandable to capitulate before a Robespierre, a Danton, or a Marat;[166] but it was utterly scandalous to crawl before the withered Scheidemann, the obese Herr Erzberger, a Frederick Ebert, and innumerable other political midgets.[167] There wasn't a single man who could be considered a revolutionary man of genius, and therein lay the country's misfortune. They were only revolutionary worms, backpack Spartacists, large and small. To

[165] The reference is to Schiller's play *William Tell*.

[166] Maximilien Robespierre (1758- 1794), Georges Danton (1759-1794), and Jean-Paul Marat (1743- 1793) were prominent figures in the French Revolution.

[167] Philipp Scheidemann (1865-1939) was a post-WWI chancellor of Germany. Friedrich Ebert (1871-1925) was a leader of the Social Democrats and the first post-war German president. Mattias Erzberger (1875-1921) was a German vice-chancellor and head of the delegation that signed the hated surrender agreement of 1918, and thus was viewed as a traitor by many, Hitler included.

suppress any one of them would have been inconsequential; the only result would be that a few other bloodsuckers, equally fat and thirsty, would be ready to take their place.

During those years we had to sharply attack an idea that owed its origin and foundation to great historical figures, but which was unsuited to our own despicable era.

The same consideration may be given to the question of eliminating so-called national traitors. It is ridiculously illogical to shoot a poor wretch who has betrayed a howitzer's position to the enemy while the highest positions of the government are occupied by scoundrels who sold out a whole Reich, who have the deaths of two million men, sacrificed in vain, on their consciences, who were responsible for millions maimed in the war, and who nonetheless carry on their republican business dealings. It's nonsense to eliminate small traitors in a State whose government has absolved the great traitors from all punishment. Then it might easily happen that, one day, an honest idealist–who, from patriotism, takes out some miserable arms informer–might now be called to account by the chief traitors of the country. And thus arises an important question: Should some small traitorous creature be eliminated by another such creature, or by an idealist? In the former case, success is doubtful and the deed would almost surely be revealed later on; in the second case, a petty scoundrel is eliminated and the life of an irreplaceable idealist is put in jeopardy.

My view is that small thieves should not be hanged while big ones go free. One day a national tribunal will have to judge and sentence some ten thousand organizers who were responsible for the criminal November betrayal and all the consequences that followed. Such an example will teach the necessary lesson, once and for all, to those paltry arms traitors.

Based on these considerations, I steadfastly forbade all participation in secret societies, and I took care that the SA should not assume such a character. During those years, I kept the National Socialist movement away from those experiments that were being undertaken by idealistic young Germans, who became

their own victims because they couldn't assist their Fatherland's destiny in the slightest way.

9.15 TRAINING OF THE SA

If, then, the SA could be neither a military defense organization nor a secret society, the following conclusions must result:

1. Its training must not be organized from a military standpoint but from that of party expediency.

Seeing that its members must undergo good physical training, primary emphasis must not be given to military drilling but rather to athletics. I have always considered boxing and ju-jitsu more important than an inferior–and mediocre–training in rifle-shooting. If the German nation were given 6 million young men with flawless athletic training, who were imbued with an ardent love for their country and a readiness to take the initiative in a fight, then the national State could make an army of them within two years, if necessary, and given certain preconditions. Today this could only be done by the Reichswehr, and not a defense league that always does things half-way. Physical conditioning must develop an individual's conviction of his own superiority and give him a confidence that's always based only on a consciousness of one's own powers; it must also develop that athletic agility that can serve as a defensive weapon for the movement.

2. In order to protect the SA against any tendency towards secrecy, not only must its uniform be immediately recognizable to all, but its large membership must demonstrate the movement's direction and be known to the whole public.

It mustn't hold secret gatherings but must march in the open and thus, by its actions, put an end to all legends about a 'secret organization.' In order to avoid all temptations towards finding an outlet in small conspiracies, from the very beginning we had to inculcate the great idea of the movement and educate its members so thoroughly in the task of defending this idea that their horizon became enlarged; the individual no longer considered it his mission to eliminate some scoundrel or other, but to fight for the

establishment of a new National Socialist folkish State. In this way, the struggle against the present State was placed on a higher plane than that of petty revenge and small conspiracies, and was elevated to a struggle for a worldview, a war for the destruction of Marxism and its organization.

3. The form of organization for the SA, as well as its uniform and equipment, had to follow different models from those of the old army; rather, they had to be suited to functional needs.

9.16 FIRST MARCH IN MUNICH

These were the ideas I followed in 1920 and 1921. I attempted to gradually instill them into the young organization, with the result that, by midsummer 1922, we had an imposing number of formations. By late autumn 1922, these formations received their distinctive uniforms. Subsequently, three events turned out to be of supreme importance for the shaping of the SA.

1. The great mass demonstration of all patriotic groups against the Law for the Protection of the Republic, held in late summer 1922 on the Konigsplatz in Munich.

Munich's patriotic groups had appealed for a large demonstration to protest the introduction of the law. The National Socialist movement also participated in it. The party procession was led by six Munich blocks, followed by the political sections of the party. Two bands marched along and about 15 flags were carried. When the National Socialists arrived at the half-filled square, no flags were flying but our entry aroused unbounded enthusiasm. I myself had the honor of being one of the speakers who addressed the crowd of about 60,000 people.

The rally was an overwhelming success, especially because it proved for the first time that nationalist Munich could march on the streets, despite threats from the Reds. Red Republican defense corps tried to terrorize the marching columns, but they were scattered by SA detachments within a few minutes and sent off with bleeding skulls. The National Socialist movement had then shown, for the first time, that in the future it was determined to exercise the right to the streets and thus to take this monopoly

away from the international traitors and enemies of the people.

The result of that day was an incontestable proof that our ideas for the structure of the SA were right, both psychologically and organizationally.

On the basis of this success, enlistment progressed so rapidly that within a few weeks the number of Munich blocks had doubled.

9.17 MARCH AT COBURG

2. The march at Coburg in October 1922.[168]

'Folkish' associations decided to hold a so-called 'German Day' at Coburg. I was invited to take part, with the suggestion that I should bring an escort. This request, which I received at 11:00 am, arrived just in time. Within an hour, arrangements for our participation in this 'German Day' were ready. I picked 800 SA men as my 'escort,' who were divided into about 14 blocks and had to be brought by special train from Munich to that little city that had become Bavarian. Similar orders were given to other National Socialist SA groups, which had meanwhile been formed in other places.

This was the first time that such a special train ran in Germany. All the places where the new SA members joined our train caused a sensation. Many people had never seen our flag; it made a very great impression.

When we arrived at the Coburg station, we were received by representatives of the 'German Day' organizing committee. They announced that they had an 'agreement' with the local trades unions-that is, the Independent and Communist Parties–that we should not enter the town with our flags unfurled or our band playing (we had a 42-piece band with us), and that we should not march in a solid column.

I immediately rejected these disgraceful conditions and did not fail to declare to these gentlemen who had arranged this event how astonished I was at their negotiating with such people and

[168] Coburg lies about 250 km (150 miles) to the north of Munich.

agreeing with them. Then I announced that the SA would immediately march into town in company formation, with our flags flying and band playing.

And that's exactly what happened.

As we arrived in the station yard, we were met by a howling and screaming mob of several thousand. 'Murderers,' 'bandits,' 'robbers,' 'criminals' were the names these exemplary founders of the German Republic showered on us. The young SA was a model example of order; the blocks fell into formation on the square in front of the station, and at first took no notice of the vulgar insults. The anxious police didn't guide us to our assigned quarters on the outskirts of Coburg–a city quite unfamiliar to us–but to the Hofbräuhaus Keller in the center of town. To the right and left of our march, the uproar raised by the accompanying mob steadily increased. Scarcely had the last block entered the Keller courtyard when the huge mass made a rush to get us, shouting madly. In order to prevent this, the police closed the Keller. Seeing that the position was untenable, I called the SA to attention and then asked the police to open the gates immediately. After a long hesitation, they consented.

We now marched back along the same route that we came, toward our quarters, and there we had to make a stand. As their cries and yells had failed to disturb our men's composure, those champions of true socialism, equality, and fraternity now took to throwing stones. That ended our patience, and for ten minutes long, a devastating hail of blows fell right and left. Fifteen minutes later there were no more Reds to be seen in the street.

In the evening there were more serious clashes. SA patrols found some National Socialists who had been attacked alone and were in terrible condition. Thereupon we made short work of our opponents. By the following morning, the Red terror, which had afflicted Coburg for years, was definitely smashed.

With typical Marxist-Jewish lies, leaflets were distributed by hand on the streets, calling on all "comrades and comradesses of the international proletariat" to return to the street. Twisting the facts completely around, they declared that our "band of murderers" had begun a "war of extermination against the

peaceful workers" of Coburg. At 1:30 pm that day, there was to be a "great popular demonstration," at which it was hoped that tens of thousands of workers from the whole district would turn up. I was determined to finally crush this Red terror and so I summoned the SA–whose numbers had swollen to 1,500 men–to meet at 12:00 noon. I decided to march with these men to the Coburg Fortress, crossing the big square where the Red demonstration was to take place. I wanted to see if they would try to assault us again.

When we entered the square we found that, instead of the announced ten thousand, there were only a few hundred people. As we approached, they mostly stayed silent, and some ran away. Only at certain points along the way did Red troops–who had arrived from outside and didn't yet know us–try to pester us again; but a few fists ended their enthusiasm. And now one could see how the frightened and intimidated population slowly woke up and recovered their courage, and shouted greetings to us. In the evening, on our return march, spontaneous cheering broke out at many points.

At the station, the railway men suddenly told us that our train wouldn't run. Thereupon I informed some of the ringleaders that if this were the case, I would round up all the Red bosses that fell into our hands, that we would drive the train ourselves, taking along a few dozen members of this brotherhood of international solidarity in the locomotive and luggage compartment of every car. I didn't fail to mention to these gentlemen that such a trip would undoubtedly be a very risky adventure, and that we might all break our necks. It would be a consolation, however, to know that we wouldn't go to the Beyond alone, but in equality and fraternity with the Red gentlemen.

Thereupon the train departed punctually, and we arrived the next morning in Munich safe and sound.

Thus, for the first time since 1914, the equality of all Coburg citizens before the law was re-established. Even if some simpleton of a higher official should assert today that the State protects the lives of its citizens, it was certainly not so in those days; at that

time, the citizens had to defend themselves against the representatives of the present State.

9.18 THE SA SUCCEEDS AS A FIGHTING ORGANIZATION

At first, one couldn't fully estimate the importance of that day's consequences. The self-confidence of the victorious SA was considerably enhanced, as was their faith in their leaders. Our contemporaries began to pay special attention to us, and for the first time many recognized the National Socialist movement as an institution that, in all likelihood, was bound to bring a suitable end to the Marxist insanity.

Only the democrats lamented that we dared not allow our skulls to be cracked and that, in a democratic Republic, we had the audacity to hit back with fists and clubs at a brutal assault, rather than with pacifist chants.

Generally speaking, and as always, the bourgeois press was partly distressed and partly contemptible. Only a few decent newspapers expressed satisfaction that at least someone had dared to deal with the handiwork of the Marxist thugs.

And in Coburg itself, at least some of the Marxist workers–who could be regarded as misled–learned from the blows of National Socialist fists that these workers were also fighting for ideals, because experience shows that people fight only for something that they believe in and love.

The SA itself, however, benefited the most. It grew so quickly in numbers that at the Party Day on 27 January 1923, around 6,000 men participated in the flag dedication ceremony, and the first blocks were fully clad in their new uniform.

Our Coburg experience proved how essential it is to introduce one distinctive uniform for the SA, not only to strengthen the esprit de corps but also to avoid confusion and the danger of non-recognization. Until then, they had merely worn an armband, but now the jacket and the well-known cap were added.

Additionally, the Coburg experience resulted in our determination to break the Red terror in all those localities where,

for many years, it had prevented men of other views from holding their meetings, and we began to restore freedom of assembly. From that time onwards, National Socialist battalions came together in such places, and gradually the red citadels of Bavaria, one after another, fell to National Socialist propaganda. The SA became more and more adept at their task, and thus increasingly lost all semblance of an aimless and lifeless defense movement, and rose to the level of a living organization in the struggle for the establishment of a new German State.

This logical development continued until March 1923. Then an event occurred that made me divert the movement from its previous course and introduce some changes.

9.19 THE END OF 1923

3. In the first months of 1923, the French occupation of the Ruhr district had a great significance for the development of the SA.

It's not yet possible, nor would it be in the interest of the nation, to write or speak openly on this subject. I will speak of it only as far as the matter has been dealt with in public discussions and thus brought to common knowledge.

The occupation of the Ruhr, which came as no surprise to us, gave grounds for hoping that we would at last abandon our cowardly policy of submission, thereby giving a definite task to the defense leagues.

The SA also, which now numbered several thousand powerful young men, could not be excluded from this national service. During the spring and summer of 1923, it was transformed into a fighting military organization. This caused the later development of 1923, insofar as it affected our movement.

I'll broadly deal with the developments of 1923 elsewhere. Here I'll only state that the SA's transformation at that time would have been detrimental to the movement's interests if the conditions that had motivated the change weren't carried into effect–namely, the resumption of active resistance against France.

The close of 1923, terrible as it may seem at first sight, was almost a necessity from a higher standpoint because, in view of

the attitude of the German Reich government, it ended a conversion of the SA that would have been harmful to the movement. At the same time it created the possibility that some day we could reconstruct it from the point at which we had been diverted.

9.20 THE NEW SA OF 1925

The NSDAP was re-founded in 1925, and had to reorganize and retrain its SA according to the above principles. It must return to the healthy original ideas, and must once more consider its most essential task to create, in the SA, an instrument for the conduct and strengthening of the movement in the battle of worldviews.

The SA mustn't be allowed to sink to the level of a kind of defense league or a secret organization; it must instead become a vanguard of hundreds of thousands of men, on behalf of the National Socialist-and thus folkish–ideal.

CHAPTER 10
THE MASK OF FEDERALISM

In the winter of 1919, and still more in the spring and summer of 1920, the young party felt bound to take up a definite stand on a question that already had become quite serious during the War. In the first volume [of this book], I briefly recorded certain facts that I had personally witnessed and which threatened German collapse. I made reference to the special type of propaganda that was directed by the English and the French towards reopening the breach that had existed between North and South [Germany]. In spring 1915, the first of a systematic series of leaflets appeared that were aimed to arouse feelings against Prussia as being solely responsible for the War. By 1916 this system had been perfected, as cunning as it was shameless. Appealing to the basest of human instincts, this agitation of the South Germans against the North Germans soon began to bear fruit.

10.1 ANTI-PRUSSIAN HATRED AS DIVERSIONARY MANEUVER

Government and army officials–or rather, their Bavarian staff offices–merited reproach for having blindly neglected their duty and failed to take the necessary steps to counter this action. Nothing was done! On the contrary, in some quarters it didn't even appear to be unwelcome, and probably they were short-sighted enough to think that such propaganda might assist the development of German unification, and even that it might automatically bring about a strengthening of the federative forces.

Scarcely ever in history has such a malicious omission brought about more evil consequences. The attempted weakening of Prussia affected the whole of Germany. It resulted in hastening the collapse, not only of Germany but, even more so, the individual

states themselves.

The Revolution first broke out against the Royal House in that city where the artificially-created hatred against Prussia raged most violently.[169]

It would be false to think that enemy propaganda was exclusively responsible for creating an anti-Prussian feeling, and that there were no reasons to justify it. The incredible way in which our war economy was organized, and the absolutely insane system of centralization that constrained and exploited the whole Reich, furnished the principal grounds for the rise of anti-Prussian feelings. The average citizen looked upon the war societies–all of which had their headquarters in Berlin–as identical with Berlin, and Berlin itself as identical with Prussia. The individual didn't know that the organizers of these robbery institutions, called war societies, were neither Berliners nor Prussians, and not even German at all. People saw only the great faults and the continual encroachments of that hated institution in the Reich capitol, and naturally directed their anger towards both Berlin and Prussia-all the more because, in certain quarters, nothing was done about this, but it was even secretly and gleefully welcomed.

The Jew was far too shrewd not to understand that the infamous campaign that he had organized, under the cloak of war societies, for plundering the German nation would, and eventually must, arouse opposition. But as long as it didn't jump directly at his own throat, he had no reason to fear it. Hence he decided that the best way to forestall an explosion by the despairing and indignant masses was to cause their rage to flare up elsewhere and thus to divert it.

Let Bavaria fight as much as it liked with Prussia, and Prussia with Bavaria; the more the better! The bitterest struggle between the two meant the securest peace for the Jew. Thus public attention was completely diverted from this international maggot of peoples; indeed, he was all but forgotten. Then if there came a danger that level-headed people–of whom there are many to be found in Bavaria, as elsewhere–might call for understanding,

[169] That is, in Berlin.

reflection, and restraint, thus calming the outrage, the Jew in Berlin simply had to stage a new provocation and await results. In an instant, all those who profiteered from the conflict between North and South once again fanned the flames of indignation until they blazed.

It was a shrewd and expert game played by the Jew, to occupy and distract the different branches of the German people, in order to plunder them all the more completely.

Then came the Revolution.

10.2 KURT EISNER, 'BAVARIAN PARTICULARIST'

Until the year 1918–or rather until November of that year–the average man, particularly the lower middle-class and the workers, misunderstood what was happening and didn't realize what the inevitable consequences would be, especially for Bavaria, of this internecine quarrel among Germans. But at least those sections that called themselves 'nationalist' should have recognized things on the day that the Revolution broke out. The moment the action succeeded, the leader and organizer of the Revolution in Bavaria became the defender of 'Bavarian' interests. The international Jew, Kurt Eisner, began to play off Bavaria against Prussia. This Oriental was just about the last man suited to defend Bavarian interests.

In his time as a tabloid journalist, he wandered all over Germany, and Bavaria's well-being was a matter of sheer indifference to him.

In consciously giving the Bavarian revolutionary uprising the character of an offensive against the Reich, Kurt Eisner was not acting in the least from Bavarian interests, but rather as a representative of Jewry.

He exploited existing instincts and antipathies in Bavaria as a means to break up Germany all the more easily. The shattered Reich would then have easily fallen prey to Bolshevism.

His tactics were continued for a time after his death.[170] The Marxists, who had always derided and exploited the individual German states and their princes, now suddenly appeared as an 'Independent Party' and appealed to the sentiments and instincts that had their strongest roots in the royal houses and individual states.

The fight waged by the Bavarian Republic of Councils against the military contingents sent to liberate Bavaria was represented by propaganda as mainly a 'struggle of the Bavarian worker' against 'Prussian militarism.' This explains why it was that, in Munich, the suppression of the Republic of Councils didn't have the same effect as in the other German districts; instead of bringing the masses to their senses, it led to increased bitterness and anger against Prussia.

The art of the Bolshevik agitators in representing the elimination of the Republic of Councils as a victory of Prussian militarism' over the 'antimilitaristic' and 'anti-Prussian' Bavarian people bore rich fruit.

Whereas Kurt Eisner, upon the elections to the Bavarian Legislative Diet, didn't have even 10,000 followers in Munich, and the Communist Party less than 3,000, after the fall of the Republic, both parties combined earned nearly 100,000 voters.

10.3 MY STRUGGLE AGAINST ANTI-PRUSSIAN HATRED

It was then that I personally began to combat the insane incitement of the German people against themselves.

I believe that never in my life did I undertake a more unpopular task than when I took my stand against the anti-Prussian incitement. Even during the Soviet period in Munich, great public meetings were held in which hatred against the rest of Germany– and against Prussia in particular–were aroused to such a degree that a North German would have risked his life in attending such

[170] Eisner was shot to death in February 1919 by German soldiers who had reasserted control over Bavaria.

a meeting. These meetings often ended in mad cries of: “Away from Prussia!” “Down with Prussia!” “War against Prussia!” This feeling was expressed in the Reichstag by a particularly brilliant defender of Bavarian sovereign rights when he said: “Rather die as a Bavarian than rot as a Prussian.”

One would have had to live through some of the meetings at that time in order to understand what it meant when, for the first time, and surrounded by only a handful of friends, I raised my voice against this madness at a meeting in the Munich Löwenbräukeller. Some of my war comrades stood by me, and it’s easy to imagine how we felt when that crowd, which had lost all reason, roared at us and threatened to kill us. This same crowd was, for the most part, safely ensconced in reserve posts or hanging around at home as deserters and slackers, even as we were defending the Fatherland. To be sure, such scenes turned to my advantage, since my small band of comrades felt for the first time absolutely united with me, and readily swore to live or die by my side.

These struggles, which were constantly repeated in 1919, seemed to become sharper soon after the beginning of 1920. There were meetings! remember especially one in the Wagner Hall on Sonnenstrasse in Munich-during which my group, now grown much larger, had to defend themselves against violent assaults. Not infrequently, dozens of my followers were mishandled, thrown to the floor and trampled underfoot, and were finally thrown out of the hall more dead than alive.

The struggle that I had undertaken, first by myself alone and later with the support of my war comrades, was now continued by the young movement, as, I might also say, a sacred mission.

I’m proud of being able to say today that we–depending almost exclusively on our Bavarian followers–were responsible for putting an end, slowly but surely, to this coalition of stupidity and treason. I say stupidity and treason because, although convinced that the mass of followers were just well-meaning fools, I cannot say the same about the organizers and instigators. I looked upon them then, and still do today, as traitors who were bought and paid

for by France. In one case, that of Dorten, history has already pronounced its judgment.[171]

10.4 'FEDERATIVE ACTIVITY'

The situation became particularly dangerous at that time because of the way in which real tendencies were concealed, by insisting primarily on federalistic intentions as the sole motives of the agitation. But it's quite obvious that the anti-Prussian hatred had nothing to do with federalism. Surely 'federative activities' is not the way to describe an effort to dissolve and dismember another federal state. An honest federalist, for whom Bismarck's conception of the Reich is not a counterfeit phrase, could not in the same breath want to cut off portions of the Prussian State, which Bismarck created or at least completed. Nor could he publicly support such a separatist attempt. What an outcry would have been raised in Munich if some Prussian conservative party declared itself in favor of detaching Franconia from Bavaria, or took public action to demand and promote it!

Nevertheless, one can only feel sorry for all those real and honest federalists who failed to see through this foul swindle; they were its principal victims. By thus distorting the federalist idea, its own champions dug its grave. One cannot propagandize for a federalist form of the Reich by debasing, abusing, and besmirching the essential element of such a political structure, namely Prussia-and thus making such a thing impossible, if it ever was possible. It's all the more incredible by reason of the fact that the fight carried on by those so-called federalists was directed against that Prussia which was the last that could be connected with the November 'democracy.' For the abuse and attacks of these so-called 'federalists' weren't leveled against the fathers of the Weimar Constitution-the majority of whom were South

[171] Hans Adam Dorten (1880-1963) was a German lawyer who attempted to establish a secessionary "Rhenish Republic" in the Rhineland, with French support, following World War One. After some four years of trying, he fled to France in late 1923.

Germans or Jews[172]–but against those who represented the old conservative Prussia, who were the antipodes of the Weimar Constitution. It's no surprise that they were careful not to attack the Jews, and this perhaps gives the solution to the whole riddle.

10.5 JEWISH INCITEMENT ACTIVITY

Before the Revolution, the Jew was successful in distracting attention from himself and his war societies by inciting the masses, and especially the Bavarians, against Prussia. After the Revolution, he had to camouflage his new, and ten-times greater, campaign of plunder. And again he succeeded, in this case by provoking the so-called 'national' elements against one another: the conservative Bavarians against the equally conservative-minded Prussians. And again he acted with extreme cunning, inasmuch as he who held the reins of the Reich's destiny provoked such crude and tactless aggressions that they set the blood boiling of those who were affected. Never against the Jew, but always against the German brother. The Bavarian didn't see the Berlin of 4,000,000 industrious and efficient workers, but only the rotten, decadent Berlin of the vilest West Side! And his hatred wasn't directed against this West Side but against the 'Prussian' city.[173]

It really drove one to despair.

The Jew's ability to turn public attention away from himself and toward another direction may be studied again today.

In 1918 there was nothing like an organized anti-Semitism. I still remember the difficulties we encountered the moment we mentioned the word 'Jew.' We were either confronted with dumb-struck looks or else a lively resistance. Our first attempts to point out the real enemy to the public seemed to be hopeless, but then slowly things began to change for the better. As bad as the 'Watch

[172] The two dominant parties at the time were the Social Democrats and the German Democratic Party. After the war, they joined forces in the city of Weimar, in January 1919, to write a new constitution. Jews were front and center in both of these parties: Otto Landesberg, Eduard Bernstein, and Rudolf Hilferding in the former, and Walter Rathenau in the latter. Rathenau would go on to become German Foreign Minister in 1922. His Jewish colleague, Hugo Preuss, wrote the constitution itself.

[173] The west side of Berlin was known as the Jewish quarter.

and Resist League' was, at least it had the great merit of reopening the Jewish Question.[174] In any case, in the winter of 1918-1919, a kind of anti-Semitism slowly began to take root. Later on, the National Socialist movement presented the Jewish Question in a new light. Taking the question beyond the restricted circles of the upper and lower bourgeoisie , we succeeded in transforming it into the driving impulse of a great popular movement.

But the moment we succeeded in placing this problem before the German people in the light of a great, unified struggle, the Jew reacted. He resorted to his old tactics. With amazing swiftness he hurled the torch of discord into the folkish movement and opened a rift. Bringing up the ultramontane question, and the resulting clash between Catholicism and Protestantism, was the sole possibility, at the time, of distracting public attention and thus warding off a concentrated attack against Jewry.[175] Those who dragged our people into this controversy can never atone for their wrongs. In any case, the Jew had attained his desired end: Catholics and Protestants fighting a merry war with one another, while the mortal enemy of Aryan humanity and all Christendom laughs up his sleeve.

10.6 DENOMINATIONAL DISCORD

At one time it was possible to occupy public attention for years with the struggle between federalism and centralism, wearing out its energy while the Jew trafficked in the nation's freedom and sold our Fatherland to international high finance. Now he has succeeded again, this time by raising disputes between the two German religious denominations while the foundations of both are being corroded and undermined by the poison of the international world Jew.

Look at the ravages that our people are suffering daily as a result

[174] The *Schutz- und Trutzbund*, founded in 1919, was a German nationalist group that sought to protect Germany from Jewish influences and Bolshevism more broadly. Among their symbols was the swastika–evidently the inspiration for Hitler.

[175] 'Ultramontanism' refers to the old dispute between Catholics and Protestants regarding the authority and legitimacy of the pope.

of Jewish bastardization, and consider that this blood poisoning can only be eliminated from the national body after centuries, if ever. Think further of how the process of racial disintegration is debasing and often even destroying the fundamental Aryan values of our German people, such that our national cultural creativeness is regressing and we run the risk, at least in our large cities, of sinking to the present level of southern Italy. This pestilential contamination of the blood, blindly ignored by hundreds of thousands of our people, is being systematically conducted by the Jew today. These black parasites of our nation systematically corrupt our innocent blond girls and thus destroy something irreplaceable in this world.

Both, yes, both Christian denominations look on with indifference at the desecration and destruction of a noble and unique creature who was given to the world by God's grace. The future of the world, however, doesn't depend on whether Protestants defeat Catholics, or Catholic Protestants; what matters is whether Aryan humanity survives or perishes. And yet the two Christian denominations are not fighting against the destroyer of this kind of man but are trying to destroy each other. The folkish-oriented man has a sacred duty, within his own denomination, to make people stop talking about God's will and instead actually fulfill God's will, and to not let God's work be desecrated.

God's will gave men their form, essence, and abilities. Whoever destroys His work declares war against God's creation, the divine will. Therefore everyone should consider it his first and most solemn duty, within his own denomination, to oppose anyone whose conduct tends, either by word or deed, to go outside his own religious group and quarrel with another. In view of the religious schism that exists in Germany, to attack the essential characteristics of one denomination must necessarily lead to a war of extermination between the two denominations. There's no comparison between our position and that of France or Spain, or even Italy. In those three countries, one can, for instance, propagandize against clericalism or Ultramontanism without thereby incurring the danger of a national rift among the French, Spanish, or Italian people. In Germany, however, that's not the

case, for here the Protestants would also take part in such propaganda. And thus the resistance, which elsewhere only Catholics would organize against political encroachment by their own clergy, would become a Protestant attack against Catholicism. What may be tolerated by the faithful in one denomination, even when it seems unjust, will at once be indignantly rejected if the opponent is of another creed.

This is so true that even men who would be ready and willing to correct an abuse within their own religious denomination will drop their own fight, and turn their activities against the outsider, the moment that such a correction is advised or demanded by someone of another faith. They consider it unjustified and inadmissible, and even indecent, for outsiders to meddle in matters that don't affect them. Such attempts are not excused even when they are in the higher right of the national community, because even in our day, religious feelings go deeper than all feeling for political and national expediency. That cannot be changed by denominations opposing each other in bitter conflict, but only if, through a spirit of mutual tolerance, the nation can be assured of a great future that would gradually operate as a conciliating factor.

I have no hesitation in saying that in these men who seek today to embroil the folkish movement in religious quarrels are worse enemies of my people than any international communist. The National Socialist movement's mission is to convert those communists. But anyone who takes the movement away from its mission is reprehensible. Consciously or unconsciously–it doesn't matter-such a person is fighting for Jewish interests. It's in Jewish interests today that the energies of the folkish movement are bled out in religious conflict, because it's beginning to become a danger for the Jews. I deliberately emphasize the phrase 'bled out'; only someone who is entirely ignorant of history could imagine that this movement can solve a problem that has defied the centuries and the greatest statesmen.

Anyhow, the facts speak for themselves. The men who suddenly discovered, in 1924, that the highest mission of the folkish movement was to fight against 'Ultramontanism' didn't smash it, but they did succeed in splitting the movement. I have to

guard against any immature mind arising in the folkish movement who thinks he can do what even a Bismarck failed to do. It will be the first duty of the leaders of the National Socialist movement to unconditionally oppose any attempt to drive it into such a conflict, and to immediately expel any propagandists of such an intention.

As a matter of fact, by autumn 1923 we succeeded entirely. The most devoted Protestant could stand side by side with the most devoted Catholic in our ranks without the slightest conflict with his religious convictions. On the contrary, the mighty common struggle that both waged against the destroyer of Aryan humanity taught them natural respect and esteem. And it was just in those years that our movement had to engage in a sharp struggle with the Center, not on religious grounds but for national, racial, and economic-political reasons. The results spoke in our favor, just as today they testify against the know-it-alls.

In recent years, things have gone so far that folkish circles, in the Godforsaken blindness of their denominational strife, didn't recognize the insanity of their conduct. This was so, even given the fact that atheist Marxist newspapers advocated the cause of one religious community or the other, when convenient, so as to create confusion through slogans and remarks that were often immeasurably stupid. They stirred the fire to keep it ablaze.

But in the case of a people like the Germans, whose history has so often shown them capable of fighting to the last drop of blood for mere phantoms, every war-cry is a mortal danger. In this way, our people have often been drawn away from the real problems of their existence. While we were exhausting ourselves in religious wars, others were carving up the world. And while the folkish movement is debating whether the ultramontane danger is greater than the Jewish, or vice versa, the Jew is destroying the racial basis of our existence and thereby destroying our people forever. Regarding that kind of 'folkish' warrior, on behalf of the National Socialist movement and therefore of the German people, I pray with all my heart: "Lord, protect us from such friends, and then we can easily deal with our enemies."

10.7 FEDERALIZED OR CENTRALIZED STATE?

The struggle between federalism and centralization, so cunningly propagated by the Jews in 1919-1921 and onwards, forced the National Socialist movement-which rejected the dispute–to take a position on its essential problems. Should Germany be a federalized or centralized State? And what is the practical significance of these terms? It seems to me that the second question is more important, because it's fundamental to the understanding of the whole problem and also because it has a clarifying and therefore conciliatory effect.

What is a federal State? By this term we mean a union of sovereign states that come together, of their own free will and in virtue of their sovereignty. They cede to the collective as much of their own sovereign rights as makes the existence of the union possible, and guarantees it.

But this theoretical formula does not entirely apply to any federation that exists today. And least of all, to the American Union, where it’s impossible to speak of original sovereignty; many of them weren’t included in the federal system until much later. The American Union's individual states are mostly just territories, more or less formed for technical administrative purposes, and their boundaries simply drawn on a map. These states did not and could not possess sovereign rights of their own. These states didn’t form the Union, but rather it was the Union that created most of the so-called states. Therefore the comprehensive sovereign rights that were left, or rather granted, to the various territories correspond not only to the federation’s whole character but also to its vast area, its spatial dimensions, which are continental in scope. Consequently, in speaking of the United States of America, one mustn't speak of state sovereignty but rather of states’ rights–or better, privileges–established and guaranteed by a constitution.

Nor does the above definition adequately express the German state of affairs, although it's true that in Germany the individual states existed first, and that the Reich was formed from them. The Reich, however, wasn’t formed by the voluntary and equal

cooperation of the individual states, but rather through the hegemony of one state, Prussia. The great difference in the territorial area alone between the German states prevents any comparison with, for example, the American Union. The great difference in territorial area between the very small German states that then existed and the larger, or even the largest, demonstrates the inequality of their achievements and in their founding and shaping of the Reich. In most of these states, it cannot be maintained that they ever enjoyed real sovereignty; and 'state sovereignty' was only an administrative phrase. In reality, in both past and present, we have eliminated several of these so-called 'sovereign states' and thus demonstrated the frailty of these 'sovereign' formations.

I cannot deal here with the historical formation of these states, but I will say that, in almost no case do they coincide with ethnic boundaries. They were purely political phenomena that, for the most part, emerged during the gloomy epoch when the German Reich was impotent and dismembered. They represented both cause and effect of the fragmentation of our German Fatherland.

The constitution of the old Reich took this partly into account, insofar as the individual states weren't granted equal representation in the Bundesrat, but rather had representation proportional to size and importance, and achievement, in the formation of the Reich.

The sovereign rights that the individual states renounced in order to form the Reich were hardly voluntarily; for the most part they were all but non-existent, or were simply taken under the pressure of Prussia's dominating power. Bismarck's principle was not to give the Reich what he could take from the individual states but to demand from the individual states only what was absolutely necessary for the Reich. This was a moderate and wise policy that, on the one hand, showed the highest regard for customs and traditions, and which, on the other, ensured a great measure of love and willing cooperation for the new Reich. But it would be a fundamental error to attribute Bismarck's decision to any conviction that the Reich thus possessed sovereign rights for all time. Bismarck had no such conviction; on the contrary, he simply

wanted to defer to the future that which would have been difficult to accomplish and hard to enforce in the short run. He hoped that the slow development of compromises would be stronger than any attempt to break the resistance of the individual states. Thus he showed his great ability in the art of statesmanship. And, in reality, the Reich's sovereignty has continually increased at the cost of the sovereignty of individual states. Time has fulfilled 's expectations.

The German collapse and the destruction of the monarchical State form necessarily hastened this development. The individual German states–which weren't grounded on ethnic foundations but arose from political causes-were bound to lose their importance upon the exclusion of the monarchical form of government and its dynasties. Many of these 'state formations' became unstable and thus were induced to voluntarily merge with larger states; the scant respect that they earned from their own citizens was the most striking proof of the exceptional weakness of these little formations.

10.8 THE POLICY OF REDEMPTION

Though the abolition of the monarchical State form and its representatives dealt a hard blow to the federal character of the Reich, even worse was the acceptance of the obligations that resulted from the 'peace' treaty.

It was only natural and logical that the federal states should lose all sovereign financial control as soon as the Reich, due to losing the war, was subjected to financial obligations that could never be guaranteed through separate treaties with the individual states. The subsequent steps that led the Reich to take over the postal service and railways were necessary effects of enslaving our people, gradually initiated by the peace treaties. The Reich was forced to secure a constantly-increasing store of resources in order to satisfy the demands made by further extortions.

As insane as the forms of centralization were, the process itself was logical and natural. Blame must be placed on those men and parties that failed to do everything possible to win the War. Guilt lies on those parties, especially in Bavaria, that catered to their

own egotistic interests during the War and withheld from the Reich that which had to be paid ten-fold after it was lost. Avenging history! Rarely has Heaven's punishment followed so closely after the crime as it did in this case. Those same parties that, a few years previously, placed the interests of their own states–especially in Bavaria–above those of the Reich had now to look on passively while the pressure of events forced the Reich, in its own interests, to abolish the existence of the individual states. And all through their own complicity.

It was an unparalleled example of hypocrisy to raise the cry of lamentation over the loss that the federal states suffered in being deprived of their sovereign rights. This cry was raised before the electorate, for it is only to the electorate that our contemporary parties address themselves. But these parties, without exception, outbid one another in accepting a policy of fulfillment which, by the sheer force of circumstances and in its ultimate consequences, could not but lead to a profound alteration in the internal structure of the Reich. Bismarck's Reich was free and unhampered by any obligations towards the outside world.

It's unparalleled hypocrisy to bemoan to the mass of voters (and it's only toward them that our present-day parties direct their agitation) the loss of individual state sovereignty, even as all these parties sought to outbid one another in a politics of fulfillment that could not but lead to deep-seated changes in Germany. Bismarck's Reich was free and unbound externally. It never had to bear such burdensome and unproductive financial obligations as today's Dawes-Germany.[176] Also internally, it was limited to a few matters that were absolutely necessary for its existence. Therefore it could dispense with its own financial sovereignty and live on the states' contributions; it goes without saying that, on the one hand, the retention of states' rights and the relatively small financial contribution to the Reich encouraged them to support its existence. But it's incorrect, and in fact dishonest, to claim, as

[176] Charles Dawes was vice president under Coolidge. It was his reparations plan of some $33 billion, imposed after the loss of WWI, that caused such anxiety among German nationalists like Hitler.

some propagandists do, that the present dissatisfaction can be attributed solely to the financial bondage to the Reich. No, that's not how things are.

The lack of sympathy for the Reich political idea isn't due to the loss of state sovereign rights, but rather is a result of the deplorable manner in which the State represents the German people. Despite all the Reichsbanner rallies and constitutional celebrations, every section of the German people feels that the present Reich has become alienated from their heart's desire. Republican protection laws may prevent outrages against republican institutions, but they will never earn the love of a single German. Its constant anxiety to protect itself against its own citizens by means of laws and imprisonment provides the most destructive criticism of the whole institution.

10.9 NATIONAL STATE OR SLAVE COLONY?

For another reason as well, it's untrue to say, as certain parties do today, that present dissatisfaction with the Reich is due to its encroachment on states' sovereign rights. Even supposing that the Reich hadn't extended its authority over the states, there's no reason to believe that it would find more favor among those states, even if obligations had remained the same. On the contrary: If the individual states had to pay their increasing shares of the present slave-dictate, hostility towards the Reich would be infinitely greater. In that case, not only would it prove difficult to collect the respective contributions due to the Reich, but it would require downright coercive methods.

The Republic stands on the basis of the peace treaties, and since it has neither the courage nor the intention to break them, it must accept the obligations. Guilt for this situation is to be attributed solely to those parties who unceasingly preach to the patient electoral masses about the necessity of state autonomy, while at the same time championing and demanding a Reich policy that must necessarily lead to the elimination of the very last of those so-called 'sovereign rights.'

I say 'necessarily' because the present Reich has no other

possible means of bearing the burden of an insane domestic and foreign policy. Here again, one wedge drives the next. Every new debt that the Reich contracts, through the criminal handling of German interests abroad, necessitates a new and stronger blow at home, which demands yet another step in the progressive elimination of state sovereign rights, so as to prevent germ cells of resistance from arising, or even to exist.

The chief characteristic difference between the present Reich's policy and that of former times is this: The old Reich gave internal freedom and showed strength towards the outside world, whereas the Republic shows weakness outside and oppresses its own citizens at home. In both cases, one attitude determines the other: A vigorous national State needs fewer internal laws because of the affection and attachment of its citizens, while an international slave State can live only by coercing its citizens to render their labor.

And it's an impudent falsehood for the present regime to speak of 'free citizens.' Only the old Germany could speak that way. The Republic is a slave colony of foreigners, one that has subjects but not citizens. Hence it possesses not a national flag but only a trademark, introduced and protected by official decree and legal measures. This symbol, which is the Gessler's cap of German democracy, will always remain inwardly alien to our people.[177] The Republic, having no sense of tradition or respect for past greatness, dragged those symbols through the mud, and will one day be surprised to discover the superficial devotion of its citizens to its own symbols. It has given to itself the character of an intermezzo in German history.

And so today this State is bound to constantly restrict more and more the sovereign rights of the individual states, not only for general material reasons but also on principle. By enforcing a policy of financial blackmail in order to squeeze the last drop of

[177] Albrecht Gessler was, according to legend, a brutal German who governed an area of (now) central Switzerland in the 14th century. As the story goes, he placed his hat atop a pole in the city of Altdorf and ordered the local people to bow before it. Among those who refused was William Tell, and he thereupon led the uprising that resulted in the formation of the early Swiss state. 'Gessler's cap' thus refers to any symbol of hated foreign rule.

blood out of its people, it's also forced to take away their last rights, lest the general discontent may one day break out into open rebellion.

We National Socialists would reverse this formula and adopt the following rule: A strong national Reich that recognizes and protects its citizens' interests to the greatest degree can allow freedom at home without trembling for the safety of the State. On the other hand, a strong national government can intervene to a considerable degree in individual freedom, as well as in the liberties of the constituent states, without thereby weakening the Reich ideal, if the individual recognizes in such actions a means of promoting his nation's greatness.

10.10 UNIFYING TENDENCIES

Surely every State in the world is facing a tendency towards unification. And Germany is no exception. Today it's absurd to speak of 'state sovereignty' for the individual states because that has already become impossible on account of their ridiculously small size. Techniques of transportation and administration have steadily reduced the importance of individual states. Modern transportation and modern technology continue to shrink distances and space. What was once a State is today only a province, and the territory of a modern State was previously viewed as continental. The purely technical difficulty of administering a State like Germany is no greater than it was to govern a province like Brandenburg 120 years ago. Today it's easier to cover the distance from Munich to Berlin than it was from Munich to Starn berg a hundred years ago.[178] And the whole territory of today's Reich is smaller, relative to transport technology, than that of mid-sized German states at the time of the Napoleonic wars. Whoever ignores the consequences of these facts lives in the past. There always have been, and always will be, men who do this. They may be able to slow the course of history, but they can never bring it to a standstill.

[178] Starnberg is less than 10 miles (16 km) from Munich.

We National Socialists mustn't allow the consequences of that truth to pass unnoticed. Here again we mustn't permit ourselves to be misled by the phrases of our so-called national bourgeois parties. I say 'phrases' because these same parties don't themselves believe that it's possible to carry out their proposals, and because they themselves are the chief culprits responsible for the present development. Especially in Bavaria, the demand for halting centralization is no more than a party maneuver that lacks any serious forethought. Every attempt to make something serious out of these phrases has failed miserably. Every so-called 'theft of sovereign rights' from Bavaria by the Reich has met with no practical resistance, except for some meaningless yelping.

Indeed, anyone seriously opposing the madness in this system was outlawed, condemned, and persecuted by these very parties for 'contempt of the existing State.' In the end he was silenced, either by imprisonment or by being illegally forbidden to speak. This above all should prove to our followers the profound hypocrisy of these so-called federalist circles. They use the federalist idea just as they use religion-as merely a means for their own base party interests.

10.11 ABUSE OF CENTRALIZATION

A certain unification, especially in the field of transportation, seems natural. But we National Socialists feel it our duty to energetically oppose such a development in the modem State, especially when the proposed measures mask and make possible a disastrous foreign policy. And just because the present Reich has threatened to take over the railways, postal service, finances, etc.– not from the high standpoint of a national policy but only to lay its hands on the means and pledges for an unlimited policy of fulfillment [of the peace treaties]–for that reason, we National Socialists must take every step that obstructs and, if possible, prevents such a policy. Hence the struggle against the present centralization of vitally-important institutions, which is undertaken only to facilitate payment of billions of marks and other collateral for our post-war foreign policy.

For this reason, the National Socialist movement stands against such attempts.

The second reason we oppose such centralization is because it might reinforce a system of internal government that, in all its manifestations, has brought the greatest misfortune on the German nation. The present Jewish-democratic Reich, which has become a veritable curse for the German nation, is seeking to negate the criticism offered by the federal states–which are not yet imbued with the spirit of the age–by reducing them to total insignificance. In the face of this, we National Socialists must try to ground the opposition of the individual states on a basis with a good promise of success, by transforming the struggle against centralization into something that will be an expression of the higher and universal interests of the German nation. Therefore, while the Bavarian People's Party, acting from its own narrow and particularist motives, fights to maintain the 'special rights' of the Bavarian State, we ought to use this special position in the service of the higher national interests that stand in opposition to the November democracy.

The third reason for opposing centralization is the conviction that a large part of this so-called nationalization is in reality no unification at all, and still less a simplification. In many cases it's only a means of removing certain institutions from the sovereign control of the individual states, in order to open the doors to the interests of the revolutionary parties. Never in German history has favoritism been more shameless than in the democratic Republic. A large part of present-day centralization is the work of parties that once promised to open the way for a meritocracy, but instead filled offices and posts entirely with party members. Since the founding of the Republic, Jews especially have been obtaining positions in economic institutions and administrative apparatuses taken over by the Reich, such that today both have become domains of Jewish activity.[179]

[179] Statistics back up this claim. Sarah Gordon (1984: 8-15) writes: "The reader may be surprised to learn that Jews were never a large percentage of the total German population; at no time did they exceed 1.09 percent of the population during the years 1871 to 1933… [Despite this, Jews] were overrepresented in business, commerce, and public and private

For tactical reasons, this last consideration obliges us to sharply examine every further attempt at centralization and to fight it at every step. But in doing so, our standpoint must always be that of a lofty national policy and never a petty particularism.

This last observation is necessary, lest an opinion arise among our own followers that we National Socialists don't credit the Reich with the right to embody a higher sovereignty than that of the individual states. Concerning this right, we cannot and must not have the slightest doubt. For us the State is nothing but a form; its content-that is, the nation, the people–is the essential thing. It's clear therefore that every other interest must be subordinated to the State's sovereign interests. In particular, we cannot grant to any other state a sovereign power and sovereign rights within the confines of the nation, and of the State that represents the nation. The absurdity of individual states maintaining so-called missions abroad and among themselves must cease. Until this happens, we cannot be surprised if foreign countries are dubious of the Reich's stability, and act accordingly.

The absurdity of these missions is all the greater because they do harm and don't bring the slightest advantage. If a German's interests abroad cannot be protected by a Reich ambassador, much less can they be protected by the minister of some petty state that appears ridiculous in the framework of the present world order. The real truth is that these small federal states are envisaged as points of attack for attempts at secession, both from inside and outside the German Reich. We National Socialists mustn't allow some noble caste, which has become weak with age, to occupy an ambassadorial post abroad, thus providing new soil for their withered branches. Our foreign diplomatic missions were in such

service…Within the fields of business and commerce, Jews…represented 25 percent of all individuals employed in retail business and handled 25 percent of total sales…;they owned 41 percent of iron and scrap iron firms and 57 percent of other metal businesses….Jews were [also] prominent in private banking under both Jewish and non-Jewish ownership or control. They were especially visible in private banking in Berlin, which in 1923 had 150 private (versus state) Jewish banks, as opposed to only 11 private non-Jewish banks….Jews were overrepresented among university professors and students….[A]lmost 19 percent of the instructors in Germany were of Jewish origin…. Jews were also highly active in the theater, the arts, film, and journalism. For example, in 1931, 50 percent of the 234 theater directors in Germany were Jewish, and in Berlin the number was 80 percent."

a sad condition, even in the time of the old Reich, that any further such experience would be totally superfluous.

10.12 CULTURAL TASKS OF THE STATES

The importance of the individual states in the future will be transferred to the sphere of cultural policy. The monarch who did the most to make Bavaria an important center wasn't an obstinate anti-German particularist, but Ludwig I, a man with a greater German outlook and artistic sensibilities. His first consideration was to use state powers to develop Bavaria's cultural position and not its political power, and in doing so, he produced better and more durable results than otherwise possible. Formerly, Munich was an insignificant provincial capital, but he transformed it into the metropolis of German art, and thus it became an intellectual center strong enough to bind even the temperamentally different Franconians to the State. If Munich had remained as it was, what happened in Saxony would have been repeated in Bavaria, with the difference that Nuremberg–the Bavarian Leipzig–would have become Franconian instead of Bavarian. It wasn't the cry of 'Down with Prussia' that made Munich great, but rather that the King wished to bestow it upon the German nation as an art treasure, one that would have to be visited and respected–and it was.

Therein lies a lesson for the future. The importance of the individual states in the future will no longer lie in their political or state power; I see them as either ethnic or cultural centers. But even here, time will have a leveling effect. The convenience of modern transportation moves people around such that, slowly but surely, ethnic boundaries will fade out, and even the cultural picture will gradually become more uniform.

10.13 ONE PEOPLE–ONE STATE

The army must definitely be kept clear of the influence of the individual states. The coming National Socialist State must not fall back into the error of the past by imposing a task on the army that it doesn't have and shouldn't have. The German army doesn't

exist to be a school for the preservation of ethnic particularities, but rather as one for the mutual understanding and adaptation of all Germans. Whatever tends to have a separating influence in the life of the nation must be made a unifying influence by the army.

The army must further raise the individual youth above the narrow horizon of his own little province and set him within the German nation. The youth must come to know, not the borders of his own region but those of the Fatherland; it's these that he will have to defend one day. It's therefore absurd to have the German youth do his military training in his own native region; he needs to see Germany during his time of military service. This is all the more important today because young Germans no longer have the time to travel and thus to enlarge their horizons. In view of this, is it not absurd to leave the young Bavarian at Munich, the Frank at Nuremberg, the Badener at Karlsruhe, the Württemberger at Stuttgart, and so on? And would it not be more reasonable to show the young Bavarian the Rhine and the North Sea, the Hamburger the Alps, the East Prussian the mountains of central Germany, and so on? Regional character ought to be maintained in the troops but not in the garrisons.

We may disapprove of every attempt at unification, but not that of the army! On the contrary, even though we welcome no other kind of unification, this one must be greeted with joy. In view of the Reich army's present size, it would be absurd to maintain the state divisions among the troops. In the unification of the German army thus far, we see something that must not be abandoned in a future national army.

Finally, a new and triumphant idea should burst every chain that tends to paralyze its efforts to push ahead. National Socialism must claim the right to impose its principles on the whole German nation without regard to prior state boundaries, and to educate the German nation in our ideas and principles. Just as the Churches don't feel themselves limited by political boundaries, so the National Socialist idea cannot feel itself limited to the individual state territories of our Fatherland.

National Socialist doctrine is not a handmaid to the political interests of the individual federal states, but rather must one day

become master of the whole German nation. It must determine the life of the whole people and shape that life anew, and therefore must imperatively demand the right to overstep boundaries drawn by a development that we repudiate.

The more completely our ideas triumph, the more internal freedom we can grant in specific areas.

CHAPTER 11
PROPAGANDA AND ORGANIZATION

The year 1921 was especially important for me and the movement.

When I entered the German Workers' Party, I immediately took charge of propaganda. I regarded this branch as by far the most important. For the time being, it was less a matter of racking one's brains over organizational problems than of spreading our ideas to a large number of people. Propaganda must go well ahead of organization and gather together the human material to be worked upon. I'm an enemy of hasty and pedantic organizing. It usually results in merely a dead mechanism, and only rarely a living organization. Organization is something that owes its existence to organic life, to organic development. Ideas that have gripped a certain number of people tend to form some degree of order, and out of this inner formation comes something very valuable.

Here, too, one must take account of those human weaknesses that make men hesitate, especially at the beginning, to submit to a superior mind. If an organization is mechanically organized from above, there's always the danger that some unevaluated person will press forward and, out of jealousy, try to hinder abler persons from rising in the movement. The damage that results from that kind of thing can have terrible consequences, especially in a young movement.

11.1 THEORETICIAN–ORGANIZER–AGITATOR

For this reason it's advisable at first to propagate the ideas on which the movement is founded from a central point, and then to sift through the gathering human material to look for leading minds. It sometimes happens that apparently insignificant men

will nevertheless turn out to be born leaders.

But it would be quite a mistake to suppose that those who show an intelligent grasp of theory thus possess leadership qualities and abilities.

The contrary is often the case.

Great theoreticians are only very rarely great organizers. The greatness of the theorist and system-founder consists in the recognition and establishment of abstract and correct laws, whereas the organizer must first of all be a psychologist. He must take men as they are, and therefore must know them. He must not have too high or too low an estimate of human nature. On the contrary, he must take account of their weaknesses and bestiality, so as to form a living organism, endowed with strong powers. of resistance, suited to be the carrier of an idea, and strong enough to ensure its success.

Even more rarely is a great theorist also a great leader. The latter is more likely an agitator, a fact that those who deal with questions scientifically will not want to hear; and yet this is understandable. An agitator who shows himself capable of transmitting ideas to the broad masses must always be a psychologist, even though he may only be a demagogue. Therefore he will always be a much more capable leader than the theorist who is abstract and alienated from the people. Being a leader means: to be able to move the masses. The gift of formulating ideas has nothing to do with leadership abilities.

It would be useless to discuss the question as to which is the more important: to set up ideals and human aims, or to realize them. Here, as so often in life: one would be entirely meaningless without the other. The noblest conceptions of human understanding remain without purpose or value if the leader cannot move the masses towards them. And conversely, what would it avail to have all the genius and energy of a leader if the intellectual theorist doesn't set the aims for which mankind must struggle? But when the theorist, organizer, and leader are united in one person, then we have the rarest phenomenon on this earth; this combination creates the great man.

11.2 PROPAGANDA AND ORGANIZATION

As I've already said, during my first period in the party I devoted myself to propaganda. I had to gather together a small nucleus of men who would accept the new doctrine, and in this way provide the human material that subsequently would form the elements of the organization. Thus the goal of propaganda lay far beyond that of the organization.

If a movement proposes to overthrow a certain world order and construct a new one in its place, then the leader must clearly understand the following principles: Every movement that has gained its human material must first divide them into two groups: supporters and members.

The function of propaganda is to attract supporters; the function of organization is to win members.

A movement's supporter is one who understands and accepts its aims; the member is one who fights for them.

The supporter is one who has been converted to the movement through propaganda. The member is one who will be charged by the organization to collaborate in winning over new supporters, from whom new members can be formed.

Supporters need only a passive recognition of the idea, while membership demands an active advocacy and defense. For every ten supporters there will be at most one or two members.

Supporters are rooted only in understanding; membership implies the courage to actively participate in diffusing that which has been understood.

In its passive form, understanding is sufficient for the majority of humanity, who are generally lazy and timid. Membership requires intellectual activity, and therefore applies only to a minority of men.

Consequently, propaganda must seek to win new supporters for an idea, whereas the organizer must diligently seek out the best among them and turn them into members. Propaganda need not trouble itself about the importance of each individual, regarding his ability, capacity, understanding, or character; whereas the organization will have to carefully select those elements that are

most capable of actively bringing the movement to victory.

Propaganda aims at inducing a whole people to accept a teaching; organization includes in its scope only those who, on psychological grounds, won't be an impediment to the further diffusion of the idea.

Propaganda works on the whole from the standpoint of an idea, preparing the way for its victory; whereas the organization achieves victory through the persistent, organic, and militant union of those supporters who have proven willing and able to carry the struggle to victory.

An idea's victory will be made all the easier if propaganda has effectively converted the people as a whole, and if the organization that actively conducts the fight is focused, vigorous, and unwavering.

As a result, there's no limit to the number of supporters, but the number of members can more easily be too large than too small.

When propaganda has converted a whole people to an idea, the organization can draw the consequences with a mere handful of men. Propaganda and organization–therefore, supporter and member–then stand in a definite mutual relationship. The better the propaganda has worked, the smaller can be the organization. The greater the number of supporters, the smaller can be the number of members. And conversely: The poorer the propaganda, the larger the necessary organization. And the smaller the number of the movement's supporters, the larger the membership must be, if it really counts on being successful.

The first task of propaganda is to win over people for subsequent organization; and the first task of organization is to win men who can continue the propaganda. The second task of propaganda is to disrupt the existing order of things and thus make room for the penetration of the new doctrine, while the second task of the organization must be the struggle for power, so that the doctrine may finally triumph.

A philosophical revolution will always achieve decisive success when the new worldview has been taught to all men, or subsequently forced upon them, if necessary. Whereas the organization of the idea–that is, the movement–must embrace

only those few men who are absolutely indispensable for occupying the nerve-centers of the coming State.

In other words, this means the following: In every great world-altering movement, the idea of this movement must always first be spread by propaganda. It must relentlessly attempt to make the new ideas clearly understood, drawing others to its ground, or at least to make them uncertain of their prior convictions. Since the dissemination of an idea–that is, propaganda–needs a backbone, it must be based on a solid organization. The organization chooses its members from among those supporters won by propaganda. That organization will grow faster if the work of propaganda is intensively promoted, and the propaganda will work all the better when the organization behind it is powerful and strong.

Hence the organization's highest task is to ensure that any discord that may arise among the movement's members won't lead to a split and thereby weakens its work; moreover, it's the organization's duty to see that the fighting spirit does not die out but is constantly renewed and strengthened. The number of members need not grow indefinitely. On the contrary: Since only a fraction of humanity is energetic and courageous, a movement that increases its own organization indefinitely must necessarily become weak.

Organizations–that is to say, groups of members–that grow beyond certain dimensions gradually lose their fighting force and are no longer able to aggressively support the propaganda of an idea.

The greater and more revolutionary an idea is, the more active will be its members, because a doctrine's subversive force becomes a danger to the small-minded and faint-hearted. Some will privately be supporters but are afraid to acknowledge their belief publicly. By reason of this very fact, however, an organization inspired by a veritable revolutionary idea will attract into its membership only the most active of those supporters who have been won over by propaganda. It's precisely in this activity of the movement's membership, guaranteed by natural selection, that we may find the preconditions for the continuation of an

active propaganda and also the victorious struggle for the realization of the idea.

11.3 LIMITATION OF MEMBERSHIP

The greatest danger that can threaten a movement is an abnormal increase in the number of its members, due to its too-rapid success. So long as a movement is carrying on a bitter fight, people of weak and egotistic temperament will shun it. But these same will rush to be accepted as members the moment the party achieves a manifest success through its development.

This is why so many movements that were initially successful slowed down before fulfilling their purpose and, from an inexplicable inner weakness, gave up the struggle and finally died out. As a result of their early successes, so many undesirable, unworthy, and especially timid individuals entered the organization that they finally secured the majority over the militants. They then turned the movement to the service of their personal interests, debased it to the level of their own miserable heroism, and no longer struggled for the triumph of the original idea. The fanatical goal was lost, and the fighting force paralyzed, or, as the bourgeois world says in such cases: “The wine has been mixed with water.” When that happens, trees no longer grow to the heavens.

It is therefore necessary that a movement should, from a sheer instinct for self-preservation, block its enrollments the moment it becomes successful. And any further increase in its organization should be allowed to take place only with the most careful foresight and after a painstaking sifting of those who apply for membership. This is the only way to keep the kernel of the movement truly fresh and sound. Care must be taken that the movement is led exclusively by this core–that is, that it must direct the propaganda that aims at a universal recognition. And, with power secured in hand, it must undertake the actions necessary for the practical realization of its ideas.

The original core should occupy all the important positions of the conquered territory, and should form the basis of the entire

leadership. This should continue until the party principles and doctrines have become the foundation and policy of the new State. Only then can the reins be gradually handed over to the constitutional State that the movement has created. But this usually happens through a process of mutual rivalry, because it's less a question of human intelligence than of the play and effect of forces whose development can be guided, perhaps, but never controlled.

All great movements, whether of a political or religious nature, owe their imposing success to the recognition and adoption of these principles. And all lasting success is inconceivable without observing these laws.

11.4 FRIGHTENING THE FAINT-HEARTED

As propaganda director for the party, I took care not only to prepare the ground for the movement's future greatness, but I also adopted the most radical measures to ensure that the organization acquired only the best material. The more radical and inflammatory my propaganda was, the more it frightened away any weak and hesitant characters, thus preventing them from entering the core of our organization. Perhaps they remained supporters, but not loudly. Rather, they were discreetly silent about the fact.

Many thousands assured me at that time that they were in full agreement with us but that they could, on no account, become members. They said that the movement was so radical that membership would expose them to the gravest difficulties and dangers, so that they would rather continue on as honest and peaceful citizens and remain aside for now, though at heart devoted to our cause.

And that was good.

If all these men who, in their hearts, were not in favor of the Revolution became party members at that time, we would be seen today as a pious fraternity and not as a young militant movement.

The lively and combative form that I gave to all our propaganda fortified and guaranteed the radical tendency of our movement.

The result was that–with a few exceptions-only radicals were ready for membership.

Within a short time, this propaganda had the effect that hundreds of thousands became convinced in their hearts that we were right and wished us victory–even though they were personally too timid to make sacrifices for our cause or even participate in it.

11.5 REORGANIZATION OF THE MOVEMENT

Up to the middle of 1921, this simple activity sufficed to benefit the movement. But in the summer of that year, certain events happened that suggested that the organization should be aligned with the gradual success of the propaganda.

An attempt by a group of folkish dreamers, supported by the then-party chairman, to take over leadership led to the breakup of this little intrigue. By unanimous vote at a general meeting, members gave me leadership of the whole movement. At once, a new statute was passed that invested sole responsibility in the chairman of the movement. It also replaced the committee decision process with a system of division of labor, which has worked excellently since then.

From 1 August 1921 onwards, I undertook this internal party reorganization and was supported by a number of excellent men, whom I will mention later on.

In my attempt to turn the results of propaganda to an organizational advantage and thus to stabilize them, I had to abolish a number of old habits and introduce principles that none of the other parties possessed or would even have recognized.

In the years from 1920 to 1921, the movement was controlled by a committee elected by the members at a general meeting. It had a first and second treasurer, a first and second secretary, and a first and second chairman at its head. Additionally there was a membership secretary, propaganda director, and various committeemen.

Strangely enough, the committee actually embodied that which the movement was fighting against, namely, parliamentarianism.

It was obvious that this principle embodied the very system under which we all suffered, and still suffer-from the smallest local groups, through the districts, counties, and provinces, up to the Reich leadership.

It was imperative to change this, if this poor foundation in the internal organization was not to ruin the movement forever, thus making it impossible to fulfill its high mission.

Committee sessions were ruled by a protocol in which decisions were made according to majority vote, presenting in reality a miniature parliament. Here too, there was no such thing as personal responsibility. Here too reigned the same absurdities and unreasonableness as in our great State representative bodies. Secretaries, treasurers, membership secretaries, propaganda agents, and God knows what else, were named. And then they all deliberated together on every single question and decided it by vote. Accordingly, the propaganda man voted on things that concerned the finance man, and the latter in turn voted on things that concerned only the organization, and the organizer voted on things concerning only the secretary, and so on.

Why appoint a special man for propaganda if treasurers, secretaries, etc., could deliver judgment on questions concerning it? To one with a sound mind, such a thing seems as incomprehensible as it would be if, in a great industrial firm, the board of directors or engineers were to decide on questions that they had nothing to do with.

I refused to submit to that kind of nonsense, and after awhile I avoided the meetings. I did only my propaganda work, and didn't permit any incompetent to poke his head into my activities. Conversely, I didn't interfere in the affairs of others.

11.6 RESPONSIBILITY OF THE LEADER

When the new statute was approved and I was appointed as first chairman, I had the necessary authority and right to end all that nonsense. In place of committee decisions, the principle of absolute responsibility was introduced.

The chairman is responsible for overall control of the

movement. He apportions the work among the committee members under him and among others as needed. Each of these gentlemen is solely responsibility for the task assigned to him. He is subordinate only to the chairman, whose duty is to supervise overall coordination, by selecting personnel and giving general directions for this.

This law of fundamental responsibility is gradually being adopted throughout the movement, at least within the party leadership. In the small local groups–and perhaps in the counties and districts–it will take years before this principle can be imposed, because cowards and incompetents are naturally opposed to it; for them, sole responsibility for an act is always unpleasant; after every hard decision, they always feel freer and better when hiding behind the majority of a so-called committee. But it seems to me necessary to take a decisive stand against that view. We must not make any concessions to cowardice in the face of responsibility, even though it takes some time to achieve a conception of a leader's duty and ability. Ultimately this will bring forth leaders who are truly called and chosen for the role.

In any case, a movement that wants to fight against this parliamentary nonsense must be immune from this sort of thing. Only thus will it win the strength for its struggle.

At a time when majority rule dominates all, a movement that’s based on the principle of the leader-ideal, and the corresponding responsibility, will one day overcome the present situation and emerge victorious. This is a mathematical certainty.

11.7 BUILDING A MOVEMENT

This idea made it necessary to internally reorganize our movement. The logical development of this led to a sharp distinction between the business activities of the movement and the general political leadership. The principle of personal responsibility was extended to all party activities, bringing a healthy liberation from political influences and allowing them to operate solely on economic principles.

When I joined the six-man party in the fall of 1921, we had

neither headquarters nor clerks, no forms or even a stamp, and no printed material of any sort. The committee at first met in a tavern on the Herrengasse and then in a café on Gasteig. It was an impossible condition. I quickly set to work, going around to several Munich restaurants and taverns with the idea of renting a room for use by the party. In the former Sterneckerbräu on Tal, there was a small room with arched roof that had previously been used as a sort of festive tavern for the Bavarian counselors. It was gloomy and dark, and accordingly as well-suited to its former uses as it was ill-suited to its new purpose. Its only window looked out on an alley that was so narrow that the room remained dim and gloomy even on the brightest summer day. This was our first business office. Rent came to 50 marks per month (an enormous sum for us!), but we couldn't make many demands. We dared not complain even when, before we moved in, they removed the wooden paneling that was intended for the Imperial counselors. The place began to look more like a basement vault than an office.

Still it marked an enormous step forward. Slowly we got electric light, and slower still a telephone; a table and some borrowed chairs were brought in, finally an open bookstand and later a closet; two cupboards belonging to the landlord held our leaflets, posters, etc.

The previous system of running the movement with weekly leadership meetings was unsustainable. Only a paid official of the movement could guarantee ongoing operation.

But that was difficult at the time. The movement still had so few members that it was hard to find among them a suitable person who would make few demands for himself, and yet could meet the innumerable demands of the movement.

After long a search, we found a soldier and old war comrade of mine, Schüssler, to be our first business manager. At first he came to our new office daily between 6:00 and 8:00 pm, later from 5:00 to 8:00, and ultimately every afternoon. Finally it became a full-time job and he worked from morning until late at night. He was an industrious, upright, and thoroughly honest man, faithful and devoted to the movement itself. Schüssler brought with him his own small Adler typewriter. It was the first machine to be used in

the service of the movement. Later the party acquired it through installment payments. We needed a small safe in order to protect our papers and membership roles from thieves. It certainly wasn't needed for any large sum of money that we might have had. On the contrary, we were always quite poor, and I often contributed from my own small savings.

A year and a half later, our business office had become too small, so we moved to a new place in the Corneliusstrasse. Again our office was in a tavern, but instead of one room we now had three smaller rooms and one large room with great windows. At the time, it was very nice. We stayed there until November 1923.

In December 1920, we acquired the *Völkischer Beobachter*.[180] This newspaper, which, as its name implies, championed folkish interests, was now to become the organ of the NSDAP. At first it appeared twice weekly, but it became a daily at the start of 1923, and by late August 1923 appeared in the well-known large format.

As a complete novice to journalism, I learned many a costly lesson.

The fact that, in contrast to the enormous Jewish press, there was hardly a single significant folkish newspaper, was a matter of concern. As I later learned by experience, the reason for this can be attributed to the incompetent management of the so-called folkish enterprises. These were conducted too much according to the view that conviction should prevail over achievement. A totally wrong standpoint, because conviction of itself is something internal and is best expressed in achievement. The man who does valuable work for his people expresses his valuable convictions, whereas another who merely talks about convictions and does nothing really useful for his people is opposed to real conviction. And his conviction is a burden for the community.

The *Völkischer Beobachter* was a so-called 'folkish' organ, as its name indicates. It had all the advantages, but still more the faults and weaknesses, inherent in all folkish institutions. Though its contents were sincere, its business management was simply impossible. Here too, the underlying idea was that folkish

[180] Literally, "The People's Observer."

newspapers should be subsidized by folkish contributions, without recognizing that it had to compete with the others and that it was dishonest to expect the subscriptions of good patriots to make up for negligence or errors.

As soon as I recognized these conditions, I promptly tried to eliminate them. Luck was on my side here, insofar as it brought me the man who, since that time, has rendered invaluable services to the movement–not only as business manager of the paper but also the party. In 1914, in the battlefield, I made the acquaintance of Max Amann (then my superior), who is today general business manager of the party.[181] During four years in the war, I had occasion to continually observe the unusual ability, diligence, and rigorous conscientiousness of my future collaborator.

In midsummer 1921, when the movement was in a grave crisis, I turned to my old regimental comrade, whom I met one day by chance, and asked him to become business manager of the movement. I was quite dissatisfied with several of our employees, particularly with one of whom I had had a very bitter experience. After a long hesitation–Amann then held a good position–he agreed to my request, but only on the condition that he not be at the mercy of incompetent committees. Rather, he wanted to answer only to one single leader.

It is to the inestimable credit of this first business manager of the movement–a man of comprehensive business knowledge–that he brought order and integrity into the party's business affairs. Since then, these have remained exemplary and unequaled by. any other branches of the movement. But, as often happens in life, great ability provokes envy and disfavor. That also had to be expected in this case and borne patiently.

Already by 1922, firm regulations existed for both the commercial and purely organizational development of the movement. There now exists a central filing system covering all enrolled members. Financing of the movement is now to be on a

[181] Amann (1891-1957) ultimately became head of the NSDAP press office, overseeing all official publications. He survived WW2, was captured, and spent 10 years in a prison camp. It was Amann who suggested to Hitler the title of the present work.

sound basis. Current expenses are covered by current receipts, and special receipts can be used only for special expenditures. Thus, notwithstanding the difficulties of the time, the movement remained practically debt-free, except for small current accounts. Indeed, there was even a steady increase in the funds. Things work as in a private business: Employees hold their jobs by virtue of their achievement and can in no sense take cover behind that famous 'conviction.' The conviction of every National Socialist lies in his willingness to work, and in his diligence and ability at accomplishing the duties assigned to him by the community. He who doesn't fulfill his duty in the job he holds cannot boast of his conviction–against which, in reality, he sins.

Opposing all possible influences, and with the utmost energy, the new business manager firmly supported the view that there were no meaningless positions in the party administration for supporters and members who don't want to work. A movement that fights so sharply against party corruption of our civil service must keep its own apparatus pure of such vices. It happened that some men were taken on the staff of the paper who had formerly been adherents of the Bavarian People's Party, but their work showed that they were excellently qualified for the job. The result of this experiment was generally outstanding. It was owing to this honest and frank recognition of individual efficiency that the movement won the hearts of its employees more swiftly and more profoundly than had ever been the case before. Subsequently they became good National Socialists and remained so–not only in word, but they proved it by the conscientious, steady, and honest work that they performed in the service of the new movement. Naturally, a well-qualified party member was preferred to another, equally-qualified but non-party member. But no one got a position based solely on party membership.

The firmness with which our new business manager applied these principles and gradually enforced them, despite all opposition, later worked to the movement's greatest advantage. To this alone was it possible–during the difficult inflation period, when thousands of businesses failed and thousands of newspapers closed–for the movement's leadership to not only keep the

business afloat and meet all its obligations, but also to steadily expand the *Völkischer Beobachter*. It thereby ranked among the great newspapers.

The year 1921 was of further importance because, in my position as party chairman, I gradually succeeded in ending the criticisms and the intrusions of many committee members regarding various party activities. This was important because we couldn't get a capable man to take on a job if incompetents were constantly interfering, pretending that they knew better than anyone else and creating a hopeless mess. Then these know-it-alls modestly retired, seeking another field for their inspiring supervisory activities. Some men seemed to have a pathology for looking for something behind everything; they were, so to say, always pregnant with magnificent plans, ideas, projects, and methods. Naturally, their noble aims and ideals were always the formation of a committee that could pretend to be a controlling organ in order to nose its way into the serious work of others. But it’s offensive and un-National Socialist when incompetent people constantly interfere in the work of capable persons. But this doesn’t even enter their consciousness. In any case, I felt it my duty in those years to protect all those who were entrusted with regular and responsible work from such elements, to give them cover and to leave them free to do their work.

Such committees–which either did nothing or cooked up impractical decisions–were best made harmless by giving them real work to do. It was then laughable to see how the membership would silently fade away and was suddenly nowhere to be found. It made me think of our great institution of the same kind, the Reichstag. How quickly they would evaporate if they had some real work to do instead of talking, especially if each of those braggarts were made personally responsible for the work assigned to him.

I always demanded that–just as in private life, so too in the movement–we should keep seeking until we found a capable and honest clerk, administrator, or leader for the various business units. Once installed in his position, he was given absolute authority and full freedom of action towards his subordinates but

full responsibility towards his superiors. No one was placed in authority over his subordinates unless he himself knew the work better than they. In the course of two years, I put my views more and more into practice; today, at least concerning the highest leadership, they are taken for granted.

The visible success of this attitude was shown on 9 November 1923: Four years earlier, when I entered the movement, it didn't even have a rubber stamp. On 9 November 1923, the party was dissolved and its property confiscated. The total sum of all the objects of value and the newspaper amounted to more than 170,000 gold marks.

CHAPTER 12
THE TRADE UNION QUESTION

Due to the rapid growth of the movement, we felt compelled in 1922 to take a position on a question that has not yet been fully resolved.

In our efforts to discover the best way for the movement to reach the hearts of the broad masses, we always confronted the objection that the worker could never completely belong to us as long as his purely vocational and economic interests were handled by our opponents and their political organization.

This was quite a serious objection. The general belief was that a workman engaged in some trade could not exist if he didn't belong to a union. Not only were his professional interests thus protected, but a guarantee of steady employment was simply inconceivable without union membership. The majority of workers were in unions. In general, the unions had successfully conducted the battle for wages, and had concluded agreements that guaranteed the worker a steady income. Undoubtedly the workers in the various trades benefited from the results of that struggle. And especially for honest men, conflicts of conscience must have arisen if they took the wages that the union had won for them, but had withdrawn themselves from the fight.

It was difficult to discuss this problem with the average bourgeois employer. He hadn't (or didn't wish to have) any understanding for either the material or moral side of the question. Finally he declared that his own economic interests were in principle opposed to every kind of organizational grouping of workers under him. Hence it was impossible for him to take an impartial view. Here, as so often, it was necessary to appeal to disinterested outsiders who would not be tempted to miss the

forest for the trees. With some good will, they could much more easily understand a matter that is of the highest importance for our present and future life.

12.1 ARE TRADE UNIONS NECESSARY?

In the first volume of this book, I already expressed my views on the nature, purpose, and necessity of trade unions.[182] There I explained that unless measures are undertaken to change the employer's attitude toward the worker, either by the State (usually futile, for the most part) or a comprehensive new education, the worker has no recourse except to appeal to his equal rights as a contracting party within the economic sphere. I further stated that this would conform to the interests of the national community if, in consequence, social injustices could be addressed that would otherwise cause serious damage to the whole social structure. I stated, moreover, that the worker would always find it necessary to undertake this protective action as long as there were some among the employers who had no sense of their social obligations, or even of the most elementary human rights. And I concluded by saying that if such self-defense was considered necessary, it could only exist in the form of a workers' association on a trade-union basis.

Nothing changed this general conception of mine in 1922. But now it was necessary to find a clear and precise formula regarding these problems. We couldn't be satisfied with mere knowledge, but rather we had to arrive at some practical conclusions.

The following questions had to be answered:

(1) Are trade unions necessary?

(2) Should the NSDAP itself operate on a union basis, or direct its members to participate in any such form?

(3) What would be the nature of a National Socialist union? What are our tasks and aims?

(4) How could we establish such unions?

I think I've adequately answered the first question. As things

[182] See sections 2.17-2.18 and 11.19.

stand, I'm convinced that we cannot dispense with unions. On the contrary, they are among the most important institutions in the economic life of the nation. Not only are they important in the social policy sphere but even more so, in overall national politics. When the broad masses of a nation see their vital needs satisfied through a sound trade union movement, the whole nation will be exceptionally strengthened in its struggle for existence.

Above all, trade unions are necessary as building stones for the future economic parliament or chambers, representing the various professions.

The second question is also easy to answer. If the trade union movement is important, then it's clear that National Socialism ought to take a definite stand on it-not only theoretically but also in practice. But the 'How' is harder to explain.

The National Socialist movement, which aims at establishing a National Socialist folkish State, must always bear in mind that every future institution in that State must grow from the movement itself. It's a great mistake to believe that, once in possession of power, and out of nothing, we can bring about a definite reorganization without the help of a certain reserve stock of men who have been trained in their conviction. Here too we uphold the principle that the spirit that fills a form is more important than the form itself, which can be created mechanically and rapidly. For example, the leadership principle can be imposed on a state organism in a dictatorial way. But it comes alive only by passing through the necessary stages of development, starting from the smallest cell. It must pass through a process of selection lasting over several years and be tempered by the hard realities of life, thus obtaining the necessary leadership material to carry the principle into practical effect.

One also must not imagine that a state constitution can suddenly be pulled out of a briefcase into the daylight, and 'introduce' it by decree. One can attempt such a thing, but the result will always be incapable of survival, something like a stillborn infant. This reminds me of the origins of the Weimar constitution and the attempt to impose a new constitution and new flag on the German people, but without any inner relation to our people's experiences

during the past half century.

The National Socialist State must guard against all such experiments. It must grow out of an organization that has already existed for a long time. This organization must possess National Socialist life in itself, so as to create a living National Socialist State.

12.2 NATIONAL SOCIALIST UNIONS?

As already stated, the germ cells of this State must lie in administrative chambers that will represent the various occupations and professions and, above all, the trade unions. If this subsequent representational body and the central economic parliament are to be National Socialist institutions, these important germ cells must embody a National Socialist conviction and conception. The movement's institutions are to be transferred into the State, but the State cannot suddenly call these into existence from nothing, unless they are to remain completely lifeless structures.

Looking at it from the highest standpoint, the National Socialist movement will have to recognize the necessity of its own trade-union policy.

It must furthermore do this because a real National Socialist education for the employer as well as for the employee–in the spirit of mutual cooperation within a common framework of the national community–cannot be secured by theoretical instruction, appeals, and exhortations, but only through the struggles of daily life. In and through this spirit, the movement must educate the several large economic groups and bring them closer to one another on the main issues. Without this preparatory work, it would be sheer illusion to hope that a real national community could someday arise. Only the great worldview-ideal that the movement fights for can steadily form that general style which will show that the new age rests on internally sound foundations, and not merely on an external façade.

Hence the movement must adopt a positive attitude towards the trade union idea per se. But it must also provide its members and

supporters with a practical education for the coming National Socialist State.

The answer to the third question follows from what has been already said.

The National Socialist trade union is not an instrument for class warfare, but a representative organ of the various occupational interests. The National Socialist State recognizes no ‘classes,’ but, politically speaking, it recognizes only citizens with absolutely equal rights and corresponding equal duties. And alongside these, it recognizes State subjects who have no political rights whatsoever.

The National Socialist conception of the union doesn’t have the function of banding together certain men within the national community and thus gradually transforming them into a class, so as to struggle against other similarly-organized groups. We certainly cannot assign this task to the union per se, but it became this when it was transformed into an instrument of Marxist struggle. The union is not a tool of ‘class struggle,’ but the Marxists made it into an instrument for use in their own class struggle. They created the economic weapon that the international world-Jew uses for the purpose of shattering the economic foundations of free and independent national states, and for destroying national industry and trade, and thereby enslaving free peoples to serve a supra-state Jewish world-finance.

By contrast, the National Socialist trade union must organize definite groups of participants in the nation's economic life. It will thus enhance the security of the national economic system itself, reinforcing it by the elimination of all those anomalies that ultimately exercise a destructive influence on the national body– by damaging the vital forces of the national community, prejudicing the well-being of the State and, last but not least, bringing evil and ruin upon the economy.

Therefore, for the National Socialist union, the strike is not an instrument for disturbing and dislocating national production, but for increasing it and making it run smoothly by fighting against all those abuses which, by reason of their antisocial character, hinder economic efficiency and thereby the existence of the whole

nation. Individual efficiency always stands in a causal relation to the general social and legal position of the individual in the economic process. It's the sole basis for the conviction that the nation's economic prosperity must necessarily benefit the individual citizen.

The National Socialist employee must recognize the fact that national economic prosperity brings with it his own material happiness.

The National Socialist employer must recognize that the happiness and contentment of his employees are necessary prerequisites for the existence and development of his own economic prosperity.

National Socialist employees and employers are both servants and guardians of the whole national community. The large measure of personal freedom accorded to them for their activities can be explained by the fact that, as experience has shown, individual efficiency is more enhanced by a generous measure of freedom than by coercion from above. Furthermore, such freedom promotes the natural selection process that brings forth the ablest, most capable, and most industrious people.

For the National Socialist union, therefore, the strike is a means that may, and indeed must, be enacted only as long as a National Socialist State does not yet exist. Once existing, the State will replace the mass struggle between the two great groups–employers and employees–(which has always resulted in a decline in production and injury to the national community!) with a concern and defense of the rights of all. The Economic Chamber's duty will be to keep the national economy operating and to remove any injurious defects or errors. That which is now fought over through a quarrel among millions will then be settled in the Trades Chambers and in the Central Economic Parliament. In this way, executives and employees will no longer be drawn into a mutual conflict over wages and pay scales, damaging the economic interests of both. Rather, they will solve these problems together on a higher plane, with the welfare of the national community and of the State as their shining ideal.

Here again, as everywhere, the iron principle must be observed,

that the interests of the Fatherland come before party.

The National Socialist union's task will be to educate and prepare for this goal itself, which is: All must work together for the maintenance and security of our people and our State, each according to their inborn abilities and powers, which have been trained by the national community.

12.3 NO DUAL UNIONS

The fourth question: 'How can we establish such unions?' seems more difficult to answer.

Generally speaking, it's easier to establish something on new ground than on an old terrain that already has something. In a place where there's no existing shop, it's easy to establish one. But it's harder if a similar enterprise already exists, and it's hardest of all when the conditions are such that only one alone can prosper. Here the founders not only must introduce their own business, but they also must destroy the one that's already there, if they are to exist.

It would be senseless to have a National Socialist union alongside other unions. It must have a thorough feeling for its philosophical task and the resulting obligation not to tolerate other similar or hostile organizations. It must insist on the necessity of itself alone. It can come to no understanding and no compromise with related efforts but must assert its own absolute and exclusive right.

There are two ways that might lead to such a development:

(1) We could establish our own union and then gradually take up the fight against the international Marxist unions. Or we could

(2) Enter into the Marxist unions and infuse them with a new spirit, with the idea of transforming them into instruments of a new ideal.

The first way was not advisable, for the following reasons: Our financial situation was still the cause of much worry to us at that time and our resources were quite slender. The effects of the steadily increasing inflation made the particular situation still more difficult for us, because in those years one could scarcely

speak of any material benefit for a union member. From his point of view, the individual worker had no reason to pay his union dues. Even the existing Marxist unions were on the brink of collapse until, as the result of Herr Cuno's enlightened Ruhr policy, millions suddenly poured into their laps. This so-called 'national' Reich chancellor should be designated as the redeemer of the Marxist unions.[183]

At that time, we couldn't count on similar financial possibilities; and no one could be induced to enter a new union that, on account of its financial weakness, couldn't offer the slightest benefit. On the other hand, I felt bound to oppose creating any such organization that would only be a shelter for more or less great minds.

Overall, the question of personnel played the most important role. I didn't have then a single man whom I could call upon to handle this important task. Whoever could have succeeded at that time in shattering the Marxist unions to make way for the triumph of the National Socialist union idea, and thereby displaced the destructive class struggle, would have ranked among the greatest men of our nation; and his bust would have deserved a place in the Walhalla at Regensburg for the admiration of posterity.[184]

But I knew of no one who qualified for such a pedestal.

It's totally false to be led astray by the fact that the international trade unions are conducted by men of only mediocre minds. In reality, this means nothing at all; when they were founded, there was nothing else. Today the National Socialist movement must fight against a long-standing and monstrous organization that is developed down to the smallest details. The conqueror must always be smarter than the defender, if he is to subdue him. The Marxist trade-union fortress can be governed today by mediocre

[183] Wilhelm Cuno (1876- 1933) served as German chancellor for a short period in late 1922 and early 1923. He was in office when France occupied the Ruhr valley, beginning on 11 January 1923. This was also the time at which the infamous German hyperinflation first took hold. Thanks to these disastrous events, Marxist unions experienced a surge in support.

[184] The Walhalla is a neo-classical building in Regensburg that houses plaques and busts honoring a variety of German national heroes. It is named after the Valhalla of Norse mythology.

leaders, but it can only be stormed by the dauntless energy and genius ability of a great leader on the other side. If such a man cannot be found, it's futile to bicker with Fate, and even more foolish to force the issue without adequate replacement.

Here one must apply the maxim that, in life, it's often better to let something go than to try it half-way, or to do it poorly, due to a lack of suitable forces.

12.4 BATTLE OF WORLDVIEWS COME FIRST

To this we must add another consideration, which is not at all demagogic. At that time I had–and still have today–a firm conviction that it's dangerous to mix up a great politico-worldview struggle with economic questions at an early time. This applies particularly to our German people. In such a case, the economic struggle would divert energy from the political fight. Once the people come to believe that they can buy a little house with their savings, they'll devote themselves solely to this task; no spare time will be left for the political struggle against those who, one way or another, will some day take away their savings. Instead of fighting in the political conflict on behalf of the opinions and convictions they have won, they'll surrender to their 'settlement' idea, and in the end will lose out.

Today the National Socialist movement is at the beginning of its struggle. In large part, it must first shape and finalize its worldview picture. It must employ every fibre of its energy in the struggle for acceptance of its great ideals, and success is conceivable only if its total strength is put into service of this fight.

We have today a classical example of how active fighting strength becomes paralyzed by being preoccupied with purely economic problems:

The Revolution of November 1918 wasn't made by the trade unions, but rather was carried out against them. And the German people didn't wage any political fight for the future of Germany because they thought that they could secure it sufficiently by constructive economic work.

We should learn from this experience; it would be no different

for us. The more the combined strength of our movement is concentrated on the political struggle, the sooner we can count on success down the line; but the more we prematurely busy ourselves with union, settlement, and other problems, the less will be the benefit for our cause as a whole. These are important matters, but they cannot be resolved until we put political power to use in the service of these ideas. Until then, these problems can only paralyze the movement, and if it takes them up too soon, they will prove a hindrance to the philosophical will. It may then easily happen that union motives would control the political movement, instead of the worldview directing the union.

The movement and the nation can derive advantage from a National Socialist trade union movement only if, in its worldview, it's so thoroughly inspired by National Socialist ideas that it runs no danger of falling into Marxist tracks. A National Socialist union movement that considered itself only as a competitor to the Marxist unions would be worse than none at all. It must declare war against the Marxist unions, not only as an organization, but above all, as an idea. It must strike down the promoter of the class-idea and class warfare, and in its place, declare itself as the defender of the occupational interests of the German people.

12.5 BETTER NO FOUNDATION THAN A FAILED ONE

All these viewpoints argued then-and still argue- against the founding of our own trade union. Unless, that is, someone suddenly appears who is obviously called by Fate to solve this particular problem.

Thus there are only two other possibilities: Either we recommend that our own party members leave the unions, or that they remain in them for now, while working as destructively as possible.

In general, I recommended the latter way.

Especially in the years 1922-23 we could easily do that; during the inflation period, the financial advantage to the union from our members was almost zero, due to the few individuals in our young

movement. But the damage to the union was great because the National Socialist supporters were its sharpest critics.

At the time I had already rejected all experiments that were destined to fail. I would have considered it criminal to deprive a worker of his scant earnings for an institution that I felt offered no real advantages to its members.

If a new political party should fade out of existence one day, no one would be injured and some would have profited, but none would have a right to complain; that which each individual gives to a political movement, he gives *à fonds perdu*.[185] But he who pays his dues to a union has the right to expect some guarantee in return. If this is not done, then the union leaders are swindlers or at least careless people who ought to be held responsible.

We acted on these views in 1922. Others thought differently and founded trade unions. They attacked us for being short-sighted and mistaken. But wasn't long before these organizations disappeared, and the same would have happened to us. But only with one difference: we would not have deceived ourselves or others.

[185] French catchphrase, lit. "lost funds"–that is, money given with no expectation of return.

CHAPTER 13
GERMAN POST-WAR ALLIANCE POLICY

The erratic conduct of Reich foreign affairs was due to a lack of sound guiding principles for an effective alliance policy. Not only did this continue after the Revolution, but it became even worse.

13.1 REASONS FOR THE BREAKDOWN

The confused state of our political ideas in general before the War may be regarded as the chief cause of our defective leadership, but in the post-war period, it was a lack of honest intentions. It was natural that those circles who had fully achieved their destructive goal by means of the Revolution had no interest in an alliance policy that would ultimately result in the restoration of a free German State. Not only would a development in this direction have run opposed to the inner sentiment of the November crime, not only would it have interrupted and indeed put an end to the internationalization of the German economy and labor: but mainly, the domestic political effects of a successful fight for freedom from foreign countries would, in the future, be disastrous for those who now hold power in the Reich.

One cannot imagine the revival of a nation unless preceded by a process of nationalization, just as, conversely, every important success in the field of foreign politics must produce a favorable reaction at home. Experience proves that every struggle for freedom increases the national sentiment and self-consciousness, and therefore gives rise to a shaper sensibility towards anti-national elements and tendencies. Conditions and persons who are tolerated, and even pass unnoticed, in peacetimes will not only become the object of aversion when national enthusiasm is

aroused, but will even provoke a resistance that not seldom brings their doom. One may recall, for example, the spy-scare that prevails when war breaks out, when human passions suddenly reach such heights that they lead to the most brutal, and even unjust, persecutions–although everyone knows that the danger of spies is greater during long periods of peace. But for obvious reasons, they don't then receive the same attention.

For this reason, the subtle instinct of the State parasites who surfaced during the November events makes them feel at once that an intelligent alliance policy that would restore our people's freedom and awaken national sentiment might possibly destroy their own criminal existence.

Thus we may understand the fact that, since 1918, governmental authorities have failed us in foreign affairs, and that State leaders have almost constantly and systematically worked against the interests of the German nation. That which at first sight seems a matter of chance has proven, on closer examination, to be a logical advance along the path that was first opened by the 1918 November Revolution.

Undoubtedly a distinction should be made between the responsible–or better, 'should-be-responsible'–leaders of our State affairs; the average contemptible parliamentary politicians; and the great, stupid herd of our patient sheep-like people.

The first know what they want. The second play along, either because they know it or because they're too cowardly to oppose that which they know and feel to be detrimental. The others just submit from incomprehension and stupidity.

13.2 AIM OF FOREIGN POLICY: FREEDOM TOMORROW

While the National Socialist German Workers' Party was only a small and practically unknown group, foreign policy problems had only a secondary importance in the eyes of many of its members. This was the case especially because our movement has always proclaimed–and must proclaim–the principle that external freedom is not a gift from heaven or any earthly powers, but can

only be the fruit of a development of our inner strength. Only by the elimination of the causes that led to our collapse, and the destruction of all those who profit from it, can we fight for the restoration of our external freedom.

One can easily understand therefore why we didn't place much value on foreign affairs during the early period of our young movement, but preferred to work on internal reform plans.

But when the small and insignificant group expanded and finally broke its bounds, the young organization assumed the importance of a great association, and the necessity arose of taking a stand on questions regarding developments in foreign policy. It was necessary to lay down the main lines of action that would not only be in accord with the fundamental views of our world-concept, but would actually be an expansion of it.

Precisely due to our lack of public education in foreign affairs, it was necessary to teach the leaders in our young movement, and also the broad masses, the chief principles that should guide the development of our foreign relations. This is the prerequisite for the practical implementation of a foreign policy that would win back national independence and thus restore the real sovereignty of the Reich.

The fundamental and guiding principle that we must always bear in mind when studying this question is that foreign policy is only a means to an end, and that the sole end is the promotion of our own people.

All consideration of foreign policy must proceed from only this viewpoint: Does it benefit our people now or in the future, or will it be harmful?

This is the sole preoccupation that must occupy us in dealing with this question. Party politics, religion, humanitarianism–all other viewpoints are totally irrelevant.

13.3 PRE-CONDITION FOR THE LIBERATION OF LOST REGIONS

Before the War, the purpose of German foreign policy should have been to assure the sustenance of our people and their children

by preparing a way that would lead to this goal. And we should have established the necessary alliances to assist us. Today it's the same, but with one difference: In pre-war times, it was a question of caring for the maintenance of the German people, supported by the power of a strong and independent State, but today we must make our nation powerful once again by reestablishing a strong and independent State. This is the prerequisite for implementing a practical foreign policy that will preserve, promote, and sustain our people in the future.

In other words: The goal of today's German foreign policy must be to prepare for the recovery of its freedom tomorrow.

There's a fundamental principle that we must always keep in mind: The possibility of winning back national independence is not absolutely bound up with territorial reintegration. It will suffice if a remnant of this nation and State, no matter how small, exists–provided it possesses the necessary independence to not only embody the common spirit of the whole people but also to prepare the military fight for freedom.

When a nation of a hundred million people tolerates the yoke of common slavery in order to preserve territorial integrity, it's worse than if such a state and such a people were dismembered while only one fragment retained complete freedom. Of course, the condition here is that this fragment must be inspired by a holy mission, not only to proclaim its spiritual and cultural unity, but also to prepare the military for the final liberation and reunion of the oppressed fragments.

One must also bear in mind the fact that the question of restoring lost regions that were formerly parts of the people and the State must primarily be a question of winning back political power and independence for the Motherland itself, and that in such cases the interests of the lost regions must be uncompromisingly subordinated to regaining freedom for the main territory. The detached and oppressed fragments of a nation or an imperial province cannot be liberated through the yearnings and protests of the oppressed and abandoned, but only through the means of force and of re-conquering the more or less sovereign remnants of the common Fatherland.

Therefore, in order to re-conquer lost regions, the pre-condition is the intensive promotion and strengthening of that portion of the remnant State. The unquenchable yearning that slumbers in the heart must dedicate the new arising force, when the hour comes, to the freedom and unification of the whole people: Therefore, the interests of the separated regions must be subordinated to the one purpose of acquiring sufficient political power and strength for the remnant State to correct the hostile will of the victorious enemy. Not flaming protests, but only the mighty sword will restore oppressed territories to the bosom of a common Reich.

The forging of this sword is the task of a nation's internal political leadership; to secure this task, and to seek out comrades in arms, is the task of foreign policy.

13.4 MISTAKEN CONTINENTAL POLICY BEFORE THE WAR

In the first volume of this work, I discussed the inadequacy of our pre-war alliance policy.[186] Of the four possible ways to secure the future preservation and sustenance of our people, the fourth and least favorable was chosen. Instead of a healthy European land policy, we adopted a colonial and commercial policy. This was all the more mistaken inasmuch as it was presumed that armed conflict could be avoided. The result of the attempt to sit on many chairs at once led us to fall to the ground amidst them all, and the World War was only the final reckoning presented to the Reich for its foreign policy failure.

The right way would have been the third: strengthening our continental power by acquiring new territory in Europe. And at the same time, the subsequent acquisition of colonial territory might thus be brought within range of natural possibility. Of course, this policy could only have been carried out in alliance with England, or by devoting such abnormal efforts to the increase of military power that, for 40 or 50 years, all cultural undertakings would have to be pushed to the background. This responsibility

[186] See sections 4.2 and 4.3

might very well have been accepted. A nation's cultural importance is almost always dependent on its political freedom and independence–and the former is a necessary precondition for the existence (or better, creation) of the latter. Therefore no sacrifice is too great for the securing of political freedom.

What might be lost from cultural purposes, in order to meet demands for increasing the State's military power, can be generously paid back later on. Indeed, one can observe that, after a concentrated effort for the purpose of securing its political independence, a certain period of ease and compensation often sets in, in which the previously-neglected cultural forces of the nation now suddenly burst forth and bloom. Out of the Persian Wars, Greece witnessed the blossom of the Age of Pericles, and after the sorrow of the Punic Wars, the Roman state system began to dedicate itself to the service of a higher culture.[187]

Of course, it couldn't be expected that a parliamentary majority of idiots or good-for-nothings would be capable of subordinating all other national interests to the one sole task of preparing for a future arms conflict that would establish State security. The father of Frederick the Great sacrificed everything for that conflict, but the fathers of our democratic parliamentary nonsense of the Jewish variety, could never do it.

That's why, in pre-war times, the military preparation for an acquisition of European territory was very limited, and thus allied support was indispensable.

Unfortunately our leaders wouldn't even consider the idea of systematically preparing for war. They rejected the acquisition of European territory and, by preferring a colonial and trade policy, they sacrificed an alliance with England that would then have been possible. They also neglected Russian support, which would have

[187] Ancient Greece was engaged in a series of military conflicts with Persia from roughly 500 to 450 BC, peaking in two major wars, in 490 BC and 480 BC. The great Athenian statesman, Pericles, was influential from the end of the wars to his death in 429 BC, and oversaw a period of remarkable cultural flourishing. The Punic Wars were a series of three major battles between Rome and Carthage, of North Africa, between 264 and 146 BC. With the final defeat of Carthage, Rome assumed dominant power in the larger Mediterranean region for some 500 years.

been logical. Finally they stumbled into the World War, abandoned by all except the ill-fated Habsburgs.

13.5 PRESENT EUROPEAN POWER RELATIONS: ENGLAND AND GERMANY

The characteristic of our present foreign policy is that there are no discernible or even intelligible lines of conduct. Whereas before the war, the fourth way was mistakenly followed–and this only in a halfhearted manner–not even the sharpest eye can detect any path that's being followed since the Revolution. Even more than before the war, there's no systematic plan, except the attempts to smash the last possibility of a national revival.

An objective assessment of present-day European power relations leads to the following results:

For the past 300 years, the history of our continent has been fundamentally determined by England's efforts to keep the European states opposed to one another in an equilibrium of forces, thus assuring the necessary protection of its own rear while pursuing the great aims of British world-policy.

The traditional tendency of British diplomacy ever since the reign of Queen Elizabeth[188] has been to systematically employ every possible means to prevent any one European power from dominating over the others and, if necessary, to break it by means of armed intervention. The only parallel to this has been the Prussian army's tradition. England made use of various military means to carry out its purpose, choosing them according to the actual situation or the task to be faced; but the determination and willpower to use them has always been the same. Indeed, the more difficult England's position became in the course of history, the more the leadership of the British Empire considered it necessary to maintain a condition of political paralysis among the various European states, as a result of their mutual rivalries. The political independence of the North American colonies made it even more necessary to use every effort to maintain the defense of Britain's

[188] Reigned from 1558 to 1603.

flank in Europe. And so–after the destruction of Spain and the Netherlands as great sea powers–England concentrated all its forces against the increasing strength of France, until, with the downfall of Napoleon, the hegemony danger of this perilous military power was finally broken.

The shift in British policy against Germany took place only very slowly. This was true not only because the German nation did not represent an obvious danger for England as long as it lacked national unification, but also because British public opinion, steered by propaganda toward other goals, was slow to move in a new direction. The calm knowledge of the statesman is transformed into popular sentiment, which is not only more effective but also more durable. When the statesman has attained one of his goals, he can immediately turn his thoughts to new ones. But only by the slow work of propaganda can mass sentiment be shaped into an instrument for the leaders' new view on life.

As early as 1870-71, England had decided on its new stance. At times, minor policy fluctuations were caused by the growing importance of America in the world economy and also by the increasing political power of Russia. Unfortunately, though, Germany didn't take advantage of these events and, therefore, the original tendency of British diplomacy was only reinforced.

England saw Germany as a power of commercial and world-political importance, partly because its enormous industrialization was increasing to such threatening proportions that the two countries were already contending as equals. The 'peaceful economic' conquest of the world–which, in the eyes of our leaders, represented the highest peak of wisdom–was what led English statesmen to adopt a policy of resistance. The fact that this resistance assumed the form of a vast organized aggression was in full conformity with a type of statesmanship that aimed not at the maintenance of a dubious world peace but at the consolidation of British world-domination. England thus allied itself with those countries that had a definite military importance, and this was consistent with its traditional caution in estimating the adversary's power and also in recognizing its own temporary weakness. This cannot be called 'unscrupulous,' because such a comprehensive

organization for war purposes must not be judged from the heroic viewpoint but from that of expediency. Diplomacy must see to it, not that a nation goes down heroically, but rather that it survives in practice. Hence every road that leads to this goal is expedient, and the failure to take it must be seen as a criminal neglect of duty.

When the German Revolution occurred, England's fears of a German world hegemony came to a satisfactory end.

Since then, it has not been in English interests to see Germany totally erased from the geographic map of Europe. On the contrary, the astounding collapse that took place in November 1918 confronted British diplomacy with a situation that at first appeared impossible.

For four-and-a-half years, the British Empire fought to break the presumed prevalence of a continental power. A sudden collapse now occurred that removed this power from the picture. That collapse exposed the lack of even a basic instinct of self-preservation, such that European equilibrium was unhinged within 48 hours: Germany destroyed, and France the first European continental power.

The enormous propaganda that was carried on during this war for the purpose of encouraging the British public to hold out, aroused all the primitive instincts and passions of the populace and was bound to eventually hang as a lead weight on the decisions of British statesmen. With the colonial, economic, and commercial destruction of Germany, England's war aims were attained. Anything beyond this was a hindrance to British interests. Only England's enemies could profit by the disappearance of Germany as a continental power in Europe. Nonetheless, from November 1918 through mid-summer 1919, it was no longer possible for England to change its diplomatic attitude because it had expended the emotional energy of the broad masses. It wasn't possible from the viewpoint of existing attitudes of its own people, and it wasn't possible due to the military relation of forces. France took the initiative and could impose upon others. During those months of negotiations and bargaining, the only power that could have altered the course of things–Germany itself-was torn asunder by a civil war, and its so-called statesmen declared themselves ready to

accept any dictate.

Now, in the life of peoples, if one nation loses its instinct for self-preservation and ceases to be an ‘active’ ally, it sinks to the level of an enslaved people and its territory must suffer the fate of a colony.

13.6 ENGLAND’S WAR AIM NOT ACHIEVED

To prevent France from becoming too great a power, England had to participate in a predatory lust.

In fact England did not attain its war aim. Not only was it impossible to prevent the rise of a European power above the continental state system, but it was given increased support.

In 1914, Germany, considered as a military State, was wedged between two countries, one of which had equal power and the other greater. Then there was England's overwhelming sea power. France and Russia alone hindered and opposed the development of German greatness. The Reich’s unfavorable military-geographical situation might be looked upon as another coefficient of security against an exaggerated increase of power. From a naval viewpoint, the coastline was unfavorable for a conflict with England, as it was short and cramped. The land frontier, by contrast, was widely extended and open.

France’s position is different today: It is the first military power without a serious rival on the continent; it's almost entirely protected along its southern border with Spain and Italy; against Germany, it’s safeguarded by the prostrate condition of our Fatherland; and a long stretch of its coastline faces the vital nerve system of the British Empire. Not only could French airplanes and long-range batteries attack the vital centers of England, but submarines could threaten its sea lanes. A submarine campaign based on the long Atlantic coast and on the European and North African coasts of the Mediterranean would have disastrous effects.

Thus the political result of the war to prevent the development of German power was French hegemony on the continent. The military result: the consolidation of France as the first continental power and the recognition of the Union as an equal sea power. The

economic result: the surrender of great spheres of British interests to former allies.

13.7 POLITICAL GOALS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND

Just as England's traditional political goals wanted and required the Balkanization of Europe, France's desired the Balkanization of Germany.

England's wish is, and remains, to prevent any one continental power from attaining a position of world importance–that is, the maintenance of a definite balance of power among the European States; this seems to be a precondition for British world-hegemony.

France's wish is, and remains, to prevent Germany from becoming a unified power. It wants to maintain a system of small German states with balanced power relations and without central leadership, and it wants to possess the left bank of the Rhine as a prerequisite for the establishment and safeguarding of hegemony in Europe.

The final aims of French diplomacy will be in perpetual opposition to the final tendencies of British statesmanship.

13.8 ALLIANCE POSSIBILITIES FOR GERMANY

Taking this as a starting-point, anyone who investigates alliance possibilities for Germany must come to the conclusion that there remains no other option except to approach England. The consequences of England's war policy were, and are, disastrous for Germany, but we cannot close our eyes to the fact that, today, England has no necessary interest in the destruction of Germany. Indeed, on the contrary, England's diplomacy must, from year to year, tend more towards curbing France's unbridled lust after hegemony. Now, an alliance policy cannot be pursued by bearing grudges, but it can be rendered fruitful by taking account of past experiences. Experience should have taught us that alliances formed for negative purposes suffer from intrinsic weakness. The destinies of nations can be welded together only under the

prospect of a common success, of common gain and conquest-in short, a mutual extension of power.

The ignorance of our people on foreign politics is clearly demonstrated by current press reports about “friendship towards Germany” by one or the other foreign statesman, whereby this is taken as a special guarantee of a policy that will be beneficial to our people. This is absolutely unbelievable nonsense-mere speculation of unparalleled simplicity by the average German man. No British, American, or Italian statesman ever was ‘pro-German.’ Every English statesman will naturally be English first of all, every American, and no Italian statesman would be prepared to adopt a policy that wasn't pro-Italian. Therefore, anyone who expects to form alliances with foreign nations on the basis of a pro-German feeling among their statesmen is either an ass or a deceiver.

The premise for linking together the destinies of nations is never mutual esteem or mutual sympathy, but rather the prospect of advantages for both contracting parties. That is: It’s true that an English statesman will always follow a pro-English and not a pro-German policy, but so too is it true that certain definite interests involved in this pro-English policy may coincide on various grounds with German interests. Naturally this can be true only to a certain degree, and may one day be completely reversed; but the art of statesmanship is shown when, at certain periods, allies are found who must take the same road in order to defend their own interests.

The practical application of these principles at the present time depends on the answer given to the following questions: What States at present have no interest in allowing French military and economic power to achieve hegemony, through the total exclusion of a German Central Europe? Indeed, which states see this as a threat to their own future, based on their own requirements for existence, and on their previous political tradition?

Ultimately we must be very clear on this point: France is, and will remain, Germany’s implacable mortal enemy. It doesn’t matter what governments have ruled or will rule France, whether Bourbon or Jacobin, Napoleonic or Bourgeois-Democratic,

Clerical Republican or Red Bolshevik: Their foreign policy will always be directed towards acquiring possession of the Rhine frontier, and to consolidating France's position on this river by dismembering and shattering Germany.

England doesn't want Germany to be a world power, but France wants no power at all called 'Germany': quite an essential difference! Today we are not fighting for our position as a world power but rather only for the existence of our Fatherland, for national unity, and for our children's daily bread. From this viewpoint, only two European states remain as possible allies: England and Italy.

England doesn't want to see a French military fist unchecked by the rest of Europe, one that might adopt a policy that would clash with English interests one day. England never wants to see France possess the immense western European iron and coal deposits that would make it possible for it to gain a threatening economic world position. And England furthermore never wants a France whose continental political position, owing to the dismemberment of the rest of Europe, seems so absolutely assured that it is not only enabled, but compelled to resume a French world-policy on great lines. Zeppelin bombs might be multiplied by the thousand every night; France's military predominance weighs heavily on the heart of Great Britain's world empire.[189]

And Italy cannot and will not want any further strengthening of France's power in Europe. Italy's future will always be conditioned by the development of events in the Mediterranean basin. It wasn't a desire to build up France that drove Italy into the war, but rather to deal a mortal blow to its hated Adriatic rival. Any further strengthening of France on the Continent would hamper the development of Italy's future, and we mustn't deceive ourselves by thinking that national relations will in any way exclude rivalries.

[189] It's hard today to envision the extent of the British Empire at the time this was written. It encompassed over 400 million people, about 20% of the global total. It covered roughly a quarter of the Earth's entire land surface area, including such present-day nations as Canada, Australia, India, Pakistan, Egypt, South Africa, Sudan, and Kenya, among many others.

Serious and cool-minded consideration shows that these two states, England and Italy, have natural self-interests that not only are not in opposition to Germany's essential conditions for existence, but are indeed, to a certain extent, identical with them.

13.9 IS GERMANY CAPABLE OF ALLIANCE TODAY?

But when we consider the possibilities of alliances, we must be careful not to overlook three factors. The first concerns ourselves, and the other two the states in question.

Can anyone ally themselves with present-day Germany? Can a power, one that seeks an alliance for the purpose of securing assistance in carrying out offensive aims, form an alliance with a State whose rulers have, for years, presented a spectacle of deplorable incompetence and pacifist cowardice, and where the majority of the populace, in a democratic-Marxist blindness, betrays the interests of their own people and country in a way that cries to high heaven? Can any power today hope to establish useful relations in the fight for common interests when this State obviously has neither the courage nor the desire to lift a finger even in the defense of its own naked existence? Can such a power– for which an alliance must be much more than a pact to guarantee a state of slow decay, like the disastrous old Triple Alliance[190]– associate itself for better or worse with a State whose most characteristic signs of life consist of a rampant servility in external relations and a scandalous repression of national virtues at home? Or can it be associated with a State that possesses no greatness because its whole behavior shows that it doesn't deserve it? Or can alliances be made with governments that are despised by their own citizens and thus have no possibility for respect abroad?

No–any self-respecting power that expects something more from alliances than commissions for greedy parliamentarians will not ally itself with our present-day Germany; indeed, it cannot. Our present inability to form alliances furnishes. the deepest and

[190] The Triple Alliance was a pact between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. It was formed in 1882 and survived until the start of World War One. See volume one, sections 4.1 and 4.9.

ultimate principle for the solidarity of the enemy thieves. Because Germany doesn't defend itself in any other way except the flamboyant 'protests' of our parliamentarian elect, there's no reason why the rest of the world should fight in our defense. And God does not follow the principle of granting freedom to a nation of cowards–despite all the whimperings of our patriotic associations. Therefore, even for those states that don't have a direct interest in our total destruction, no other course remains except to participate in France's campaign of plunder, or at least to prevent the exclusive strengthening of France alone.

Second, we must not overlook the difficulty in overcoming the mass propaganda of our former enemies, which have turned popular opinion toward a fixed direction. When a nationality has been represented to the public for years as a horde of 'Huns,' 'robbers,' 'vandals', etc., they cannot suddenly overnight be presented as something else, and the former enemy cannot be recommended as the ally of tomorrow.

13.10 DIVERGENCE BETWEEN BRITISH AND JEWISH INTERESTS

But the third factor deserves greater attention, since it is of essential importance for establishing future alliances in Europe:

From a British state viewpoint, even though there isn't much interest in the further destruction of Germany, such a development is greatly in the interests of the international stock-exchange Jews. The cleavage between the official, or rather traditional, British statesmanship and the controlling Jewish stock-exchange powers is nowhere so clearly manifested as in the various attitudes on the questions of British foreign policy. Contrary to the interests and welfare of the British state, Jewish finance desires not only the absolute economic destruction of Germany but its complete political enslavement. The internationalization of our German economy–that is, the transference of our productive forces to Jewish world finance–can only be completely carried out in a politically Bolshevik state. But the Marxist fighting forces of international Jewish stock-exchange capital cannot finally smash

the German national State without friendly help from outside. French armies must therefore first besiege the German state-structure, and then the exhausted Reich would succumb to the Bolshevik fighting troops of international Jewish world finance.

Hence it is that the Jew today is the great agitator for the complete destruction of Germany. Whenever in the world we read of attacks against Germany, Jews are their fabricators. In peacetime and during the War, Jewish stock-exchange and Marxist press systematically stirred up hatred against Germany, until one state after another abandoned its neutrality and placed itself at the service of the world war coalition, renouncing the real interests of people.

13.11 JEWISH WORLD INCITEMENT AGAINST GERMANY

The Jewish way of reasoning thus becomes clear. The Bolshevization of Germany–that is, the rooting out of national folkish German intellectuals to make it possible for the German labor force to bear the yoke of Jewish world finance–is only a prelude to an extension of the Jewish tendency for world conquest. As so often in history, Germany is the great pivot in this mighty struggle. If our people and our State should become victims of these bloodthirsty and avaricious Jewish tyrants of nations, the whole Earth would fall prey to this polyp; and if Germany were to be freed from its grip, this greatest of dangers to nations would be broken for the whole world.

It is certain that Jewry uses all its agitational efforts not only to maintain national animosity toward Germany but, if possible, to increase it even more; and it's equally certain that only a fraction of these activities are in keeping with the true interests of the poisoned peoples. In general, Jewry carries on its campaign in the various countries by the use of weapons that are calculated to appeal to the mentality of the respective nations and are most likely to produce the greatest success. In our blood-diluted, exceptionally–torn national body, it is the more or less ‘cosmopolitan,’ pacifist-ideological thoughts that arise; in short,

the internationalist tendencies that they use in their struggle for power. In France, they exploit the well-known and accurately-estimated chauvinism, and in England, the commercial and world-political outlook; in short, they always work with the essential qualities that belong to each national mentality. When they have in this way achieved a decisive influence in economic and political spheres, they discard the limitations of their borrowed weapons, and expose, to the same degree, the true inner purposes of their will and their struggle. Their destruction then accelerates, reducing one state after another to a mass of ruins, upon which they will erect the sovereign and eternal Jewish Empire.

In England and Italy, the contrast between the view of the better kind of statesmanship and the policy of the Jewish world stock-exchange is clear-indeed, sometimes strikingly obvious.

Only in France today does there exist, more than ever before, a profound accord between the views of the Jew-controlled stock exchange and the chauvinistic national statecraft. This identity constitutes an immense danger for Germany. For this reason, France is and will remain by far the most terrible enemy. This people, who are becoming more and more niggarized, represent an enduring danger to the existence of the white race in Europe because they are bound up with the Jewish goal of world domination.[191] Contamination through Negro blood on the Rhine, in the very heart of Europe, is in accord with the sadistic and perverse lust for vengeance by this hereditary enemy of our people, just as an ice-cold Jewish calculation uses this to begin a bastardization at the center of the European continent, and to deprive the white race of the basis for a sovereign existence by infection with a lower humanity.

France's activities in Europe today, spurred on by their lust for vengeance and systematically led by the Jews, are a sin against the existence of white humanity. These actions will one day arouse a spirit of vengeance against them by a race that has recognized

[191] France today has by far the highest percentage of black population in Europe: 5.6%, or some 3.8 million people. Next highest is the UK (3.8%, or 2.5 million), followed by Italy (l.8%) and Spain (1.5%). Germany today has around 1 % black population. By comparison, the current US black population is about 12.3% (40 million).

racial pollution as the original sin of mankind.

For Germany, however, the French danger involves a subordinating of all sentiment, and extending a hand to those who are threatened with the same menace and who are unwilling to suffer or tolerate France's lust for domination.

For the foreseeable future, there will only be two European allies for Germany: England and Italy.

13.12 PANDERING TO FRANCE

If we take the trouble to cast a backwards glance at German foreign policy leadership since the Revolution, we must–in view of the constant and incomprehensible failure of our governments–either lose heart or, in a flaming rage, take up the fight against such a regime. Their actions cannot be attributed to a lack of understanding: What seemed inconceivable to every thinking man was accomplished by these intellectual Cyclopses of our November parties: They courted France's favor. Yes indeed–during all these years, with the touching simplicity of incorrigible visionaries, they pandered to France again and again, they bowed to the 'great nation,' and they believed that they saw a visible change of feeling in every shrewd trick of the French hangman.

Naturally, the actual political wire-pullers never shared in this absurd belief. For them, pandering to France was only an obvious means of thwarting every attempt at a practical alliance policy. They had no illusions about French aims or those of the men behind the scenes. What induced them to act as if they honestly believed that the fate of Germany could possibly be changed, was the sober calculation that otherwise our people might head off in another direction.

Naturally it's hard for us, within our own movement, to propose England as a possible future ally. Our Jewish press has always been adept at concentrating hatred against England in particular, and many of our good German simpletons have willingly fallen into the Jewish trap. They babble about a 'strengthening' of German sea power and protest against the theft of our colonies, and thus they furnish material that the Jewish scoundrel transmits

to his English clansmen for purposes of practical propaganda. Our simple-minded political bourgeoisie cannot grasp the idea that today we don't have to fight for 'sea power.' Even before the War, it was absurd to direct German national energies towards this end without first having secured our position in Europe. Such a hope today rises to a stupidity that, in the political field, may be called criminal.

It often becomes maddening to see how the Jewish wire-pullers succeed in concentrating the people's attention on things that are only of secondary importance today. They incited them to demonstrations and protests, while at the same time France was tearing away at our national body, piece by piece, systematically removing the very foundations of our independence.

13.13 THE SOUTH TYROL QUESTION

Here I must recall a special hobby horse that the Jew has ridden in recent years with amazing skill: South Tyrol.[192]

Yes indeed, South Tyrol. The reason why I take up this question here is because I want to call to account that shameful rabble who relied on the forgetfulness and stupidity of large sections of our people, and who stimulated a national indignation that is as foreign to the real character of our parliamentary swindlers as the idea of private property is to a magpie.

I would like to emphasize that I was one of those, at the time when the fate of South Tyrol was being decided-that is, from August 1914 to November 1918–who went where that place was being effectively defended, namely, in the army. I did my share of fighting during those years, not merely to save South Tyrol from being lost but also to save it, like every other German province, for the Fatherland.

The parliamentary shysters took no part in that battle, but simply played party politics. On the contrary, we carried on the fight in the belief that a victorious outcome of the war would preserve South Tyrol for the German nation, while those loud-

[192] South Tyrol is a semi-autonomous province in northern Italy, comprised primarily of German-speakers. Current population is around 525,000.

mouthed Ephialteses[193] agitated and plotted against victory, until the fighting Siegfried succumbed to the stab in the back. It was only natural that the lying inflammatory speeches of the parliamentarians on the Vienna Ballhausplatz or in front of the Munich Feldherrnhalle couldn't save South Tyrol for Germany. Only the fighting battalions at the Front could do that. Those who broke up that Front betrayed South Tyrol, as they did all other German districts.

Anyone who believes that the South Tyrol question can be solved today by protests, declarations, and organizational parades is either a completely exceptional scoundrel or merely a German philistine.

It must be made clear that we cannot recover lost territories by depending on solemn appeals to Almighty God or on pious hopes in a League of Nations, but only by force of arms.

So the only remaining question is: Who's ready to take up arms for the restoration of these lost territories?

Concerning myself personally, I can state with a clear conscience that I would have enough courage to take part in a campaign for the victorious conquest of South Tyrol, at the head of parliamentarian storm battalions consisting of parliamentarian big-mouths and other party leaders, along with the various state councilors. The Devil knows that I would love to see a few shrapnel shells suddenly burst over this 'flaming' protest demonstration. I think that if a fox were to break into a henhouse, the rush to safety would be no quicker than the scurrying of such a wonderful 'protest coalition.'

The vilest part of all this is that these gentlemen themselves don't believe that anything can be achieved in this way. Each one of them knows very well the impossibility and ineffectiveness of their action. They do it only because it's easier now to babble about the restoration of South Tyrol than it was to fight for keeping it. Everyone plays their part; in those days we sacrificed our blood, and today this crowd merely sharpens their beaks.

It's particularly interesting to note today how Viennese

[193] Ephialtes was a notorious traitor of ancient Greece.

legitimist circles bristle with work for the restoration of South Tyrol. Seven years ago, their noble and illustrious monarchy helped, by an act of perjury and treason, to make it possible for the victorious world-coalition to take away South Tyrol. At that time, these circles supported the perfidious dynasty and didn't give a damn about South Tyrol or any other province. Naturally it's easier today to take up the fight for this territory, since the present struggle is waged only with 'intellectual' weapons. And it's easier to talk yourself hoarse in a 'protest meeting'–out of noble, heartfelt indignation–or to wear down your fingers in the writing of a newspaper article than, say, to blow up a bridge during the occupation of the Ruhr.

13.14 WHO BETRAYED SOUTH TYOL?

It's obvious why certain circles have made the 'South Tyrol' question the pivot of German-Italian relations during the past few years. Jews and Habsburg legitimists are greatly interested in preventing Germany from pursuing an alliance policy that might one day lead to the resurgence of a free German Fatherland. It isn't out of love for South Tyrol that they raise this fuss–which hurts instead of helps–but through fear of a possible German-Italian agreement.

The generally hypocritical and slanderous tendencies of these circles explains how they can calmly and brazenly attempt to make it appear that we have 'betrayed' South Tyrol.

It must be said to these gentlemen: South Tyrol was 'betrayed,' first, by every German of sound limbs who did not offer himself for service to his Fatherland at the Front during the years 1914-1918;

Second, by every man who, during those years, didn't help to reinforce the national body's power of resistance, so as to enable the country to carry through the fight to the very end;

Third, South Tyrol was betrayed by everyone who took part in the November Revolution–either directly by his act or indirectly by a cowardly toleration of it–and thus broke the sole weapon that could have saved South Tyrol.

And fourth, South Tyrol was betrayed by those parties and their followers who signed the disgraceful treaties of Versailles and St. Germain.

Yes indeed, that's how things stand, my brave lip-service gentlemen!

Today I am guided only by a sober recognition of the fact that the lost territories cannot be won back by the sharpened tongues of parliamentary big-mouths but only by the sharpened sword–in other words, through a bloody fight.

Now, I have no hesitation in saying that today, once the die has been cast, it's not only impossible to win back South Tyrol through a war but I should definitely reject it, because I'm convinced that it would not be possible to arouse the German people's national enthusiasm over this question to the degree necessary for success. On the contrary, I believe that if we have to shed blood once again, it would be criminal to do so for the sake of liberating 200,000 Germans, when more than seven million next door are suffering under foreign domination, and a vital artery of the German nation has become a playground for hordes of African niggers.

If the German nation wants to end a condition that threatens to root it out of Europe, it mustn't fall prey to errors of the pre-war period and make enemies of God and the world, but rather it must determine the most dangerous enemy, and then concentrate all its power to strike at it. And if this victory is obtained through sacrifices elsewhere, future generations won't condemn us. In light of the miseries and anxieties that led us to make such a bitter decision, they will more clearly recognize the brilliancy of our success.

Once again, we must always be guided by the fundamental principle that the political independence and power of the Motherland must first be restored, if we are to win back lost provinces of the Reich.

Hence the first task of powerful leadership in foreign affairs is to make this possible by a wise alliance policy.

We National Socialists must particularly guard against being dragged along by Jewish-led bourgeois patriots in word only. Woe to us if, instead of preparing for the coming struggle, our

movement also busied itself in mere protest!

It was the fantastic idea of a Nibelungen alliance with the cadaver of the Habsburg State that brought about Germany's ruin.[194] Fantastic sentimentality in dealing with today's foreign policy possibilities would be the best means of forever preventing our revival.

13.15 THREE QUESTIONS ON AN ALLIANCE POLICY

Here it's necessary for me to briefly respond to objections to the three questions I have raised:

First, whether it's even possible to form an alliance with present-day Germany, whose weakness is so visible to all;

Second, whether the enemy nations can change their attitude towards Germany; and Third, whether Jewish influence is stronger than all understanding or good will, and thus will frustrate and nullify all plans.

I think I've sufficiently discussed one half of the first question. Of course, no one will enter into an alliance with present-day Germany. No power in the world would link its destiny with a state whose government would destroy all confidence. Regarding the attempt by many of our compatriots to explain the government's conduct by referring to our peoples' woeful mentality and thus to excuse it, one must strongly object to this view.

Certainly the lack of our people's character for the last six years is deeply distressing. Their indifference toward the most urgent national necessities has been crushing, and their cowardice has sometimes cried out to high heaven. But one must never forget that we are dealing with a people who gave to the world, a few years earlier, an admirable example of the highest human qualities. From the first days of August 1914 to the end of the tremendous struggle between nations, no people on Earth gave better proof of manly courage, tenacity, and patient endurance,

[194] A 'Nibelungen alliance' refers to any such policy based on naiveté and misplaced trust.

than this German people who today have become so pathetic. No one will dare to assert that the present lack of character is typical of our people. What we have to endure today, among us and around us, is due only to the horrible, maddening, and infuriating influence of that treasonous deed of 9 November 1918. More than ever before, the poet's word is true: evil begets evil.

But even in this time, our people haven't entirely lost those fundamentally sound qualities. They slumber in the depths, and sometimes we can see these virtues, like shining lights in a cloudy firmament, that a future Germany will someday recall as the first signs of a revival. More than once, thousands and thousands of young Germans have come forth and resolved to sacrifice their young lives on the altar of the Fatherland, just as they did in 1914. Millions of men have resumed work, wholeheartedly and zealously, as if the destructive revolution had never occurred. The blacksmith is at his anvil once again, the farmer drives his plow, the scholar is in his study–all with the same devotion to duty.

Our oppression at the hands of our enemies is no longer taken, as it formerly was, with laughter, but rather with bitter and angry faces. Undoubtedly a great change of attitude has taken place.

None of this has yet taken the shape of a rebirth in our national conception of political power and self-preservation. And the blame falls to those who, since 1918, and less by the grace of heaven than self-appointment, have governed our people to death.

Yes indeed, if anyone accuses our people today, he should be asked: What's being done to help them? What of the feeble support that the people give to any governmental decisions–decisions that in fact hardly exist? Is this a sign of our lack of vitality, or is it not a sign of the complete failure of the management of this valuable trust? What have our governments done to reawaken in the people a proud spirit of self-assertion, manly defiance, and righteous hatred?

13.16 NEGLECTED EXPLOITATION OF THE VERSAILLES TREATY

In 1919, when the peace treaty was imposed on the German people, there were grounds for hoping that this instrument of unrestricted oppression would help to reinforce the outcry for German freedom. Peace treaties whose demands fall like a whiplash on the people turn out, not infrequently, to be the signal of a future uprising.

What one could have done with this Peace Treaty of Versailles!

In the hands of a willing government, this instrument of unlimited blackmail and shameful humiliation could have aroused nationalist passion to its highest pitch! A well-directed system of propaganda could have utilized this sadist cruelty to change the people's indifference into indignation, and then that indignation into the most blazing fury!

Each point could have been burned into the minds and hearts of this people, until 60 million heads, both men and women, would find their souls aflame with a common feeling of hatred and shame, and a torrent of fire would burst forth, and one common will would arise from it, hard as steel. Then the people would cry: "To arms again!"

Yes indeed, that's what such a peace treaty can do. Its boundless oppression and impudent demands are the greatest propaganda weapons for awakening the life-spirit of a nation.

Then, from the child's storybook to the last newspaper, and every theater and every cinema, every pillar and every open billboard must be placed into service of this one great mission. Then the faint-hearted cry of our present-day social patriots– "Lord, make us free!"–would be transformed into an ardent prayer: "Almighty God, bless our arms when the hour comes; be just, as thou hast always been; judge now if we deserve our freedom; Lord, bless our struggle!"

All this was neglected and nothing was done.

Who will be surprised now if our people are not such as they should be, or could be? If the rest of the world looks upon us only as a stooge, as an obedient dog that licks that hand that has just

beaten him?

Certainly our capacity for forming alliances with other nations is hampered by our own people, but much more by our governments. They in their corruption are guilty of the fact that, after eight years of indescribable oppression, there exists so little will to freedom.

In order that our nation may undertake an alliance policy, it must restore its prestige among other nations, and it must have an authoritative government that's not a handyman of foreign states and the taskmaster of its own people, but rather a herald of the national conscience.

If our people had a government that saw this as its mission, six years would not have passed before a courageous Reich foreign policy would find an equally bold will among a people thirsting for freedom.

13.17 INVERSION OF ANTI-GERMAN PSYCHOSIS

The second objection-the difficulty of changing enemy nations into friendly allies–can be answered as follows:

The general anti-German psychosis cultivated by war propaganda in other countries must inevitably continue to exist until there is a renaissance of a German will to self-preservation, such that the German Reich once again becomes a state that can play on the European chessboard, and with whom one can play. Only when the government and the people are fit to undertake an alliance policy can one power or another, whose interests coincide with ours, think of changing public opinion through propaganda.

Naturally this will take years of clever and continuous work. Because a long period is needed to change public opinion, it's necessary to be cautious before undertaking such work–that is, one mustn't begin the task unless one is absolutely convinced of its value and of the fruit that it will bear in the future. One mustn't try to change national sentiment based on the empty bragging of a more or less brilliant foreign minister, but only if there's a tangible guarantee of the value of the new orientation. Otherwise there

could be a complete shattering of public opinion.

The most reliable guarantee that can be given for the possibility of a future state alliance cannot be found in the bombastic phrases of some individual member of the government, but in the manifest stability of a definite and practical governmental tendency, and in supportive public opinion. Faith in this will be strengthened all the more if the government, through propaganda, prepares to explain its efforts and secure public support for them, and if public opinion favorably reflects this governmental tendency.

Therefore a nation–in our situation–will be seen as a possible ally if government and public opinion are both are united in the same enthusiastic determination to fight for freedom. This must be firmly established before any attempt can be made to change public opinion in other countries, which, for the sake of defending their interests, are inclined to travel alongside a partner who seems suitable to them–that is, to conclude an alliance.

For this purpose, however, there's one more thing: Given that the task of bringing about a radical change in the spiritual attitude of a people calls for hard work, and that many don't understand it at first, it would be both stupid and criminal to commit mistakes that could be used as weapons by those who are opposed to such a change.

13.18 CONCENTRTION ON ONE ENEMY

One must recognize the fact that it takes a long time for a people to completely understand the inner purposes of a government, because one cannot explain the ultimate aims of preliminary political work; rather, one either has to count on the blind faith of the masses or on the intuitive instinct of the intellectually-superior ruling class. But since many people lack this political insight, and since political considerations forbid a public explanation, a certain portion of intellectual leaders will always oppose new tendencies that can be viewed as mere experiments, because they aren't easily grasped. Thus the concerned, conservative state elements began to resist.

For this reason, our highest duty is to keep any weapons from

falling into the hands of those who would interfere with a mutual understanding among nations. This is especially so in our case, where we have to deal with the impractical and fantastic talk of our social patriots and petty bourgeoisie café politicians. The cry for a new battle fleet, the restoration of our colonies, etc., is simply nonsense and impractical, as any serious thinker would realize. These harmless and sometimes half-crazy spouters in the protest fight are serving the interests of our mortal enemy; their words are exploited in England in a way that cannot be considered as advantageous to Germany. They squander their energies in futile demonstrations against God and the whole world, and they forget the fundamental principle that is a precondition for every success, namely: Whatever you do, do it thoroughly! By howling against five or ten states, we fail to concentrate all the forces of our will and physical strength for a blow to the heart of our bitterest enemy, and we sacrifice the possibility of strengthening ourselves through an alliance.

Here, too, is a mission for the National Socialist movement. It must teach our people to overlook the small things and focus on the great ones; to not become divided over minor issues; and to never forget that the object for which we fight today is the naked existence of our people, and that the sole enemy that we must confront is and remains that power which is robbing us of this existence.

Some things may become hard to bear. But this is by no means an excuse for renouncing reason and for raising senseless outcries against the whole world, instead of concentrating all our forces against the most deadly enemy.

13.19 RECKONING WITH THE TRAITORS

Moreover, the German people have no moral right to complain of the manner in which the rest of the world acts towards them, as long as they themselves have not called to account those criminals who sold and betrayed their own country. We cannot hope to be taken very seriously if we indulge in long-range abuse and protests against England and Italy, and then allow those scoundrels to

circulate undisturbed in our own country who were in the pay of the enemy war propaganda, who took away our weapons, broke our moral backbone, and bartered away the Reich for 30 pieces of silver.

The enemy only did what was expected. And we should learn from his conduct and actions.

Anyone who cannot rise to the level of this outlook must realize that, otherwise, nothing would remain than to renounce the idea of any alliance policy in the future. If we cannot form an alliance with England because it has stolen our colonies, or with Italy because it has South Tyrol, or with Poland or Czechoslovakia, then there remains no one else in Europe except France–which, incidentally, robbed us of Alsace-Lorraine.

There can scarcely be any doubt as to whether this serves the German people. But if one thing is in doubt, it's whether such an opinion comes from a mere simpleton or an astute adversary.

When it comes to the activities of leaders, I always believe the latter.

A transformation in the individual psyche of those formerly enemy peoples, whose true interests may well correspond with ours in the future, may be possible if our State's internal strength and our will to self-preservation show that we could be a worthy ally once again. Moreover, our incompetence and criminal conduct shouldn't provide grounds to be used by those who would oppose our alliance with former enemies.

13.20 FASCIST ITALY AND JEWRY

The hardest to answer is the third objection.

Is it conceivable that those who represent the true interests of those alliance-possible nations could uphold their views against the will of the Jewish mortal enemy of free peoples and nation-states?

For example, could the forces of traditional British statesmanship break the disastrous Jewish influence, or not?

This question, as already said, is very difficult to answer. It depends on too many factors to form a conclusive judgment. In

any case, one thing is certain: In one state, governmental power is so stabilized, and is so absolutely at the service of the country's interests, that one cannot speak of a real and effective obstruction of political necessities by international Jewish forces.

The fight that fascist Italy is waging against the Jews' three principal weapons–though perhaps in the deepest sense unconsciously (but I don't believe this myself)–furnishes the best proof that the poisonous fangs of this supra-state power are being torn out, albeit indirectly. The prohibition of Freemason secret societies, the suppression of the supra-national press, and the continuous demolition of international Marxism, together with the steady reinforcement of the fascist state-concept–all this will, over the years, enable the Italian government to more and more serve the interests of the Italian people, without regard to the hissing of the Jewish world-hydra.

13.21 ENGLAND AND JEWRY

Things are harder in England. In that country of 'the freest democracy,' the Jew exerts an almost unlimited dictatorship, indirectly, through public opinion.[195] And yet there is a perpetual

[195] Jewish influence in Britain has been significant ever since their 'emancipation' there in 1858. Important early figures included Isaac Goldsmid, David Salomons, and Benjamin Disraeli. The Rothschild family established banking enterprises there already in the 1790s, and through their profits in the Napoleonic wars in the early 1800s, gained considerable wealth and influence. By 1880, British writer Laurence Oliphant could write of the Jews' "financial operations on the largest scale" and "the powerful influence which they wield in the press of many countries." He adds, "Owing to the financial, political, and commercial importance to which the Jews have now attained, there is probably no one power in Europe that would prove so valuable an ally…as this wealthy, powerful, cosmopolitan race" (1880: 503). A decade later, Oxford historian Goldwin Smith observed that, "almost without exception, the press throughout Europe is in Jewish hands, and is largely produced from Jewish brains. International finance is captive to Jewish energy and skill. In England, the fall of the Barings [bank] has left the lonely supremacy of the house of Rothschild, unchallenged and unassailable….Judaism is now the great financial power in Europe, that is, it is the greatest power of all" (1893: 260-280). Winston Churchill was closely tied to Jewish influence from at least 1904. Martin Gilbert (2007: 9) notes that Churchill's political opponents accused him "of being in the pocket, and even in the pay, of wealthy Jews." Michael Makovsky (2007: 46) writes that Churchill "came to count many of [his father's] wealthy Jewish friends as his own." As Hitler was well aware, Britain sought and obtained the aid of "world Jewry" in fighting World War One. David Lloyd George was particularly eager to engage American Jews' assistance, to draw in the neutral Americans. The end result was a "contract with Jewry": to offer them a Zionist homeland in Palestine if they

struggle between advocates of British state interests and the proponents of Jewish world-dictatorship.

After the War it became clear for the first time how sharp this contrast is, when British state leaders took one stand on the Japanese problem and the press took another.

Just after the end of the War, the old mutual antipathy between America and Japan began to reappear. Naturally the great European powers couldn't remain indifferent to this new war danger. Despite ties of kinship, there was a certain amount of jealousy in England over the growing importance of the American Union in all spheres of international economics and politics. The former colonial territory, child of a great mother, seemed about to become the new world-master. It's quite understandable that today England should re-examine her old alliances, and that British statesmanship should look nervously to a point in time when it won't be said: "Britain rules the seas!" but rather: "The seas for the American Union!"

The gigantic American state-colossus, with its enormous wealth of virgin soil, is much harder to attack than an encircled German Reich. If the die were to be cast and an ultimate decision reached, England would be doomed if it stood alone. Therefore they eagerly reach for the yellow fist and cling to an alliance that, from a racial viewpoint, is perhaps unpardonable; but from a political viewpoint it represents the sole possibility of reinforcing Britain's world position in the face of the upsurging American continent.

Despite a common struggle on the European battlefields, the English government did not conclude an alliance with their Asiatic partner, and the whole Jewish press jumped on this idea from behind.

How is it possible that, up to 1918, Jewish organs championed the British struggle against the German Reich, and then suddenly became disloyal and went their own way?

The destruction of Germany was not an English interest, but

would help England win the war. This 'contract' was codified in the infamous Balfour Declaration of 1917. For details, see Dalton (2013). In sum, Hitler was certainly correct: Jews did indeed have a virtual dictatorship over Britain by the 1920s. It continues to this day.

primarily a Jewish one–just as today the destruction of Japan less serves British interests than it does the broader wishes of the leaders of the anticipated Jewish world-empire. While England endeavors to maintain its position in the world, the Jew organizes his attack for its conquest.

He already sees the present European states as pliant tools in his hands, whether indirectly through so-called Western democracy or in the form of direct domination by Russian Bolshevism. But it's not only the Old World that he holds in his snare; rather, the same fate holds for the New. Jews control the stock-exchange forces of the American Union.[196] Every year they increase their control over the labor force, in a nation of 120 million people; only very few, to their chagrin, still remain fully independent.[197]

They show consummate skill in manipulating public opinion and using it as an instrument in the fight for their own future.

Jewry's greatest heads see the pending fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecy about the great devouring of nations.[198]

Among this great herd of denationalized colonial territories, one independent state could bring about the ruin of the whole structure at the last hour. A Bolshevik world cannot exist unless it encompasses everything.

If only one state preserves its national strength and greatness,

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[196] Jewish influence in America at this time went well beyond the stock exchange, and was almost certainly more extensive than Hitler realized. Jewish population was rising rapidly, from 0.5% of the country in 1880 to 2.9% by 1918. The partly-Jewish Teddy Roosevelt became president in 1901, after the Jewish-inspired assassination of President William McKinley. Jewish bankers like Paul and Felix Warburg, Jacob Schiff, and Bernard Baruch exercised considerable influence. Jewish lawyers such as Oscar Straus, Louis Marshall, Henry Morgenthau Sr., Louis Brandeis, and Samuel Untermyer all had substantial clout in finance and government. Such individuals were decisive in persuading Woodrow Wilson and Congress to enter World War One. For more information, see Dalton (2013).

[197] The original first edition of this volume had the words "only a single great man, [Henry] Ford, remains fully independent." Ford was a noted critic of Jewish influence in America, and was long praised by Hitler for standing up to them. For further details on Ford's views, see Dalton (2012).

[198] See for example: *Genesis* (27:29): "Let peoples serve you, and nations bow down to you". *Deuteronomy* (15:6): "You shall rule over many nations," and (28:10) "they shall be afraid of you". *Isaiah* (60:10): "Foreigners shall build up your walls, and their kings shall minister to you ... that men may bring you the wealth ofnations," and (61:5) "you shall eat the wealth of nations."

the Jewish satrapy world empire, like every other tyranny in the world, would have to succumb to the force of the nationalist idea.

13.22 JAPAN AND JEWRY

Now, due to his thousand years of adaptation, the Jew knows very well that he can undermine European nations by racial bastardization, but that he could not subject an Asiatic national state like Japan to the same fate. Today he can mimic the ways of the German and the Englishman, the American and the Frenchman, but he has no means of approach to the yellow Asiatic. Therefore he seeks to break the Japanese national state by using other such formations, so that he may rid himself of a dangerous opponent before he transforms the last state power in his fist into a tyranny over the defenseless.

In his millennial Jewish empire, he dreads a national Japanese state, and therefore wants to destroy it before establishing his own dictatorship.

And so he incites nations against Japan today, as he once did against Germany. Thus while British statesmen are still trying to establish an alliance with Japan, the British-Jewish press is leading a fight against the ally, and prepares for a war of destruction under the proclamation of democracy, and by using the war-cry: “Down with Japanese militarism and imperialism!”

That’s how insubordinate the Jew has become in England today.

And for this reason, the struggle against the Jewish world-danger will begin there.

13.23 OUR FIGHT AGAINST THE WORLD-ENEMY

And here again, the National Socialist movement has a tremendous task to fulfill: It must open our peoples’ eyes in regard to foreign nations, and it must continually remind them of the true enemy of the present-day world. In place of hatred against Aryans–from whom we may be separated on almost every other ground but with whom the bond of common blood and kindred

civilization unite us–we must devote ourselves to arousing a general wrath against the maleficent enemy of mankind, as the real author of all our sufferings.

We must see to it that, at least in our own country, the mortal enemy is recognized, and that the fight against him may become a beacon of light toward brighter days, showing other nations the way of salvation for an embattled Aryan humanity.

Finally, may reason be our guide and will-power our strength. May the sacred duty to act give us determination, and may our faith be our supreme protection.

CHAPTER 14
GERMANY'S POLICY IN EASTERN EUROPE

Two considerations induce me to make a special analysis of Germany's relationship to Russia:

(1) This may perhaps prove to be the most decisive concern of Germany's foreign policy, and

(2) This problem is also a touchstone for the political capacity of the young National Socialist movement as to clear thinking and correct action.

14.1 PREJUDICE IN QUESTIONS OF FOREIGN POLICY

I must confess that the second point has sometimes been a source of great anxiety to me. The members of our movement are not recruited from those who are indifferent, but rather mostly from among those with very extreme worldviews. It's only natural that their understanding of foreign politics should suffer from prejudice and inadequate knowledge, due to the political and philosophical ties of those circles to which they were formerly attached. And this isn't true merely of those who come to us from the Left. On the contrary. However harmful their previous teaching may have been about such problems, in many cases this was at least partly balanced by a residue of sound and natural instincts. Then it was only necessary to substitute a better teaching in place of the earlier influences, and the instinct of self-preservation could be considered as the best ally.

On the other hand, it's much harder to impress clear political ideas on men whose earlier political education was no less nonsensical and illogical. They sacrificed the last residue of their natural instincts on the altar of objectivity. It's particularly

difficult to compel these representatives of our so-called intelligentsia to take a clear and logical view of their own interests and those of their nation. They are burdened with a dead-weight of prejudice and senseless conceptions, and worst of all they have lost or renounced every instinct of self-preservation. The National Socialist movement has to fight a hard battle with these people because, despite total incompetence, they are so self-conceited that, without the slightest justification, they look down with disdain on ordinary and healthier people. These arrogant know-it-alls are wholly incapable of calm analysis and consideration, which are the necessary preliminaries of any will or action in foreign politics.

It is these very circles that are beginning today to divert our foreign policy toward most disastrous directions and turn it away from any real defense of the folkish interests of our people. Instead they serve their own fantastic ideologies, and I thus feel myself obliged to offer to my own colleagues a clear exposition of the most important problem in foreign policy, namely, our relation to Russia. I'll deal with it as thoroughly as necessary to make it generally understood, as far as possible in a work such as this.

Let me begin with the following remarks: By 'foreign policy' we understand to be the managing of a nation's affairs in its relations with the rest of the world, based on certain definite facts. Moreover, as National Socialists, we must lay down the following principle regarding the nature of the foreign policy of a folkish State:

A folkish State's foreign policy must first of all bear in mind the duty of securing the existence of the race on this planet, which is embodied in this State. And this is done by establishing a healthy and natural relation between the number and growth of the population on the one hand, and the quantity and quality of the soil on the other.

14.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STATE'S AREA

The only healthy condition is one that assures a people's sustenance on their own soil. Any other situation is unhealthy,

even though it may endure for centuries or even thousands of years. Sooner or later, this will lead to the decline or even destruction of the people concerned.

Only a sufficiently large space on this Earth can assure a peoples' free existence.

The necessary extent of territorial expansion for settlement must not be estimated by present requirements nor even by the magnitude of its agricultural productivity in relation to the population.

In the first volume, under the heading "Germany's Alliance Policy before the War," I have already explained that a state's land area is of importance, not only as the source of the nation's food, but also militarily and politically.[199] Once a people is assured of its sustenance by the amount of soil, it must consider how to defend it. This depends on a state's power-political strength, which in turn depends on the military-geographical possibilities.

Thus the German nation can assure its own future only as a world power. For nearly 2,000 years, the defense of our national interests was a matter of world history, as can be seen from our more or less successful activities in the field of foreign politics. We ourselves have been witnesses to this: The gigantic struggle of nations from 1914 to 1918 was only the struggle of the German people for their existence on this globe, but we designated this type of event as a World War.

Germany entered this struggle as a presumed world power. I say 'presumed' because, in reality, it was no such thing. In 1914, if there had been a different relation between our area and population, Germany really would have been a world power and, aside from other factors, the war would have ended in our favor.

It's neither my task nor my intention here to discuss what would have happened 'if' in case the 'but' did not exist. But I feel it absolutely necessary to show the present conditions in their bare and unadorned reality, pointing out the weakness inherent in them, so that, at least in the ranks of the National Socialist movement, they should receive the necessary insight.

[199] An apparent reference to chapter 4; see in particular sections 4.2 and 4.3.

Germany today is no world power. Even if our present military weakness could be overcome, we still would have no claim to this title. What importance does a State have on this planet in which the relation of population to area is so miserable as in the present German Reich? In an era in which the world is being gradually divided among states–many of whom almost embrace whole continents–one cannot speak of a world power in the case of a structure whose political Motherland is confined to the laughable area of barely 500,000 square kilometers.[200]

14.3 FRENCH AND GERMAN COLONIAL POLICY

From a purely territorial point of view, the area of the German Reich is vanishingly small compared with the other so-called world powers. England mustn't be cited as a proof to the contrary, for the English Motherland is in reality the great capital of the British world empire, which owns almost a fourth of the Earth's surface. Furthermore we must consider the American Union as foremost among the colossal states, also Russia and China. Some of these spatial areas are more than ten times greater than the present German Reich.

And France itself must also be ranked among these states. Not only is it adding to its army's strength in a constantly increasing measure by recruiting colored people from its gigantic empire, but also racially its niggarization is progressing, such that one can now actually speak of the creation of an African state on European soil. France's present-day colonial policy cannot be compared with that of Germany in the past. If France continues to develop in the present manner for the next 300 years, all traces of French blood will finally be submerged in the growing Euro-African mulatto state. This would be a formidable, self-contained settlement area from the Rhine to the Congo, filled with an inferior race that gradually emerged through a process of continuous bastardization.

This distinguishes French colonial policy from the old German one.

[200] For reference, the area of present-day Germany is around 357,000 square kilometers. If we include Austria, the total comes to 441,000 sq km.

The former German colonial policy, like everything, was carried out half-way. It neither increased the settlement area of the German race, nor did it attempt-as criminal as it would have been-to strengthen the Reich through the use of black blood. The Askari in German East Africa represented a small and hesitant step along this road. But in reality they served only for the defense of the colonies themselves. The idea of importing black troops into a European battlefield–entirely aside from its practical impossibility in a world war–was never entertained as a proposal to be realized under better circumstances; whereas, on the contrary, the French always looked upon this as fundamental to their colonial activities.

Thus the world today has not only a number of states that are much greater than our German nation in population, but they also have a land area that is, above all, the basis of their political power. Never has the relation between area and population in the German Reich been as unfavorable relative to other world states as at the beginning of our history 2,000 years ago, and again today. Formerly we were a young people, storming into a world of crumbling great states, whose last giant, Rome, we helped to bring down. Today we find ourselves in a world of great power-states, in which our own Reich is constantly sinking into insignificance.

14.4 THE HISTORICAL MISSION OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

We must always face this bitter truth clearly and calmly. We must study the population and area of the German Reich in relation to other states, and compare them down through the centuries. I know that everyone will then come to the same sad conclusion that I did at the start: Germany is no longer a world power, regardless of whether its military strength is strong or weak.

There's no comparison between us and the other great states on Earth, thanks to the wholly catastrophic leadership of our people in foreign policy, to our lack of–I should almost say–a testamentary goal in foreign policy, and to the loss of every sound impulse and instinct for self-preservation.

If the National Socialist movement wants to be recognized by history as having a great mission for our people, it will have to painfully recognize the real truth of our situation in the world. It must courageously fight against the aimlessness and incompetence that has hitherto guided our German nation in foreign policy. Then, without respect for 'tradition' or preconceptions, it must find the courage to organize our national forces and set them on a path that will lead them away from the present restricted living space and toward new land and soil. Thus will the movement save us from the danger of perishing from this Earth or of serving others as a slave nation.

The National Socialist movement must seek to abolish the present disproportion between our population and land area, considering the latter as the source of our sustenance and as a basis of political power. And thus it must abolish the contrast between past history and the hopelessness of our present impotence. In doing so, it must bear in mind the fact that we are members of the highest humanity on this Earth, that we have a correspondingly high duty, and that we will fulfill this duty only if we inspire the German people with a racial sensitivity, so that they will not only breed good dogs, horses, and cats, but also care for their own blood.

14.5 ENDURING FRUITS OF A MILLENNIAL POLICY

When I say that German foreign policy until now has been aimless and ineffectual, the proof of my statement is found in the actual failures of this policy. If our people were intellectually inferior or cowardly, the final results of their struggle on this Earth couldn't have been worse than what we see today. What happened during the last decades before the War should not deceive us; we must not measure a Reich's strength taken by itself, but only in comparison with other states. Such a comparison shows that the other states increased their strength such that they not only were equivalent but ultimately became greater; so that, contrary to the apparent rise, Germany's true path diverged more and more from

other states and fell behind–in short, there was a large margin in our disfavor. Indeed, even our population remained far behind and lost ground. Though it's true that our people's heroism is unsurpassed by that of any other on Earth–yes, that they poured out more blood than any other nation on Earth in defense of their existence–their failure was due only to the erroneous manner in which it was applied.

In this connection, if we examine the political experiences of our people during more than a thousand years, recalling the innumerable wars and struggles, and scrutinizing it all in light of present results, we must confess that this sea of blood has produced only three phenomena that we may consider as lasting fruits of specific actions in foreign policy and overall politics:

(1) The colonization of the Ostmark, mostly by the Bavarians;

(2) The conquest and settlement of the territory east of the Elbe; and

(3) The organization of the Brandenburg-Prussian state by the Hohenzollerns, which became the model for the crystallization of a new Reich.

An instructive warning for the future!

The first two of these great foreign policy successes have remained the most enduring. Without them our people would play no role today. These were the first, and unfortunately the only, successful attempts to establish a harmony between our increasing population and the quantity of land and soil. And we must look upon it as truly disastrous that our German historians have never correctly appreciated these two achievements, which were so full of importance for the following generations. By contrast, they praised many other things–fantastic heroism, innumerable adventures and wars–but without understanding how insignificant these were for the main line of our national development.

The third great success achieved by our political activity was the establishment of the Prussian State and the development of a particular state-concept. This also resulted in the German army's instinct of self-preservation and self-defense, which was suited to the modem world. The transformation of the idea of individual self-defense into the duty of national defense is derived from

every state structure and state-conception. The significance of this development cannot be overestimated. Disrupted by excessive individualism, the German people became disciplined under the organization of the Prussian army, and in this way recovered at least some of their long–lost organizational capacity. What other people still authentically possess as a herd-society, we, at least partially, recovered for our national society through military training. Consequently, the abolition of universal compulsory military service–which may have no meaning for dozens of other nations–had fatal consequences for us. Ten generations of Germans without corrective and educational military training, leaving us to the evil effects of racial, and hence philosophical, division–and our people would lose the last remnant of an independent existence on this planet. The German spirit could then make its contribution to civilization only through individuals living under the rule of foreign nations, and their origin would remain unknown: mere cultural fertilizer, until the last residue of Aryan-Nordic blood became corrupted or extinguished.

It's remarkable that the real political successes achieved by our people during their millennial struggles are better appreciated and understood by our adversaries than ourselves. Even today, we still grow enthusiastic about a heroism that robbed our people of millions of their best blood, but turned out to be completely fruitless.

The distinction between our people's real political successes and the futile ends for which our national blood was shed is of supreme importance for our present and future conduct.

We National Socialists must never join in the common hurrah-patriotism of the contemporary bourgeois world. It would be a mortal danger for us to look upon immediate pre-war developments as constituting even the slightest obligation in our path forward. From the entire historical period of the 19th century, we do not accept a single obligation that was based in that period itself. In contrast to the policy of those who represented that period, we must take our stand on the highest viewpoint regarding all foreign policy, namely: to bring the land into harmony with our population. Indeed, from the past we can only learn that the aim

of our political conduct must lie in two directions: (1) land and soil as the objective of our foreign policy, and (2) a new, philosophically-established, uniform foundation as the goal of domestic political activity.

14.6 A CALL FOR THE OLD BORDERS

I still want to briefly take a stand on the question of how far our territorial aims are ethically and morally justified. This is necessary because, unfortunately in our so-called folkish circles, there are all kinds of plausible big-mouths who try to persuade the German people that the aim of their foreign policy ought to be to right the wrongs of 1918, while at the same time they find it necessary to assure the whole world of folkish brotherhood and sympathy.

In regard to this point I want to make the following statement: To demand the restoration of the 1914 borders is a political absurdity that's fraught with such consequences as to appear criminal. The 1914 Reich borders were anything but logical. They were not really complete, in the sense of including all the members of the German nation, nor were they reasonable, in light of military-geographical effectiveness. They were not the result of a well-considered political plan, but were temporary borders established in virtue of an unfinished political struggle–and indeed they were partly the result of chance. One could, with equal (and in many cases better) right, choose some other representative year in German history, and demand that our foreign policy goal should be the restoration of those conditions. Such demands are quite characteristic of our bourgeois world, who in such matters take no political thought of the future, but live only in the past and, indeed, only in the immediate past; even their retrospection doesn’t go back beyond their own times. The law of inertia binds them to the present order of things, leading them to oppose every attempt to change this, but without crossing over into any kind of active defense beyond mere stubbornness. It’s obvious that the political horizon of such people doesn't reach beyond the year 1914. In proclaiming the aim of their political activities to restore those

borders, they only help to repair the rifts in our league of enemies. Only this can explain the fact that, eight years after a world struggle among states with widely varying wishes and goals, the coalition of victors still remains more or less intact.

Each of these states benefitted from the German collapse, at some time or other. Fear of our strength caused the great powers to stay silent about their greed and envy towards one another. They felt that the best guarantee against a future resurgence would be to dismember as much of the Reich as possible. A bad conscience and fear of our people's strength is the durable cement that has held the members of that league together, even to today.

And we don't disappoint them. By setting up the restoration of the 1914 borders as the aim of Germany's political program, each member of the enemy coalition, who otherwise might be inclined to withdraw from the league, fears that he might be attacked by us if isolated, thus losing support of his allies. Each individual state feels itself targeted and threatened by this slogan.

This is absurd, for the following two reasons:

(1) The means of power are lacking to draw it from the evening air into reality, and

(2) Even if it could be really carried out, the result would be so miserable that, by God, it wouldn't be worthwhile to risk our people's blood for it.

There can scarcely be any doubt whatsoever that only through bloodshed could we restore the 1914 borders. Only a child-like mind believes that the Versailles Treaty can be corrected by indirect means or begging. This is aside from the fact that any such attempt would require a man of Talleyrand's character, which we don't have.[201] Half of our politicians consist of characterless shysters who are quite hostile to our people, while the other half is made up of well-meaning, harmless, and easy-going soft-heads.

Times have changed since the Congress of Vienna:[202] It's no

[201] Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1754- 1838) was a French diplomat and politician, including under Napoleon. He was known for his cynical and crafty but effective diplomacy.

[202] Held in 1814-15.

longer princes or their courtesans who contend and bargain about state borders, but rather the inexorable world-Jew who fights for his dominion over nations. No nation can remove this fist from its throat except by the sword. Only an organized and concentrated national sentiment, turned into an effective force, can defy the international enslavement of peoples. This path is, and remains, a bloody one.

If we are convinced that the German future calls for the highest sacrifice, in one way or another, then we must set aside considerations of political expediency, establish a worthy goal, and fight for it.

The 1914 borders are of no significance for the German future. They neither served to protect us in the past, nor do they offer any strength for the future. With these borders, the German people cannot attain an inner unity, nor can they assure their sustenance, nor, from a military viewpoint, are they advantageous, nor can they improve our relations with the other world powers–or better, with the *real* world powers. We won't narrow the gap with England, and we won't achieve the size of the American Union; indeed, not even France would be diminished in terms of world-political importance.

Only one thing is certain: The attempt to restore the 1914 borders, even if successful, would demand so much of our people's blood that no further sacrifice would be possible for such measures needed to really secure the life and future of the nation. On the contrary, intoxicated by such a superficial success, further aims would be renounced–all the more so because the 'national honor' would seem to be repaired and new doors would be opened, at least for the moment, to commercial development.

14.7 NO SENTIMENTALITY IN FOREIGN POLICY

Against all this, we National Socialists must stick firmly to our foreign policy goal, namely, that the German people must be assured of the land and soil entitled to it on this Earth. And only this action, before God and our German posterity, would justify

any sacrifice of blood: Before God, because we are sent into this world with the mission to struggle for our daily bread, as creatures to whom nothing is given, and who must be able to win and defend their position as lords of the Earth only through their own intelligence and courage; and before German posterity insofar as that, for each one who has shed his blood, a thousand others will be bequeathed to posterity. The land on which our German peasants will one day be able to bring forth their sturdy sons justifies the investment of our sons today. And even though the responsible statesmen may be persecuted by their contemporaries, posterity will absolve them from all blood-guilt for this sacrifice of their people.

Here I must offer the sharpest protest against those folkish pencil-pushers who pretend that such territorial extension would be a 'violation of sacred human rights,' and attack it as such. One never knows who stands behind such persons. But it's certain that the confusion they provoke is desirable and convenient for the enemies of our nation. By taking such an attitude, they help to internally weaken and destroy the will of our people to promote, in the only effective way, their own vital interests. No nation on Earth possesses even a square meter of land by decree of a higher Will or a higher Right. Just as Germany's borders are the outcome of chance, and are only temporary ones that were established by political struggles at various times, so too are the borders of other nations' living space. And just as only an imbecile could look upon the Earth's geography as unchangeable as granite–which, in reality, represents a definite stage in a given development, created by the mighty forces of Nature, and which may be altered tomorrow by greater forces of destruction and change–so too the borders of living spaces in the lives of nations.

State borders are made by man, and can be changed by man.

The fact that a nation has acquired an enormous area is no reason why it should hold it forever. At most, it proves the strength of the conqueror and the weakness of the defeated. And in this strength alone lies the right. If the German people are imprisoned within an impossible area, and face a miserable future, this is not by the command of Fate, anymore than to oppose such affairs is

to disobey it. Just as no higher power has promised more territory to other nations than to the German, so it cannot be blamed for an unjust distribution of soil. Just as the soil on which we now live was not bestowed by Heaven on our forefathers–but had to be conquered by mortal risk–so too in the future our people will not obtain territory, and thus life, as a favor from above, but must win it by the power of a triumphant sword.

Today we're all convinced of the need to reckon with France, but this would be broadly ineffective if it were the sole aim of our foreign policy. It can and will have significance only if it serves as a rear cover in the struggle for an enlargement of our peoples' living space in Europe. Colonial acquisitions won't solve that problem. This will happen only by the winning of settlement territory for our people, such as will extend the area of the Motherland and thereby not only keep the new settlers in the closest communion with the land of their origin, but will guarantee to this region the advantages that arise from a unified expanse.

The folkish movement mustn't be an advocate for other nations, but rather a protagonist for itself. Otherwise it would be superfluous and, above all, would have no right to clamor about the past. For then it would be acting the same as before. The old German policy was unjustly determined by dynastic considerations, and future policy mustn't follow the sentimentality of cosmopolitan folkishness. We must especially not be security police for the well-known 'poor, small nations,' but rather soldiers of ourselves.

We National Socialists must go still further: The right to land and soil becomes a duty when a great nation seems destined to go under, unless its land is extended. And that's particularly true when the nation at hand is not some little group of Negroes but the Germanic mother of all life, which has given cultural shape to the modem world. Germany will either be a world power, or not at all. But in order to become a world power, it needs that size which gives it the necessary importance today, and gives life to its citizens.

14.8 RESUMPTION OF EASTERN POLICY

Therefore we National Socialists have purposely drawn a line through our pre-war conduct of foreign policy. We resume where we left off, six centuries ago. We put an end to the perpetual Germanic march towards the south and west of Europe, and turn our eyes towards the land of the East. We finally shut off the colonial–and trade-policy of pre-war times, and pass over to the land-policy of the future.

But when we speak of new land and soil in Europe today, we must principally think of Russia and its subject border states.

Destiny itself seems to wish to point the way for us here. In delivering Russia over to Bolshevism, it robbed the Russian people of that intelligentsia that had once created and secured the Russian state. The organization of the Russian state-structure was not a result of Russian Slavic political ability, but rather was a marvelous example of the state-building capacity of the Germanic element amidst an inferior race.

Many powerful empires were created on the Earth in this way. More than once, lesser peoples with Germanic organizers and leaders became formidable states, and endured as long as the racial nucleus of the state-creating race survived. For centuries, Russia owed its sustenance to the Germanic nucleus of its ruling upper class.

Today this class has been almost completely rooted out and extinguished. The Jew has taken its place. As impossible as it is for the Russian himself to shake off the Jewish yoke, so too is it impossible for the Jew to keep this mighty empire forever. He himself is no organizing element, but rather a ferment of decomposition.[203] This colossal Eastern Empire is ripe for dissolution. And the end of Jewish rule in Russia will also be the end of Russia as a state. We are chosen by Fate to be witnesses of a catastrophe that will afford the strongest confirmation of the folkish race-theory.

[203] 'Ferment of decomposition' is a reference to a famous phrase by prominent German historian Theodor Mommsen. See chapter 4, note I.

Our task, and the mission of the National Socialist movement, is to develop the political insight in our people that will enable them to realize that their future aim is not the fulfillment of some new and wildly adventurous March of Alexander, but rather as the industrious labor of the German plow, for which the sword will provide the soil.

14.9 BISMARCK'S RUSSIA POLICY

It's self-evident that Jewry should offer the harshest opposition to such a policy. They know better than anyone else the significant of this action for their own future. That very fact should teach all nationalist-minded men about the correctness of this new orientation. Unfortunately, the opposite is the case. Not only among German nationalists but also in 'folkish' circles, violent opposition is raised against this Eastern policy. And as in nearly all such cases, higher authorities are invoked. The spirit of Bismarck is cited in defense of a policy that's as stupid as it is impossible, and is in the highest degree detrimental to the German people.

They say that Bismarck laid great importance on good relations with Russia. To a certain extent, that's true. But they forget to add that he laid equal stress on the importance of good relations with Italy, for example; indeed, the same Herr von Bismarck once concluded an Italian alliance so that he might more easily settle accounts with Austria. Why isn't this policy continued? "Because present-day Italy is not the Italy of that time," one says. Good. But then, good sirs, permit me to reply that present-day Russia is no longer the Russia of that time. Bismarck never laid down a tactical principle that would be permanently binding. He was too much the master of the moment to restrict himself in this way. Therefore, the question is not: What did Bismarck do then? but rather: What would he do today? And this question is easier to answer. His political astuteness would never allow him to ally himself with a state that's doomed to go under.

Moreover, Bismarck looked upon the colonial and trade policy of his time with mixed feelings, because he only wanted to assure

the best possibilities for consolidating and internally strengthening the state system that he had created. That was the sole reason he welcomed the Russian rear defense, so as to give him a free hand in the West. But what was advantageous then to Germany would now be detrimental.

14.10 THE 'LEAGUE OF OPPRESSIED NATIONS'

As early as 1920-21–when the young National Socialist movement slowly began to appear on the political horizon, and was spoken of here and there as a freedom movement for the German nation–the party was approached from various quarters in an attempt to connect it with liberationist movements in other countries. This was in line with the much-promoted 'League of Oppressed Nations.' It was principally composed of representatives of various Balkan states, and also of Egypt and India, but these individuals always impressed me as arrogant charlatans without any real background. Not a few Germans, however, especially in the nationalist camp, allowed themselves to be taken in by these pompous Orientals, and accepted any wandering Indian or Egyptian student as a 'representative' of India or Egypt. They didn't realize that in most cases they were dealing with persons who had no backing whatsoever and who were not authorized by anyone to conclude any sort of agreement whatsoever, so that the practical result of every negotiation with such individuals was nothing, and the time spent was an utter loss. I always resisted such attempts. Not only that I had better things to do than waste weeks in such fruitless 'discussions,' but also because, even if we were dealing with genuine representatives, the whole affair would be futile–indeed, harmful.

In peacetime, it was already lamentable enough that the German alliance policy, because it had no assertive aims in view, ended in a defensive association of antiquated states that had been pensioned off by world history. The alliance with Austria, as well as that with Turkey, was not very helpful. While the great military and industrial states on Earth came together in an active, aggressive union, we collected a few old and impotent states, and

with this decaying rubbish made an attempt to face an active world coalition. Germany paid dearly for that mistaken foreign policy. But it wasn't bitter enough to prevent our eternal visionaries from falling back into the same error again. The attempt to disarm the all-powerful victors through a 'League of Oppressed Nations' is not only ridiculous but disastrous. It's disastrous because it continually diverts the German people from real possibilities, which they abandon for the sake of fruitless hopes and illusions. In reality, the German of today is like a drowning man that clutches at any straw. And this is true even among those who are otherwise highly educated. Wherever some unrealistic hope appears, these people immediately set off to chase the phantom. Be it a League of Oppressed Nations, a League of Nations, or some other fantastic new invention, thousands of credulous souls will always be found.

14.11 IS ENGLAND'S RULE IN INDIA TOTTERING?

I remember well the childish and incomprehensible hopes that suddenly arose in folkish circles in the years 1920-21, to the effect that England was nearing collapse in India. A few Asiatic fakirs put themselves forward as Indian 'freedom fighters,' and then began to wander around Europe and persuaded otherwise quite reasonable people of the fixed notion that the British Empire, which had its pivot in India, was just about to collapse there. It naturally never entered their minds that, here again, their own wish was the father of all ideas. Nor did they consider the absurdity of their hopes. For inasmuch as they expected that the collapse of English rule in India meant the end of the British Empire and English power, they themselves admitted that India was of greatest importance for England.

It's likely that this vitally important question was no secret among German-folkish prophets, but rather was also known to the directors of English history. It's really quite childish to suppose that those in England cannot adequately appreciate the importance of the Indian realm for the British world-union. And it's a bad sign

of having learned nothing from the World War, and of thoroughly misunderstanding or knowing nothing about Anglo-Saxon determination, to imagine that England could lose India without risking everything. Moreover, it shows the total ignorance prevailing in Germany regarding the manner of England's penetration and administration of this empire. England will only lose India if it allows racial degeneration in its administrative machinery (which is presently out of the question in India) or if it's overcome by the sword of some powerful enemy. But Indian agitators will never bring this about. We Germans have sufficiently learned how hard it is to coerce England. And apart from all this, I, as a German, would far rather see India under English rule than under any other.

Hopes of an epic uprising in Egypt are just as lamentable. The 'Holy War' may bring the pleasing illusion to our German blockheads that others are now ready to shed their blood for us– indeed, this cowardly speculation has always been the silent father of such hopes. But in reality it would soon be brought to an end under fire of a few English machine-gun battalions and a hail of bombs.

It's impossible for a coalition of cripples to attack a powerful state, if it's determined to shed the last drop of its blood for its existence. As a folkish man who appraises the value of humanity by their race, I must recognize the racial inferiority of the so-called 'oppressed nations,' and this prevents me from linking my own peoples' destiny with theirs.

14.12 GERMAN ALLIANCE WITH RUSSIA?

Today we must adopt the same position towards Russia. Present-day Russia, deprived of its Germanic ruling class, is not a possible ally in the struggle for German freedom, even setting aside the inner intentions of its new rulers. From a purely military viewpoint, a Russo-German coalition waging war against Western Europe, and probably against the whole world, would be catastrophic. The struggle would be played out on German, not Russian, soil, and without the slightest support from Russia. The

means of power of the present German Reich are so miserable and so inadequate for a war that it would be impossible to defend our borders against Western Europe, England included. And Germany's industrial area would lie undefended to the concentrated attack of our adversaries. Additionally, the Polish state lies between Germany and Russia, and it's completely in French hands. In case of a German-Russian war against Western Europe, Russia would have to defeat Poland before their first soldier could arrive on the German Front.

But it's not so much a question of soldiers as of technical equipment. In this regard, the World War situation would be repeated, but in a more terrible manner. German industry then was drained to help our glorious allies, and from the technical side, Germany had to conduct the war almost alone. Likewise here, Russia, as a technical factor, would count for nothing. We would have practically nothing to oppose to the general motorization of the world, which in the next war will appear in an overwhelming and decisive form. In this most-important field, Germany has not only shamefully lagged behind, but with the little it has it would have to reinforce Russia, which at present doesn't possess a single factory capable of producing a functioning motor vehicle. Thus any such war would assume the character of a sheer massacre. German youth would have to shed even more blood than before, because, as always, the honor of fighting would fall on us alone, and the result would be an inevitable defeat.

But even allowing that a miracle occurred and that this war did not end in the total destruction of Germany, the final result would be that the German people would be bled white, and, surrounded by great military states, its real situation would remain unchanged.

It's useless to object here that, in case of a Russian alliance, we shouldn't immediately think of war, or that, if we did, we could thoroughly prepare for it. No. An alliance whose goal isn't a view to war is senseless and worthless. Alliances are formed only for struggle. And even if, at the moment, the prospect for war is a distant one, the alliance still must focus on a view to military involvement. And don't think that any power would ever interpret an alliance in any other way. A German-Russian coalition would

either remain on paper, and thus would have no meaning for us, or the letter of the treaty would be visibly put into practice–and the rest of the world would be warned. How naive to think that, in such a case, England and France would wait a decade for the German-Russian alliance to complete its technical preparations. No; the storm would break over Germany with lightning-speed.

Therefore the fact of forming an alliance with Russia would be a plan for the next war. The result would be the end of Germany.

Furthermore, consider the following:

(1) Those in power in Russia today have no thought of forming an honorable alliance, let alone observing one.

One must never forget that the present rulers of Russia are bloodstained criminals, that they are the dregs of humanity which, favored by circumstances in a tragic hour, overran a great state, extinguished and rooted out millions of the leading intelligentsia out of sheer blood-lust, and that now, for nearly ten years, they have ruled with the most savage tyranny of all time. One must also never forget that these rulers belong to a people in whom the most bestial cruelty is allied with an inconceivably artful lying, and which is, today more than ever, conscious of a mission to impose its bloody oppression on the rest of the world. One must never forget that the international Jew, who is today the absolute master of Russia, regards Germany not as an ally but as a state condemned to the same fate. One does not form alliances with someone whose only aim is the destruction of its partner. Above all, one doesn't form alliances with subjects for whom no treaty is sacred, because they don't live on this world as agents of honor and sincerity but rather as the representatives of lies, deception, thievery, plunder, and robbery. The man who thinks that he can bind himself by treaty with parasites is like a tree that believes it can form a profitable agreement with mistletoe.[204]

[204] As Hitler was well aware, it was the Jewish-dominated Bolsheviks that had conducted the Russian Revolution in 1917, overthrowing and eventually murdering Czar Nicholas and his family. The Bolsheviks were led by the quarter-Jewish Vladimir Lenin, full Jew Leon Trotsky, and a large number of ruthless Jewish accomplices, including the likes of Zinoviev, Sverdlov, Kamenev, Radek, Krassin, Litvinov, and Kaganovich. *The Times of London* reported that "not less than 75 percent [of Bolshevik leaders] are Jews…The Jews provide the executive officers" (29 Mar 1919, p. 10). Churchill concurred: "The majority

(2) The danger to which Russia succumbed is ever-present for Germany.

Only a bourgeois simpleton could imagine that Bolshevism has been banished. With his superficial thinking, he doesn't suspect that we are dealing here with an instinctive process-that is, the striving of the Jewish people for world domination, a process that's as natural as the Anglo-Saxon impulse to dominate the Earth. And just as the Anglo-Saxon chooses his own way of reaching those ends and fights for them with his own weapons, likewise the Jew. He goes his own way–the way of sneaking in among nations and boring from within; and he fights with his own weapons–lies and slander, poison and corruption, intensifying his struggle to the point of bloodily rooting out his hated opponents. In Russian Bolshevism we see an attempt undertaken by Jewry in the 20th century to secure world domination–just as, in other epochs, they worked towards the same goal but with different, though related, means.

Their efforts are fundamentally grounded in the nature of their being. As little as any other nation would voluntarily renounce its own impulse towards expanding its nature and power, but would only do so when compelled by external circumstances or senile impotence, so little too will the Jew abandon his path toward world dictatorship by voluntary renunciation or self-suppression. He too will either be thrown back on his path by external forces, or will end his quest for world domination by dying out. But the impotence of nations, their death through senility, only comes with loss of blood purity. And this is something that the Jew has preserved better than anyone else on Earth. Therefore he advances along his destined road until he is opposed by a superior force, which, in a mighty struggle, casts the heaven-stormer back to Lucifer.

Germany is today the next great war-aim for Bolshevism. All

of the leading figures are Jews," adding that, in Soviet institutions, "the predominance of Jews is even more astonishing" (1920/2002: 25). Lenin died in 1924, and thus, at the time of this writing, in 1926-27, the Soviet government was being run by Trotsky and (non-Jewish) Joseph Stalin. For more details, see Dalton (2013). (Mistletoe, incidentally, is a parasitic vine that can strangle its host tree.)

the force of a fresh missionary idea is needed to raise up our nation once again, to rescue it from the coils of this international snake, and to stop the inner contamination of our blood. Thus the forces of our nation, once liberated, may be employed to preserve our nationality and prevent the repetition of the recent catastrophe, even in the most distant future. If this would be our goal, it would be insanity to ally ourselves with a power whose master is the mortal enemy of our future. How can we release our people from this poisonous grip if we turn ourselves over to it? How can we teach the German worker that Bolshevism is an accursed crime against humanity if we ally ourselves with this hellish monstrosity and thus recognize its legitimacy? By what right can we condemn the members of the broad masses who sympathize with a certain worldview, if our State leaders choose the representatives of that worldview as their allies?

The fight against Jewish world-Bolshevization demands a clear stance towards Soviet Russia. One cannot cast out the Devil with Beelzebub.

If folkish circles today grow enthusiastic about the idea of a Russian alliance, then let them look around Germany and become aware of who is supporting them. Or do these folkish people believe that a policy recommended and acclaimed by the international Marxist press can be beneficial to the German people? Since when has the Jew acted as shield-bearer for the militant nationalist?

14.13 GERMANY AND RUSSIA BEFORE THE WAR

There's one main reproach that could be made against the old German Reich, with regard to its alliance policy: that it spoiled its relations with everyone by leaning this way and that, and by its pathological weakness in trying to preserve world peace at any price. But it cannot be said that it failed to maintain good relations with Russia.

I frankly admit that, in pre-war times, I thought it would have been better if Germany had abandoned its senseless colonial

policy and its naval policy, and had allied with England against Russia–thereby replacing its weak world policy with a determined European policy of territorial acquisition on the Continent. I can't forget the constant insolent threats that Pan-Slavist Russia made against Germany.

I haven't forgotten the continual, impudent threats issued by the then pan-Slavic Russia against Germany. I haven't forgotten the constant practice military mobilizations that served only to antagonize Germany. I cannot forget the tone of Russian public opinion which, in pre-war days, excelled in hateful outbursts against our nation and Reich. Nor can I forget the big Russian press, which was always more favorable to France than us.

But despite everything, there was still a second way possible before the war. We could have relied upon Russia and turned against England.

Circumstances are different today. If, before the war, we could have thrown all sentiment to the winds and marched aside Russia, this is no longer possible today. The hand of the world-clock has moved forward since then. The hour is striking loudly, in which our peoples' destiny must be decided one way or another. The present consolidation of the great states of the world is the last warning signal for us to look to ourselves and bring our people back from their dream-world to hard reality, and to point the way to a future that alone will lead the old Reich to a new blossoming.

If, in view of this great and most important task, the National Socialist movement sets aside all illusions and takes reason as its sole guide, the catastrophe of 1918 may turn out to be an infinite blessing for the future of our nation. From that collapse, it may formulate an entirely new orientation for its foreign policy conduct. Furthermore, and internally reinforced through its new worldview, the nation may reach a final stabilization of its policy. Ultimately it will gain what England has, what even Russia had, and what France again and again utilized to base correct decisions for its own interests, namely: a political testament.

In its dealings with the outside world, the political testament of the German nation should, and must always be, the following:

> Never permit two continental powers to arise in Europe! Any attempt to organize a second military power on the German border by the creation of a state capable of military strength, will be viewed as an attack against Germany. Such a situation confers not only the right but the duty to use every means, including armed force, to prevent it from happening-and to crush such a state, if it has already arisen.
>
> See to it that our nation's strength is grounded not on colonial foundations but on the soil of our European homeland! Never consider the Reich secure unless, for centuries to come, it can give every descendant of our people his own piece of land and soil! Never forget that the most sacred right in the world is man's right to the Earth that he tills himself; and that the holiest of all sacrifices is the blood that one sheds for the Earth!

14.14 THE GERMAN-ENGLISH-ITALIAN ALLIANCE

I don't want to conclude these thoughts without referring once again to the sole possibility for alliances that exists for us in Europe at the moment. In the previous chapter, I examined the German alliance problem, and cited England and Italy as the only two European states that would be desirable and advantageous allies.[205] Here I want to again emphasize the military importance of such an alliance.

The military consequences of forming this alliance would be the direct opposite of the consequences of a Russian alliance. Most important of all is the fact that an approach to England and Italy would in no way involve a danger of war. The only power that could oppose such an arrangement, France, would be in no position to do so. But the alliance would give Germany the possibility of peacefully preparing for a reckoning with France, which would be required within the framework of such a coalition.

[205] See section 13.8.

The full significance of such an alliance lies in the fact that, upon conclusion, Germany would no longer be exposed to a sudden, hostile invasion. Rather, the opposing alliance would automatically break down. The Entente, which brought such misfortune to us, would dissolve, and France–the mortal enemy of our people–would be isolated. And even if at first this success would only have a moral effect, it would suffice to give Germany unimaginable freedom of action. The upper hand would lie with the new European Anglo-German-Italian alliance, and no longer with France.

A further result would be that, at one stroke, Germany would be freed from its unfavorable strategic position. The beneficial effects of this new state organization would be, on the one hand, that our flank would be strongly protected and, on the other, the complete assurance of food and raw materials.

But almost more important would be the fact that this new league would include states with technical qualities that mutually complement each other. For the first time, Germany would have allies who would not be like leeches on our economy but who can and would contribute their part to complete our technical arms.

And we mustn't overlook a final fact, namely, that in both cases we'd be working with allies who cannot be compared with Turkey or present-day Russia. The greatest world power on this Earth and a young nationalist state would offer different conditions for a European struggle than the putrid state carcasses that Germany allied itself with in the last war.

14.15 CONDITIONS FOR EASTERN POLICY

Assuredly, as I emphasized in the previous chapter, the difficulties opposing such an alliance are great. But was the formation of the Entente any less difficult? What King Edward VII achieved, partly against natural interests, we must and will achieve, if the recognition of the necessity of such a development so inspires us that we act with skill and, with astute self-control, act accordingly. And this will be possible the moment when, incited to action by misery, we adopt a single conscious goal

instead of the aimless foreign policy of past decades.

The future goal of our foreign policy must be neither West-nor East-oriented, but rather must be an Eastern policy in the sense of securing the necessary soil for our German people. For this we need force, but the mortal enemy of our nation, France, now strangles us and robs us of our strength; hence we must stop at no sacrifice in our effort to destroy French striving towards hegemony in Europe. Our natural ally today is every power who feels that French domination on the Continent is unacceptable. No attempt to approach those powers should appear too difficult for us, and no sacrifice too great, if the final outcome makes it possible for us to defeat our grimmest enemy. Then, if we can cauterize and close the biggest wounds, the minor ones will be cured by the beneficent effects of time.

14.16 THE FOREIGN POLICY STAMP OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

Today, naturally, we are subjected to the hate-filled jabbering of the internal enemies of our people. But we National Socialists will never allow this to stop us from proclaiming the absolute necessities of our innermost convictions. Today we must oppose the current of public opinion, confounded by Jewish cunning in exploiting German thoughtlessness. The waves sometimes break harshly and angrily against us, but he who swims with the current attracts less attention than he who bucks it. Today we are an obstacle; but in a few years, Fate may raise us up as a dam that will break the general current, only to flow into a new bed.

Therefore it's necessary that, in the eyes of the rest of the world, our National Socialist movement should be recognized as establishing a definite political intention. Whatever Heaven has in store for us, let everyone recognize us by our aim.

When we ourselves recognize the great necessity that determines our foreign policy actions, this knowledge will fill us with the determination to withstand the bombardment launched against us by the mob of a hostile press. We must also hold firm

when someone is inclined to make a concession here or there, and to howl with the wolves, simply in order to not have all against us.

CHAPTER 15
THE RIGHT TO EMERGENCY DEFENSE

With the lay-down of arms in November 1918, a policy was adopted that, in all likelihood, was bound to gradually lead to our complete subjugation. Historical examples show that nations that voluntarily lay down their arms subsequently prefer to submit to the greatest humiliations and extortions rather than try to change their fate by a renewed appeal to force.

This is humanly explicable. A shrewd victor will always enforce his demands on the conquered only in stages, wherever possible. Then he can be sure that a people who have lost all character-which is always the case with every nation that voluntarily submits–won't find any one or more of these oppressive acts to be sufficient grounds for taking up arms again. The more numerous the extortions thus passively accepted, the less will resistance appear justified by the people–and especially so, if they have already patiently and silently accepted greater misfortune.

The fall of Carthage is a most terrible instance of the slow, self-earned execution of a people.[206]

15.1 COWARDLY SUBMISSION BRINGS NO MERCY

Clausewitz expressed this idea admirably in his Three Confessions and gave it an eternal form when he said: "The shame of cowardly submission can never be effaced; the drop of poison

[206] Carthage was an ancient Phoenician city-state founded in the 800s BC in the area of present-day Tunisia. For centuries it was one of the most powerful cities in the world, eventually coming into conflict with the Roman Empire. Rome defeated Carthage in 146 BC in the Third Punic War, utterly destroying the city.

which thus enters the blood of a nation will be transmitted to posterity, and will undermine and paralyze the strength of later generations." But on the other hand, he added: "Even the loss of its liberty after a bloody and honorable struggle assures the rebirth of the nation, and is the kernel of life from which one day a new tree can establish firm roots."[207]

Naturally, a nation that has lost all honor and character won't feel the force of such a doctrine. But any nation that takes it to heart will never sink very low; and only those who forget it or don't wish to know it will collapse. Hence those who embody a characterless submission cannot be expected to suddenly begin to reflect, using reason and all human experience, and act differently than before. On the contrary, they will repudiate such a doctrine, until the people either become permanently habituated to the yoke of slavery, or the better forces push forward and forcibly take power from the hands of the notorious corrupters. In the first case, they will be pleased because the conquerors often entrust them with supervising the slaves-and these utterly characterless beings then rule over their own people more cruelly than any foreign beast installed by the enemy himself.

Developments in Germany since 1918 prove that the hope of winning the victor's favor by voluntary submission has the most disastrous influence on the political views and conduct of the broad masses. I say the broad masses explicitly, because I cannot persuade myself that the things that were done or neglected by our peoples' leaders can be attributed to a similar disastrous insanity. Seeing that the direction of our post-war historical destiny was now openly controlled by the Jews, it's impossible to admit that defective knowledge was the sole cause of our misfortune. Rather, we must conclude that our people were intentionally driven to ruin. From this point of view, we find that the apparent foolishness of our nation's leadership in foreign policy was really a shrewd,

[207] Karl von Clausewitz (1780-1831) was a general and preeminent military strategist. His *Three Confessions* appeared in 1812, and his most famous book, *On War*, was published posthumously in 1832.

ice-cold logic, carried out in service of the Jewish idea of, and struggle for, world domination.

15.2 SEVEN YEARS TO 1813 – SEVEN YEARS TO LOCARNO

From 1806 to 1813, Prussia came back from a state of total collapse to acquire new life-energy and determination for struggle. But an equal timespan today has not only passed unused, but, on the contrary, has led to an ever-greater weakening of our State.

Seven years after November 1918, the Locarno Treaty was signed![208]

Thus the development was as indicated above: Once the shameful armistice was signed, our people were unable to raise sufficient courage and energy to suddenly halt the oppressive measures of our opponents, which were thus constantly renewed. The enemy was too shrewd to put forth all his demands at once. He confined his extortions to those which, in his opinion–and that of our German leadership–were momentarily bearable, such that they didn't risk an explosion of popular feeling. But the more such individual impositions were endorsed and tolerated, the less justified they seemed. Especially so, due to the lack of a single individual imposition or humiliation to do what had not previously been done: to offer resistance. This is the 'drop of poison' that Clausewitz speaks of: Once this lack of character is manifested, the condition becomes steadily aggravated, weighing like an evil burden on all future decisions. It becomes a lead weight that the nation cannot shake off, and which ultimately drives it down to the condition of a slave race.

Thus in Germany, edicts for disarmament, enslavement, and political and economic plundering followed one after the other.

[208] The Locarno Treaty was a series of seven compacts signed in October 1925 in Locarno, Switzerland. Its purpose was to formalize post-WWI borders and to promote reconciliation, but Hitler and the German nationalists saw it as a further surrender of vital German interests. The primary German signatory was Foreign Minister Gustav Stresemann, who was viewed by nationalists as a key member of the traitorous Weimar regime; notably for Hitler, Stresemann's wife, Kate Kleefeld, was Jewish. Hitler would ultimately repudiate the Treaty on 7 March 1936, and militarily re-occupy the Rhineland.

Finally they created a mood that caused many to look upon the Dawes Plan as a blessing, and the Locarno Treaty as a success. From a higher standpoint, we may speak of one sole blessing amidst so much misery, namely that, although men can be fooled, Heaven cannot be bribed. It withheld its blessing: Since then, misery and worry have been the constant companions of our people, and our one loyal ally has been distress. Destiny made no exceptions in this case, but rather gave us what we deserved. Since we forgot how to value honor, at least it taught us to value freedom as bread. Now our people have learned to cry for bread, but one day they may pray for freedom.

As bitter and apparent as was our national collapse in the years after 1918, anyone who dared to prophesy what later happened was violently persecuted. As incompetent as the leaders of our people were, they were equally conceited, especially regarding taking care of unwelcome-because unpleasant–prophets. We then witnessed (as we do today!) the spectacle of our greatest parliamentary blockheads, truly common saddlers, and glove-makers–not merely by trade, for that would mean little-suddenly raised to the rank of statesmen, and sermonizing from that pedestal to ordinary mortals below.

It didn't, and doesn't, matter that such a 'statesman,' having displayed his talents for six months or so, is revealed as a mere windbag, becoming the object of public ridicule and contempt, nor that he has provided unmistakable proof of his complete incompetence! No, that doesn't matter at all; on the contrary: The less real service provided by the parliamentary statesmen of this Republic, the more savagely they persecute all who expect accomplishments, and who dare to point out their failures, and to predict more failure in the future. If we finally succeed in nailing down one of these parliamentarians, so that this political artist can no longer deny the collapse of his whole activity, he will then find thousands of grounds for excuse, but will never admit that he himself is the chief cause of all evil.

15.3 FRANCE'S INEVITABLE POLITICAL GOALS

By the winter of 1922-23, at the latest, it should have been generally recognized that, even after the conclusion of peace, France was still endeavoring, with iron consistency, to attain its original war aims. No one could believe that France continued to pour out its precious supply of national blood, for four and a half years of the most decisive struggle in its history, simply to be compensated by war reparations. Even Alsace-Lorraine in itself couldn't account for the energy with which the French conducted the war, if it hadn't been part of a truly great, future-oriented French foreign policy. The aim was: Disintegration of Germany into a collection of small states. That's what chauvinist France fought for, although in truth it sold its people as serfs to the international world-Jew.

French war aims would have been obtained if, as originally hoped in Paris, the struggle had occurred on German soil. Imagine that the bloody battles of the World War took place not on the Somme, in Flanders, in Artois, near Warsaw, Nizhny-Novgorod, Kaunas, and Riga, but in Germany, in the Ruhr and the Maine, on the Elbe, outside Hanover, Leipzig, Nuremberg, etc. And then you can see the possibility of the break-up of Germany. It's very questionable whether our young federal State could have survived the same test, for four and a half years, as did the centuries-long centralized France with its undisputed center in Paris. That this titanic conflict of nations occurred outside the borders of our Fatherland is not only to the immortal credit of our old army, but was also the greatest good luck for Germany's future. I'm fully convinced that if things had taken a different course, there would no longer be a German Reich today, but only 'German states.' And that's the only reason why the blood of our fallen friends and brothers was at least not shed in vain.

And so everything turned out differently! In November 1918, Germany did indeed collapse with lightning speed. But when the catastrophe took place at home, the field armies were still deep in enemy territory. At that time, France's first concern was not the dismemberment of Germany, but rather much more: How to get

the German armies out of France and Belgium as quickly as possible? And so the first action for the Paris state-leadership after the end of the World War was to disarm the German armies and push them back into Germany if possible; until then, they couldn't devote their attention to fulfilling their own specific and original war aim. In this sense France was already paralyzed. For England, the war was really won when Germany was destroyed as a colonial and commercial power, and was reduced to the rank of a second-class state. It wasn't in their interest to wipe out the German State altogether, but rather they had every reason to want a future rival against France in Europe. Therefore French policy was forced to carry on by peaceful means the work that the war had begun, and Clemenceau's statement–that peace was merely a continuation of the war–thus acquired an enhanced significance.[209]

Persistently and at every possible opportunity, they tried to shatter the Reich's framework. By repeatedly sending new disarmament notes, on the one hand, and on the other, by the economic extortion thus made possible, Paris hoped that the Reich's framework would gradually fall apart. The more the Germans lost their sense of national honor, the more that economic pressure and distress could be effective factors of political destruction. Such a policy of political oppression and economic plunder, carried out for 10 or 20 years, must gradually ruin even the best national body and, under certain circumstances, dismember it. Then the French war aims would have finally been attained.

By the winter of 1922-23, French intentions must have been long known. Only two possibilities remained: Either one might hope to gradually blunt French will by the tenacity of the German nation, or to do, once and for all, what was bound to happen one day–namely, to pull the helm of the Reich ship around and ram the enemy. This would naturally involve a life-and-death struggle. And the prospect for survival depended on whether France could

[209] Georges Clemenceau (1841-1929) was French Prime Minister from 1917 to 1920. The source of the cited passage is unclear. Clemenceau said, "It is far easier to make war than peace." And Clausewitz wrote, "War is the continuation of politics by other means." Perhaps Hitler conflated the two.

be so isolated that, in this second battle, Germany wouldn't have to fight against the whole world, but rather in our own defense against a France that was persistently disturbing world peace.

I emphasize, and am firmly convinced, that this second alternative will one day occur, whatever happens. I'll never believe that France will ever change its intentions towards us because they are, essentially, only an expression of the self-preservation of the French nation. Were I a Frenchman, and were the greatness of France so dear to me as that of Germany actually is, I couldn't and wouldn't act otherwise than Clemenceau. The French nation is slowly dying out, not so much through depopulation as through losing the best racial elements, and it can continue to retain its world position only by shattering Germany. French policy can make a thousand detours, but in the end, this will be its ultimate goal–the fulfillment of its final wish and deepest desire.

However, it's incorrect to believe that a purely passive will, intent only on self-preservation, can continually resist an equally powerful but active will. As long as the eternal conflict between France and Germany is waged only in the form of a German defense against French aggression, it can never be decided, and over the centuries, Germany will lose one position after another. If we study the changes in the German language boundaries that have taken place from the 12th century up to now, we can hardly hope for a successful result of a development that has previously been so detrimental for us.

Only when the Germans have fully understood this will they stop allowing the national will-to-life to wear itself out in merely passive defense, but will rally together for a final active contest with France ; and on the German side, this will reflect our greatest ultimate aims. Only then will it be possible to put an end to the eternal struggle between France and ourselves that has proven so fruitless–presuming, of course, that Germany sees France's destruction as a means to make it possible for our people to finally expand elsewhere. Today there are 80 million Germans in Europe! And our foreign policy will only be recognized as correct if, after barely a hundred years, there are 250 million Germans living on

this continent–not packed together as the factory coolies for the rest of the world, but rather: as farmers and workers, whose labor guarantees each others' existence.

15.4 OCCUPATION OF THE RUHR

In December 1922 the situation between Germany and France became particularly threatening. France had new and vast extortions in mind, and needed sanctions for them. Political pressure had to precede economic plunder, and the French believed that only a violent attack against the central nervous system of German life would make our 'recalcitrant' people bow to their sharper yoke. With the occupation of the Ruhr district, France hoped that not only would the moral backbone of Germany be finally broken, but that we'd be reduced to such a grave economic condition that, for better or worse, we'd be forced to submit to every obligation, even the worst.

It was a matter of bending and breaking. Germany bent at first, and later broke into pieces.

With the occupation of the Ruhr, Fate once more reached out its hand to the German people and helped them arise. What first appeared as a great misfortune was found, upon closer examination, to hold extremely encouraging possibilities for ending Germany's sufferings.

Regarding foreign policy, the occupation of the Ruhr really alienated England from France for the first time. And not merely in British diplomatic circles, which had initiated the French alliance and upheld it through calm and objective calculation, but also among large sections of the English people. The English economy in particular scarcely concealed its displeasure at this incredible strengthening of French continental power. From a purely military-political standpoint, France now assumed a European position such as Germany itself had not previously held. Moreover, France thus obtained economic foundations that combined a position of economic monopoly with a capacity for political competition. The largest iron mines and coal fields of Europe were now united in the hands of one nation that, in contrast

to Germany, had always defended its life-interests with determination and action, and whose military efficiency in the Great War was still fresh in the memories of the whole world. The French occupation of the Ruhr coal fields deprived England of all the successes it had gained in the war. And the victors were now Marshal Foch and the France he represented, rather than calm and industrious British diplomacy.[210]

In Italy too, the attitude towards France, which hadn't been very favorable since the end of the war, now became a veritable hatred. A great historic moment arrived when the Allies of yesterday might become the enemies of tomorrow. That things happened otherwise, and that the Allies did not suddenly come into conflict with one another–as in the Second Balkan War–was due to the fact that Germany had no Enver Pasha but merely a Reich Chancellor Cuno.[211]

15.5 WHAT SHOULD HAVE BEEN DONE AFTER THE RUHR OCCUPATION?

Nevertheless, the French invasion of the Ruhr opened up great possibilities for the future-not only in Germany's foreign policy but also internally. A considerable section of our people who, thanks to the persistent influence of our lying press, saw France as the champion of progress and liberalism, were suddenly cured of this illusion. In 1914 the dream of international solidarity suddenly vanished from the heads of our German workers, and they were brought back into the world of eternal struggle, where one creature feeds on the other and where the death of the weaker implies the life of the stronger. The same happened in the spring of 1923.[212]

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[210] Marshal Ferdinand Foch (1851-1929) was a French general during WWI, and in the final year of that war, he was promoted to Commander-in-Chief of all Allied forces. Foch was effectively given primary credit for the defeat of Germany.

[211] Enver Pasha (1881-1922) was the functional leader of the Ottoman Empire during WWI, who fought on the side of the Germans. Upon their collective defeat in 1918, Pasha was exiled and fled to Germany. He returned to Turkey in 1921, and was killed in a battle skirmish in 1922. On Cuno, see chapter 12, note 183.

[212] France moved forces into the Ruhr region on 11 January 1923.

When the French put their threats into effect and penetrated, at first hesitatingly and cautiously, into the lower German coal district, the great and decisive hour of destiny had struck for Germany. If at that moment our people had changed not only their attitude but also their conduct, the German Ruhr district could have become a Napoleonic Moscow for France. Indeed, there were only two possibilities: either let the action stand and do nothing, or turn the gaze of the German people toward that region of sweltering forges and flaming furnaces, and set their wills afire with determination to end this persistent disgrace, confronting a momentary terror rather than submitting to an endless one.

Reich Chancellor Cuno can claim the 'immortal merit' of having discovered a third way, and our bourgeois parties merit the still 'more glorious' honor of having admired it and collaborated with him.

Here I'll deal with the second way as briefly as possible: By occupying the Ruhr, France committed a glaring violation of the Versailles Treaty. This action brought it into conflict with several of the signatory powers, especially England and Italy. France could no longer hope that those states would back it up in its selfish campaign of robbery. It would have to rely on itself to bring this adventure–and that's what it was at first–to a satisfactory conclusion. For a German national government, there was only one option, namely, that which honor prescribed. Certainly at the beginning we could not have opposed France with an active force of arms; but it should have been clearly recognized that any negotiations that weren't backed by force would be ridiculous and fruitless. Without the possibility of active resistance, it was absurd to take up the standpoint "We shall not enter into any negotiations." But it was still more absurd to finally enter into negotiations after all, without having organized the necessary power.

Not that it was possible for us to prevent the occupation of the Ruhr militarily. Only a madman could have recommended such a decision. But under the impression produced by this French action, and while it was being carried out, measures could have, and should have, been undertaken without any regard to the

Versailles Treaty–which France itself had shredded–to provide those military resources that would serve to back up later negotiations. It was quite clear from the beginning that the fate of this district occupied by the French would one day be decided at some conference table. But it must have been equally clear that even the best negotiators would have little success as long as the ground on which they stood, and the chair on which they sat, weren't under the armed protection of their own people. A weakling cannot contend against athletes, and a defenseless negotiator must always yield when a Brennus throws his sword onto the scales of the enemy's side–unless he has his own to throw.[213] Or was it not truly distressing to observe the comedy of negotiations that, ever since 1918, regularly preceded each dictate?

We presented a sorry spectacle to the whole world when we were invited, for the sake of derision, to attend conference tables simply to be presented with decisions and programs prepared long before, and which we were permitted to discuss, but from the start had to be considered as unalterable. It's true that in scarcely a single instance did our negotiators prove to be of more than mediocre abilities. And for the most part, they justified only too well the insolent observation made by Lloyd George when he sarcastically remarked, in the presence of former Reich Minister Simons, "that the Germans aren't able to choose intelligent men as their leaders and representatives."[214] But in view of the enemy's determined willpower and the lamentable defenselessness of our own people, even geniuses couldn't have achieved much.

In the spring of 1923, however, anyone who might have wanted to make France's Ruhr occupation an occasion for reconstructing our military means of power would first have had to restore the

[213] Brennus was a 4th-century BC leader of the Gauls who led a successful attack on Rome in 387 BC. As the Romans were on the brink of defeat, they offered a large amount of gold in exchange for freedom. A dispute about the process of weighing the gold caused Brennus to throw his sword onto the scales, in his own favor, exclaiming "Woe to the conquered!"

[214] Walter Simons (1861-1937) was Foreign Minister in the Weimar government from 1920 to 1921. ('Simon' is either an alternate spelling or a typographical error.)

nation's spiritual weapons, to strengthen its will-power, and to destroy the corrupters of this most valuable national strength.

15.6 FAILURE TO RECKON WITH MARXISM

Just as in 1918, when we had to pay with our blood for the failure to crush the Marxist snake once and for all in 1914 and 1915, so we now have to suffer retribution for the fact that, in the spring of 1923, we didn't seize the opportunity to finally halt the handiwork of the Marxist traitors and murderers of our people.

Any idea of resisting French aggression was pure nonsense, as long as the fight hadn't been taken up against those forces that, five years earlier, broke the German resistance on the battlefields from within. Only bourgeois minds could have arrived at the unbelievable opinion that Marxism might perhaps have changed, and that the lowly leadership-creatures of 1918–who callously trampled on two million dead as stepping-stones by which to climb into various government positions–would now, in the year 1923, suddenly become ready to pay tribute to the national conscience. It was an unbelievable and truly insane thought–the hope that these traitors would suddenly turn into fighters for German freedom! They never had any such intention! Just as a hyena won't leave its carrion, so a Marxist won't give up treason.

One needn't bother with that stupidest of arguments: that so many workers gave their blood for Germany. German workers, yes indeed, but they were no longer international Marxists. If the German working class in 1914 had consisted of real Marxists, the war would have ended within three weeks. Germany would have collapsed before the first soldier had set foot beyond the border. No–the fact that the German people were still fighting proved that the Marxist delusion hadn't yet been able to penetrate deeply. But in the course of the war, German workers and soldiers gradually fell back into the hands of the Marxist leaders, and in the same proportion were lost to the Fatherland. If, at the beginning of the war, or even during the war, 12- or 15,000 of these Hebraic corrupters of the people were held under poison gas–as happened to hundreds of thousands of our best German workers in the field-

then the sacrifice of millions at the Front would not have been in vain.[215] On the contrary: If 12,000 of these scoundrels had been eliminated in time, it would have saved the lives of perhaps a million decent men-men who would have been of great value for the future. But it was in accordance with bourgeois 'statesmanship' to subject millions to a bloody end on the battlefield, all without batting an eye, while they looked upon 10- or 12,000 traitors, profiteers, usurers, and swindlers as precious national treasures, and thus openly proclaiming their inviolability. One never knows which is greater in this bourgeois world: imbecility, weakness, and cowardice, or a thoroughly sleazy attitude. It's a class that's certainly doomed to go under, but unfortunately it drags the whole nation down with it into the abyss.

The situation in 1923 was the same as in 1918. No matter what form of resistance was decided upon, the first prerequisite was always the elimination of the Marxist poison from our national body. And in my opinion, the first task then of a truly national government was to seek and find those forces that were determined to wage a war of destruction against Marxism, and to give these forces a free hand; it was their duty not to bow down before the idiocy of 'peace and order' at a moment when the enemy was dealing the Fatherland a most destructive blow, and when high treason lurked behind every street comer at home. No– a truly national government should have welcomed *disorder* and *unrest*, if this turmoil would have afforded a principled reckoning with the Marxist mortal enemies of our people. If this were not

[215] As surprising as it may be, this appears to be the only time, in print or speech, that Hitler explicitly called for the death of Jews. And by poison gas, no less (recalling the gas attacks of WWI). Notably, it's not all of the Jews, or even most of them, that he suggests be killed; just one or two percent of the then-existing population in Germany. That would have sufficed to strike fear in the militant Jews, to demonstrate German resolve, and likely to preempt any Jewish thoughts of revolt–as ultimately happened in 1918. All of Hitler's other threatening terminology toward the Jews, including *vernichten* ('destroy') and *ausrotten* ('root out'), were expressed in non-lethal or non-genocidal contexts. For further details, see Dalton (2015: 100-104).

done, then it was pure madness to think of resisting, no matter what form.

Of course, such a reckoning of real world-historical importance couldn't be conducted by some secret council or a shriveled-up cabinet minister; rather, it would have to be in accordance with the eternal laws of life on this Earth, which are and will remain those of a struggle for life. It must always be remembered that a hardy and healthy nation has often emerged from the bloodiest civil war, while an artificially-constructed peace has, more than once, produced a rottenness that reeked to the skies. A nation's fate cannot be changed with kid gloves. And so in the year 1923, brutal action was required to seize the vipers that fattened themselves on the body of the nation. If so, then the precondition for an active resistance would have been met.

At that time I often talked myself hoarse in trying to make clear, at least to the so-called national circles, what was then at stake, and that by repeating the errors of 1914 and the following years, we would come to the same end as in 1918. I frequently implored them to let Fate have a free hand and to make it possible for our movement to settle with the Marxists; but I preached to deaf ears. They all knew better, including the army chief, until finally they faced the vilest capitulation of all time.

I then realized in my innermost consciousness that the German bourgeoisie had come to the end of its mission and had no further calling. I then also saw how all the bourgeois parties had been fighting Marxism merely from a spirit of competition without sincerely wishing to destroy it; for a long time they had been accustomed to assist in the destruction of the Fatherland, and their one great care was to partake in the funeral banquet. For this alone did they 'fight.'

At that time–I openly admit–I conceived a profound admiration for the great man south of the Alps, whose ardent love for his people inspired him not to bargain with Italy's internal enemies but rather to use all ways and means to destroy them. What places Mussolini in the ranks of the world's great men is his decision not to share Italy with the Marxists, but to destroy internationalism and save the Fatherland.

What miserable dwarves our sham German statesmen appear by comparison, and how nauseating it is to witness the conceit of these nonentities in criticizing a man who is a thousand times greater than· them; and how painful it is to think that this takes place in a land that could point to a Bismarck as its leader barely half a century ago!

The bourgeoisie attitude in 1923, and the sparing of Marxism, decided from the outset the fate of any active resistance in the Ruhr. With that deadly enemy in our own ranks, it would have been sheer lunacy to fight against France. The most that could then have been done was to stage a sham fight in order to partly satisfy the German nationalistic element, or in reality to deceive the 'boiling soul of the people.' Had they really believed in what they did, they would have recognized that national strength lies, first of all, not in its weapons but in its will, and that before conquering the external enemy, the internal enemy must be destroyed; otherwise, victory would have to be achieved on the very first day! The shadow of a single defeat is sufficient to break the resistance of a nation that hasn't been freed from its internal enemies, thus making the opponent the final victor.

One could have predicted all this by early 1923. Let no one ask about the questionability of a military success against France! If the result of German action regarding the French invasion of the Ruhr had only been the destruction of Marxism at home, success would have been on our side. A Germany liberated from the deadly enemies of its existence would possess forces that the whole world could not have stopped. On the day that Marxism is broken in Germany, its chains will be smashed forever. Never in our history have we been conquered by the strength of our foes, but always by our own failings, and by the enemies in our own camp.

Since the German government was unable to take such heroic action at that time, it could only have chosen the first way: namely, to do nothing at all and let things take their own course.

15.7 CUNO'S WAY

But at that great hour, heaven gifted Germany with a 'great' man, Herr Cuno. He was neither a statesman nor a politician by profession, still less by birth. Rather, he belonged to that type of political hack who is suited only for certain specific tasks; otherwise he was more suited for business. And therefore he was a curse for Germany, because this politicized businessman saw politics as an economic undertaking, and acted accordingly.

"France has occupied the Ruhr district; what's in the Ruhr district? Coal. Thus France has occupied the Ruhr for the sake of its coal?" Nothing was more natural for Herr Cuno than the idea of a strike, which would prevent the French from obtaining any coal. And therefore, in the opinion of Herr Cuno, they would one day have to leave the Ruhr when the enterprise proved to be unprofitable. Such were the lines of thought of this 'eminent' 'national' 'statesman,' who was allowed to speak to 'his people' in Stuttgart and other places, and at whom this people gazed in rapt admiration.

Of course they needed the Marxists for a strike, because the workers would be the first to go on strike. Therefore it was necessary to bring the worker (who is the same as a Marxist, in the brain of a bourgeois statesman) into a united front with all other Germans. One should have seen the glow of these moldy bourgeois political-party hacks at the mere mention of this brilliant slogan! 'National' and 'brilliant' at once-at last they discovered what they had so long sought! The bridge to Marxism was found, and the national swindler was enabled to wear a 'Teutonic' face and use nationalist phrases while holding out a friendly hand to the international traitors. And they readily seized it. Just as Cuno needed the Marxist leaders for his 'united front,' the Marxist leaders needed Cuno's money. Thus it was a benefit to both parties. Cuno obtained his united front, consisting of nationalist charlatans and anti-national swindlers, and the international fraudsters received state funds to conduct the supreme mission of their fight, namely, to destroy the national economy, literally at the expense of the State. An immortal idea:

purchasing a general strike to save a nation. In any case, it was a slogan that even the most apathetic loafer could enthusiastically support.

15.8 PASSIVE RESISTANCE

Everyone knows that prayers will not free a nation. But perhaps one could be freed by doing nothing, and that had never been tested historically. Instead of promoting a paid general strike at that time, and making it the basis of his 'united front,' if Herr Cuno had demanded two more hours of work from every German, then the swindle of the 'united front' would have been exposed by the third day. Nations are not freed by doing nothing, but rather by sacrifice.

Anyhow, the so-called passive resistance couldn't have lasted long. Only a man entirely ignorant of war could imagine that occupying armies could be frightened away by such ridiculous means. And yet this could have been the only purpose of an action that cost billions, and which helped to destroy the basis of the national currency.

Of course the French were able to make themselves almost at home in the Ruhr district the moment they saw the resistance using such measures against them. They learned from us the best way to bring a recalcitrant civil population to their senses, whenever that populace represented a serious danger to the occupying authorities. Nine years earlier, and with lightning-speed, we wiped out the Belgian *franc-tireur* bands and made the civil population clearly understand the seriousness of the situation when they presented a danger to the German army.[216] Similarly, if passive resistance in the Ruhr became really dangerous for the French, the occupying troops would have needed no more than eight days to bring this childish nonsense to a gruesome end. The final question is always this: What would we do if the passive resistance came to the point where it really got on the nerves of our opponents, and they suppressed it with bloody force? Would we still continue to

[216] *Franc-tireurs*, or 'free-shooters,' were groups of civilian resisters who took up arms against the invading German troops early in WWI.

resist? If so, then, for better or worse, we would have to submit to a severe and bloody persecution. And in that case, we'd be in the same situation as with active resistance–namely, directly in the fight. Thus any so-called passive resistance would have an inner meaning only if supported by the determination to wage an open fight, if necessary, or to conduct guerilla warfare. Generally speaking, one undertakes such a struggle when there is a possibility of success. The moment a besieged fortress is taken by assault, there's no practical alternative for the defenders except to surrender–especially if they are assured of their lives rather than probable death. Rob the garrison of a surrounded fortress of the hope for possible freedom, and the defense forces will suddenly collapse.

Therefore passive resistance in the Ruhr–considering the final consequences that it might and must necessarily have, if it were to turn out really successful-would have had no practical meaning unless an active front were built behind it. Then one might have demanded immense efforts from our people. If each of these Westphalians knew that the homeland had mobilized an army of 80 or 100 divisions to support them, things would have gotten thorny for the French. There are always more courageous men willing to sacrifice themselves for success than for something obviously futile.

This was a classic case that induced us National Socialists to take the sharpest position against the so-called national slogan. And so we did. During those months I was attacked by people whose patriotism was a mixture of stupidity and outward falsehood, and who took part in the uproar because of the thrill of being able to appear as nationalists without any danger. I regarded this most-despicable of all united fronts as one of the most ridiculous things, and history proved me right.

As soon as the unions had filled their bank accounts with Cuno's funds, and the passive resistance was faced with the decision of transforming from inert defense to active aggression, the Red hyenas suddenly bolted from the national sheep herd and returned to what they always were. Calmly and quietly, Herr Cuno

returned to his ships, and Germany was richer by one experience and poorer by one great hope.

15.9 NOVEMBER 1923

Up to midsummer, several officers–who certainly weren't the worst–really hadn't believed in such a shameful development. They all had hoped that, if not openly, then at least secretly, precautions would be taken to make this insolent French invasion a turning-point in German history. Even in our ranks, many at least put their faith in the Reichswehr. This conviction was so ardent that it decisively influenced the conduct and especially the training of innumerable youth.

But when the disgraceful collapse set in and the humiliating capitulation followed, indignation against such a betrayal of our unfortunate nation burst into a blaze at the sacrifice of billions of marks and thousands of young Germans–who were foolish enough to believe the promises of the Reich leaders. A bright and clear conviction suddenly arose in billions of heads that only a radical elimination of the entire ruling system could save Germany.

There never was a better time for such a solution. On the one hand, naked treason against the Fatherland was shamelessly revealed, and on the other, a people were economically driven to slow starvation. Since the State itself had trampled all concepts of faith and loyalty, made a mockery of citizens' rights, rendered the sacrifice of millions of its truest sons worthless, and robbed other millions of their last penny, it could no longer expect anything but hatred from its subjects. And this hatred against those who had ruined the people and Fatherland was bound to find an outlet. At this point I can only point to the closing sentence of my last speech in the great trial of spring 1924:

"The judges of this State may calmly condemn us for our conduct at that time, but History–as goddess of higher truth and better justice–will smile as she tears up this verdict, acquitting us all of guilt and blame."

But History will then also summon before her own tribunal

those who, vested with power today, have trampled on law and justice, condemning our people to misery and ruin, and who, amidst their Fatherland's misfortune, valued their own ego more than the life of the whole.

I won't here relate the course of events that led to, and brought about, 8 November 1923. I won't do so because I cannot see any use for the future, and also because no good could come of reopening old wounds that have scarcely healed. Moreover, it would be pointless to talk about the guilt of men who perhaps in the depths of their hearts have an equal love for their people, but who merely didn't follow, or failed to understand, the common road.

In view of the great common misfortune of our Fatherland, I must abstain from offending and perhaps alienating those who must, at some future date, form one great united front of truly loyal Germans, against the common front of the enemies of our people. I know that a time will come when even those who treated us as enemies will venerate the men who traveled the bitter path of death for the sake of the German people.

Here at the end of this second volume, let me again bring to mind the memory of those 16 fallen heroes to whom I dedicated the first volume, in order to remind our supporters and champions of those who, in the clearest consciousness, sacrificed their lives for us all. We do so in order to encourage the weak and wavering among us to fulfill their duty–a duty that those heroes fulfilled with absolute faith, even to its final consequences. And among them, and as one of the best of all, I wish to mention a man who devoted his life to reawakening his–our–people, through his writing, his ideas, and finally his deeds: Dietrich Eckart.[217]

[217] Eckart (1868-1923) was one of the three traditional founders–along with Gottfried Feder and Anton Drexler–of the German Workers' Party (DAP), the precursor to the NSDAP. Eckart died of a heart attack in 1923 at age 55.

CONCLUSION

On 9 November 1923, four and a half years after its founding, the National Socialist German Workers' Party was dissolved and forbidden throughout the whole of the Reich. Today, in November 1926, it again stands free before us, stronger and internally more solid than ever before.

All persecutions of the movement and its individual leaders, all vilifications and slander, have been unable to harm it. Thanks to the correctness of its ideas, the purity of its will, and the spirit of self-sacrifice that animates its members, it has emerged from all oppression stronger than before.

If, in the world of our present parliamentary corruption, our movement always remains aware of the deepest essence of its struggle, feels itself to embody the value of race and personality, and acts accordingly–then it will, with almost mathematical certainty, someday emerge victorious from its struggle. In the same way, Germany must necessarily win its rightful place on this Earth if it is led and organized by the same principles.

A State that, in an age of racial poisoning, devotes itself to preserving its best racial elements must one day become ruler of the Earth.

Our movement's adherents must never forget this, whenever they may have misgivings, lest the greatness of the sacrifices seem unjustified by the possible success.

APPENDIX A

THE 25-POINT PROGRAM OF THE NSDAP

1. We demand the union of all Germans in a Greater Germany, on the basis of the principle of self-determination of all peoples.

2. We demand that the German people have rights equal to those of other nations, and that the Peace Treaties of Versailles and St. Germaine be abrogated.

3. We demand land and territory (colonies) for the maintenance of our people and the settlement of our surplus population.

4. Only those who are our fellow countrymen can become citizens. Only those who have German blood, regardless of creed, can be our countrymen. Therefore no Jew can be a countryman.

5. Those who are not citizens must live in Germany as foreigners and must be subject to the law of aliens.

6. The right to choose the government and determine the laws of the state shall belong only to citizens. We therefore demand that no public office, of whatever nature, whether in the central government, the province, or the municipality, shall be held by anyone who is not a citizen. We wage war against the corrupt parliamentary administration whereby men are appointed to posts by favor of the party without regard to character and ability.

7. We demand that the state shall above all undertake to ensure that every citizen shall have the possibility of living decently and earning a livelihood. If it is not possible to feed the whole population, then aliens (non-citizens) must be expelled from the Reich.

8. Any further immigration of non-Germans must be prevented. We demand that all non-Germans who have entered Germany since 2 August 1914 shall be compelled to leave the Reich immediately.

9. All citizens must possess equal rights and duties.

10. The first duty of every citizen must be to work, mentally or physically. No individual shall do any work that offends against the interest of the community to the benefit of all. Therefore we demand:

11. That all unearned income, and all interest-slavery, be abolished!

12. Since every war imposes on the people fearful sacrifices in blood and treasure, all personal profit arising from the war must be regarded as treason to the people. We therefore demand the total confiscation of all war profits.

13. We demand the nationalization of all trusts.

14. We demand profit-sharing in large industries.

15. We demand a generous increase in old-age pensions.

16. We demand the creation and maintenance of a sound middle-class, the immediate communalization of large stores which will be rented cheaply to small businessmen, and that the strongest consideration be given to ensure that small businessmen shall deliver the supplies needed by the state, the provinces, and the municipalities.

17. We demand agrarian reform in accordance with our national requirements, and the enactment of a law to expropriate the owners without compensation of any land needed for the common good. We demand the abolition of basis rents, and the prohibition

of all land speculation.

18. We demand that ruthless war be waged against those who work to the detriment of the common welfare. Traitors, usurers, profiteers, etc., are to be punished with death, regardless of creed or race.

19. We demand that Roman law, that serves a materialist ordering of the world, be replaced by German common law.

20. In order to make it possible for every capable and industrious German to obtain higher education, and thus the opportunity to reach into positions of leadership, the state must assume the responsibility of thoroughly organizing the entire public cultural system. The curricula of all educational establishments shall be adapted to practical life. The conception of the state idea (civics) must be taught in the schools from the very beginning. We demand that exceptionally talented children of poor parents, whatever their station or occupation, be educated at the state's expense.

21. The state has the duty to help raise the standard of national health by providing maternity welfare centers, by prohibiting juvenile labor, by increasing physical fitness through the introduction of compulsory games and gymnastics, and by the greatest possible encouragement of associations concerned with the physical education of the young.

22. We demand the abolition of the regular army and the creation of a national folk army.

23. We demand that there be a legal battle against those who propagate deliberate political lies and disseminate them through the press. In order to make possible the creation of a German press, we demand:

(a) All editors and their assistants on newspapers published in the German language shall be German citizens.

(b) Non-German newspapers shall only be published with the express permission of the state. They must not be published in the German language.

(c) All financial interests that in any way affect German newspapers shall be forbidden to non-Germans by law, and we demand that the punishment for transgressing this law be the immediate suppression of the newspaper and the expulsion of the non-Germans from the Reich.

(d) Newspapers transgressing against the common welfare shall be suppressed. We demand a legal battle against those tendencies in art and literature that have a disruptive influence upon the life of our people; any organizations that offend against the foregoing demands shall be dissolved.

24. We demand freedom for all religious faiths in the state, insofar as they do not endanger its existence or offend the moral and ethical sense of the Germanic race. The party as such represents the point of view of a positive Christianity without binding itself to any one particular confession. It fights against the Jewish materialist spirit within and without, and is convinced that a lasting recovery of our people can only come about from the principle: Common Good before Individual Good.

25. In order to carry out this program we demand the creation of a strong central authority in the state, and the unconditional authority by the political central parliament of the whole state and all its organizations. Also: The formation of professional committees and of committees representing the several estates of the Reich, to ensure that the laws promulgated by the central authority shall be carried out by the federal states.

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